

VOLUME VIII

TA'IF-ZURKHANA

E. J. BRILL'S FIRST ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM 1913-1936

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M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK,
H. A. R. GIBB, E. J. BRILL and E. LÉVI-PROVENCAL

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TĀ'IF, a town in Arabia. It lies 75 miles S. E. of Mecca about 5,000 feet above sea level in the mountains of Sarāt. Of the country round with its walled gardens Burckhardt says that it is "the most attractive that he had seen since his departure for Lebanon in Syria". The Beduins also describe it as a corner of Syria transported and placed under the inclement sky of the Hīdjāz and say this marvel is due to the all powerful intercession of Abraham, the friend of Allāh. This healthy and windy site — water sometimes freezes there — was not without attraction for the rich merchants of Mecca. They all aimed at possessing an estate or at least a pied-à-terre there in which to recuperate from the strain of the relaxing climate of Mecca, as their successors do to this day.

Tā'if was the capital of the tribe of *Thakāf* [q. v.]. The Qur'ānic (xliii. 30) phrase *al-ḥarāṭān* classes Mecca with Tā'if and suggests a link of importance between them. Tā'if is nowhere else mentioned in the Qur'ān. But it may be said that on the eve of the Hīdjra, it was regarded as the second city of Western Arabia and ranked next to Mecca. It had an advantage over the latter in the possession of fertile lands. The surrounding valleys supplied its export trade with ample materials, particularly easy to market in a region so unfavoured by nature as the Hīdjāz: wine, wheat and wood. The special industry of Tā'if was the manufacture of leather in its tanneries, which were so numerous, we are told, as to render the air around foul. It had a girdle of walls built to take machines of war. At the entrance and exit to the sea of sand, Tā'if offered the ships of the desert provisions in the varied produce of its soil and loads in the products of its industry. Tā'if seems to have had particularly close relations with the Yemen, for which it was able to save 3 or 4 stages as compared with its redoubtable rival Mecca. The people of the town were divided into two main groups, in reality, two adverse factions. Their struggles for supremacy paralysed the economic development of the town. The "Ahlāf" were the younger, less aristocratic section. They nevertheless succeeded in securing control of the national sanctuary of al-Lāt. Inferior to their rivals the Banū Mālik in wealth and in territorial possessions, they made up for their disadvantages by a very skilful diplomacy and by a more serious military organization. The best poets, the most respected leaders in Tā'if came from the Ahlāf.

To their habit of living on wheat, the Beduins attributed the cunning and finesse of the Tā'ifis which were proverbial. There was a kind of entente cordiale between Mecca and Tā'if, an entente cemented by matrimonial alliances between *Quraysh* and Ahlāf. Many Meccans lived, as we have seen, in Tā'if and had estates there. Hardly less numerous were the Tā'ifis in Mecca, *ḥalīf* of the great families notably of the Umayyads, the latter almost all landlords in the region of Tā'if. This explains the preponderating part taken by the *Thakāfis* in the Syrian caliphate.

On the eve of the Hīdjra, Tā'if was therefore unique among the towns of the Hīdjāz. Its bracing climate, its fruits, its grapes, the famous *zabīb* of Tā'if and other products of the soil suggested Syria rather than the bare landscapes of western Arabia. As to intellectual development, the people of Tā'if seem "to have been notoriously above the average of Beduins and settled tribes". This is

how the acute encyclopaedist al-Djāhīz speaking of Ḥadīdjādī summed up the fellow-citizens of the great *Thakāfi*. It is no wonder then that Muḥammad after the check to his mission in Mecca thought of winning over the intelligent citizens of Tā'if. Repulsed again here, the only course left him was to turn to the Anṣārs. In their wars with Muḥammad the *Quraysh* had the military support of the Ahlāf of Tā'if. After the *fatḥ* of Mecca in 8 A. H. immediately after the defeat of the Hawāzin at Hunain, Muḥammad laid siege to Tā'if, but without success. It was not till a year later that a deputation of Tā'ifis came to discuss at great length in Medina the adhesion of their compatriots to the new religion, which they adopted without enthusiasm.

The expansion of Islām beyond the bounds of Arabia no more benefited their town than it did Mecca. The latter declined while Medina prospered; the latter was at first the residence of the caliph and later under the Umayyads that of the governor general of the Hīdjāz, under whom Tā'if usually was now reduced to the rank of a sub-prefecture. This decline was at first checked by the initiative of the inhabitants. They succeeded in keeping in their bracing mountains the country resorts not only of the Meccans but also of the new Muslim aristocracy in Medina. Under the Umayyads they gave a further proof of their ability to adapt themselves to new circumstances. The economic decline of Tā'if and the loss of its autonomy coincided with the zenith of the political influence of the *Thakāfis*. They succeeded in pushing themselves into the highest offices and displayed the most varied talents in them. From the time of Mu'āwiya we regularly find *Thakāfi* lieutenants beside the Caliph. For a brief period with Ziyād b. Abihī, they were almost expected to get the throne. Under Walid I, when the Arab empire attained its apogee, the greatest man of the reign was not the *Quraysh* ruler but the *Thakāfi* Ḥadīdjādī. They were all able to exploit the historical relations, the intimacy between Tā'if and Mecca, their old connections with the principal *Quraysh* families, especially with the Umayyads. They discovered in the past an indication of the proper orientation of their political activity.

The 'Abbāsids and 'Alids took care not to forget this. Tradition records their hatred of them and associates the *Thakāfis* with the disfavour that surrounds the Umayyads. From Kerbelā' and the failure of the attempted restoration of the 'Alids they are represented as having been cursed by the Prophet. Combining hatred of the *Shī'is* with the political feuds of the 'Irāq, the 'Abbāsīd reaction vented itself with particular bitterness on the memory of the great *Thakāfi* officers of the Umayyad period. It endeavoured to put the town of Tā'if and its doughty citizens under a ban in history. The plot succeeded marvellously and to this day among the Beduins, the name of the *Thakāfi* is treated with scorn.

'Abbāsīd rule showed itself frankly hostile to the Hīdjāz, where continued 'Alid risings were fomented (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii. 94). Tā'if contained the tomb of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, the ancestor of the dynasty who became the patron saint of the town. The possession of this sanctuary, a much frequented object of pilgrimage, did not disarm the hostility of the 'Abbāsīds who never forgave the population its former Umayyad sympathies and

left the town to decline gradually. It was the exception when we find 'Abbāsīd princesses taking an interest in Ṭā'if. The mother of the Caliph Muḥtadir and before her the celebrated Zubaīda, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, acquired estates there; the latter no doubt in connection with the water-works which she built at Mecca. Along with the adjoining districts of the Sarāt, Ṭā'if has remained to the present day the fruit and corn market of Mecca.

From the fourth (tenth) century all the geographers who mention Ṭā'if describe it as *bulaida*, "little town", and even add the epithet "little". Its environs became depopulated and the encyclopaedists like Yāqūt and Bakrī could not find there the sites of the estates and villages mentioned in the time of the Umayyads. Since the establishment of the Ḥasanid amirate in Mecca, Ṭā'if has as a rule been under the Grand Sharīfs. With its walls and its modest citadel, it was intended to defend Mecca against invaders from Najd. It only imperfectly played this role, especially in the wars between the Grand Sharīfs and the Wahhābīs under Ibn Sa'ūd. These sectarians captured and sacked it in 1802. It was taken from them in 1813 by Egyptian troops under Ṭasūn-Pāshā. Burckhardt, who visited it in the following year, found it half in ruins. In it he ate "very large grapes of most delicious flavour, figs, pomegranates and quinces". The bulk of the inhabitants consisted of Arabs of Ṭhaḳīf. "The majority of the rich Meccans had houses there, but most of the foreigners who have chosen it as a place of residence are of Indian origin".

Such still is the composition of its population. According to Philby, who was there at the end of 1913, its population is not over 5,000 but rises to 20,000 during the summer season. In April 1924, Ṭā'if fell again into the hands of the Wahhābīs in the course of their campaign against Ḥusain b. 'Alī, ex-king of the Ḥidjāz.

Bibliography: The literature will be found in H. Lammens, *La cité arabe de Ṭā'if à la veille de l'hégire* (in *M. F. O. B.*, viii. 115—327); H. Lammens, *Ziād ibn Abīhi, vice-roi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Mo'awia I* (in *R. S. O.*, iv.); Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 494—501; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, i. 27; Muḥaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 79; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 22; Hamdānī, *Djau'rat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, p. 120, 121; Ibn Djubair, *Travels*, ed. de Goeje, p. 120—122; 'Udjaimi, *Ahda 'l-Laṭā'if min Akhbār al-Ṭā'if* (manuscript of the Nat. Libr. of Cairo, ex-Biblioth. khédiviale, Catalogue, section Histoire, under No. 87; on the author, 'Udjaimi, cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 392, where this little monography is not mentioned); Burckhardt, *Voyages en Arabie*, transl. Eyriès, i. 110—113; Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922, i. 182—203. (H. LAMMENS)

TAIM B. MURRA, a clan of the Meccan tribe of Ḳuraish. Its name, which is born by several other Arab tribes, means "servant" and must therefore be an abbreviation of an ancient theophoric name such as we find in Taimallāh-Taimallāt [q. v.] and in the inscriptions, Taim Manāt, Taim Rudā, Θαιμυλος etc. (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 7; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, p. 385). The Taim b. Murra belonged to the Ḳuraish al-Baṭā'ih i. e. to the clans which were dominant in Mecca: but in spite of that

they do not seem to have possessed any political influence, while their real relatives, the Makhzūm [q. v.] b. Yaḳaḳa b. Murra, rivalled in influence the descendants of Ḳusaiy. The pre-Islāmic history of Mecca makes almost no reference to them (cf. the scanty references in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Index vol. i.—ii., p. 1506). The only person of note that they appear to have numbered among them on the eve of Islām is 'Abdallāh b. Djud'ān, celebrated for his generosity; it was in his house which was still pointed out in the days of Islām that the Ḳuraish clans formed their alliance (*ḥily al-fuḍūl*; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, Introduction, § 147), and he was the patron of the poet Ūmayya b. Abī'l-Ṣalt (*Aghānī*, viii. 2—5; cf. Schulthess, *Orientalische Studien, Th. Nöldeke . . . gewidmet*, i. 73 sq.; Goldziher, *al-Ḥuṭa'a*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xlvii. 7).

The fame of the Taim b. Murra rests entirely on the fact that two of the most celebrated heroes of Islām came from them: — Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaidallāh.

A brief description of the quarter inhabited by the Taim b. Murra in Mecca is given by al-Azraḳī (*Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 468).

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, R 16 (*Register*, p. 447); Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Ishṭīḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 59 sq.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

TAIMĀ', an old settlement in a well-watered oasis in northern Arabia, four days' journey south of Dūmat al-Djandal; according to Muḥaddasī, three from Ḥidjr and four from Wādī 'l-Ḳurā. It lies in a depression the length of which Jaussen and Savignac put at 2 miles with a breadth of 500 yards. The subterranean waters collect and burst forth into a well 40—45 feet deep and about 60 feet in diameter, according to the two travellers just named. Taimā' is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions and in the Old Testament as an important caravan station (Isaiah, xxi. 14; Jeremiah, xxv. 23; Job, vi. 19). To the Persian period belongs the old Aramaic inscription found by Euting, which throws a light on the important culture of the place. It is mentioned by the old Arabic poets e. g. Imru 'l-Ḳais, *Mu'allaka*, verse 76: "it (the rain storm) does not leave a palm-tree in Taimā' nor a house unless it is built of stone". Like other oases in North Arabia, it was settled by immigrant Jews or Jewish proselytes. Among them was Samaw'al [q. v.], the lord of the citadel of Ablak al-Fard, mentioned by A'shā and other poets. The Jewish inhabitants were not inclined to be friendly to Muḥammad, but when they learned how their co-religionists in Wādī 'l-Ḳurā had been treated, they voluntarily submitted and were thus allowed to retain their lands on payment of a yearly tribute; but they were expelled from the land, like the other Jews in Arabia, by 'Omar. In the tenth century, Ibn Ḥawḳal describes it as more thickly populated than Tabūk. Muḥaddasī gives a more detailed picture of its situation in a well-watered wide depression with a spring, many wells, some of which have fallen in, fine gardens, and many palm trees with excellent dates; on the other hand he censures the avarice of the inhabitants and laments the lack of distinguished scholars from this town. In the next century al-Bakrī refers to its wealth in dates, figs and grapes. The densely populated town had a wall, a parasang in length running along a brook. Of modern travellers

Euting gives a good description of the town with its narrow streets and houses surrounded by orchards. Of antiquities he found the ruins of temples and a quadrangular building with towers at the corners. Of the citadel of Ablāḡ, the ruins of which, according to Yāḡūt, were still visible in his time [see ABLAḡ], he could find no traces; Jaussen and Savignac describe some peculiar round tumuli, the sides of which in the form of stairs led up to a small square building.

Taimā³ at the present day shows signs of decay everywhere.

Bibliography: Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 34 sq.; B.G.A., ed. de Goeje, i. 22; ii. 29; iii. 107, 250, 252; vii. 177; viii. 584; Bakrī, *Geogr. Wörterb.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 208 sq.; Yāḡūt, *Geogr. Wörterb.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 907 sq.; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 285, 533, 549 sq.; Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*, ii. 148 sqq., 199 sqq.; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, ii., Texte, p. 133—163, Tafel lxi—lxiv. (FR. BUHL)

TAIMALLĀH B. ṬHA³LABA, an Arab tribe belonging to the branch of the Rabī'a b. Nizār (tribes of the 'Adnān) and forming part of the great ethnical group of the Bakr b. Wā'il. Genealogy: Taimallāh b. Ṭha³laba b. 'Ukāba b. Ṣa'b b. 'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il. We also find it mentioned under the form Taimallāt, which may be the correct name, for a Muslim (or Christian) alteration of the name al-Lāt to that of Allāh is not at all unlikely while the opposite is hardly conceivable. This tribe as usual with so many other tribes of Arabia formed an alliance (*ḥilf*) with the sister tribe of the Banū Ẓais b. Ṭha³laba, and each of them was closely associated with the Banū 'Idjl and the Banū 'Anaza. This confederation bore the name *al-Lahāzim* (the word *lihẓima*, according to the lexicographers signifies the mastoid bone and similar expressions are not unusual to indicate the solidity of an alliance); it was afterwards extended to the Banū Māzin b. Ṣa'b and even, it appears, to the two great Bakrī subdivisions, the Banū Dhuhl and the Banū Shaiḇān. After Islām the Banū Ḥanifa, another Bakrī tribe, also entered the alliance (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 276, 1—2; Naḡā'id, ed. Bevan, p. 47, 10, 305, 9, 764, 9 and especially 725, 15. Wüstenfeld, mislead probably by the statement in Ibn Ẹutaiba, *K. al-Ma'arīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 48, thought that the name *al-Lahāzim* referred only to the Taimallāh; cf. also Reiske, *Primae Lineae*, p. 253 note f, 255 note h). The Taimallāh took part with their allies in the wars of the Bakr b. Wā'il against the Tamīmīs and we find them specially concerned with the battles of Zubāla, Nibādī, Taiḥal, Djadūd and al-Waḡīṭ (the last two fall within the Muslim period). It does not appear, however, that they distinguished themselves by any particular exploits or that they numbered among their leaders any person of note. In the two latter expeditions, the command was held by al-Ḥawfāẓ b. Sharīḡ and by Abdjar b. Djabir, both of the Banū 'Idjl. At a more remote period, the Taimallāh had fought with the rest of the Bakrīs against the Lakhmid tribes of al-Ḥīra: they are mentioned in the stories of the *Yawm Uwāra*.

The Taimallāh were Christians, like almost all the Bakr b. Wā'il (cf. Ṭabari, *Annales*, i. 2032 ult.) but they were early converted to Islām and we find them fighting in the wars of conquest

and the civil wars; one of them for example, Iyās b. 'Abla, took part in the murder of the Caliph 'Uḥmān (*Naḡā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 918 sqq.). But it was mainly in the history of the eastern provinces that the Taimallāh played a part in the first two centuries of the Hidjra: among the members of this tribe who have made a mark in history the best known is 'Aws b. Ṭha³laba b. Zufar b. Wadī'a, who is also known as a poet (notice in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, i. 82, quoted from the *Tabakāt al-Shu'arā'* of Di'bil and the *Mu'djam al-Shu'arā'* of al-Marzubāni; verses in Yāḡūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 830, with reference to two ancient statues at Palmyra) and was governor of Ḳhorāsān; during the civil war of 65 A. H. he valiantly defended Herāt against the troops of Muṣ'āb b. al-Zubair, commanded by 'Abdallāh b. Ḳhāzin and held out for a whole year, with the support of all the Bakr b. Wā'il of Ḳhorāsān, until he fell (Ṭabari, *Annales*, ii. 484—490; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 414—415). Another poet of the Taimallāh, Nahār b. Tawsi'a (who was called the best poet of the Bakr in Ḳhorāsān) took part in the campaigns of Ẹutaiba b. Muslim, whom he had once satirised but finally joined. (Cf. Ibn Ẹutaiba, *K. al-Shī'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 342 sq.; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 431 sq.; *Naḡā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 359 sq., 364 sq., 368; Ṭabari, *Annales*, ii., *passim*; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii. 201 sq., etc.).

There were several other tribes, especially in the south, called Taimallāh or Taimallāt; Ibn al-Kalbī mentions the following: T. b. 'Asad b. Wabara; T. b. Zahw (?) b. Murr b. al-Ghawḥ b. Ṭaiy; T. b. Hīkāl... b. Māzin b. al-Azd; T. b. Rufaida b. Ṭhawr b. Kalb; T. b. 'Amir al-Adjdār... b. Kalb; T. b. al-Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ; T. b. Wadm b. Wabballāt... b. Kalb.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, B 17 (*Register*, p. 447); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Anṣāb*, MS. Brit. Mus. Add., 23, 297, fol. 270b—229b; Ibn Duraid, *K. Ishtīḡāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 212 sq. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

ṬĀIY, a tribe in early Arabia of Yamanite origin. According to the genealogists its ancestor, Djuḥuma b. Udad, with the surname of Ṭaiy, was a descendant of Ḳaḥṭān and a brother of Madhḡiḡ and Murra, the ancestor of the large tribe of Kinda. Originally they were at home in that part of the South-Arabian Djoḡf in which Ḥunaḡa was situated, on the way between Ṣan'a' and Mecca. Ṭaiy, as well as Azd and other South-arabian tribes, joined the migration which tradition connects with the break of the dam of Ma'rib. They settled in the Northern part of the Peninsula, near the Shammar-mountain [q. v.] to the South of the desert Nefūd. Mounts Adja' and Salmā, S. and S. E. of Ḥā'il, were even called "the mounts of Ṭaiy", which proves that for centuries the tribe had a claim on that territory. The Djabal 'Awdja', about half way between Ḥā'il and Taimā³, as well as Taimā³ [q. v.] itself, belonged to Ṭaiy.

Through the immigration of Ṭaiy the Muḡar-tribe of the Banū Asad lost a part of its territory; nevertheless the two tribes fraternised in later times; it is related that they joined their forces and defeated the Banū Yarbū', who belonged to Tamīm, at Ridjla al-Tais.

Sub-tribes or clans of Ṭaiy were: Ṭhu'al, Djadila, Djarm, 'Adī, Ghawḥ, Ma'n, Nabḥān, as well as the three "Ṭha³alīb Ṭaiy", which by this denomi-

nation were distinguished from the Bakrite Tha'laba, viz. Tha'laba b. Djuhl, b. Rūmān and b. Djad'a'.

In the time of the Djahiliya, Taiy worshipped a God called Fils, who possessed a sanctuary on Mount Adja', which was destroyed, on Muḥammad's order, by 'Alī b. Abī Tālib aided by 150 Anṣār; the expedition captured one of Ḥatīm al-Tā'i's daughters. Another deity of Taiy was Ruḍā.

At least for some time Taiy was on friendly terms with their relatives the Lakhmids of al-Hira, as may be concluded from the fact that the last Phylarch, al-Nu'mān IV, had two wives belonging to Taiy, viz. Far'a bint Sa'd and Zainab bint Aws, both of them from the family Hāritha b. Lām. When, however, al-Nu'mān fled before the Persian king and sought refuge with the Taiyites, they refused him hospitality, probably, with a view to their friendly relations with the Persians, which apparently were not of an altogether ephemeral nature. For after al-Nu'mān's death the Taiyite Iyās b. Qabiṣa was appointed as Regent in al-Hira (602—611); he commanded the Persian and Arabian army against the Banū Bakr in the battle of Dhū Kār. Tabarī and other authors call Iyās one of the 'Ibād, because he was a Christian.

In 9 A.H. the Taiyites sent an embassy to Muḥammad, to which belonged Kais b. Djaḥdar who, it is said, was the first to embrace Islām and is reckoned as one of the Ṣaḥāba (cf. *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, iv. 210).

The *nisba* of Taiy is Tā'i. It is especially the poet Ḥatīm who became famous under the *nisba* al-Tā'i (his *Diwān* was edited by Schulthess); his proverbial liberality is the subject of numerous anecdotes and tales. Other Taiyite poets were: 'Arik al-Tā'i, Zaid al-Khail, Abū Zubaid, a Christian, 'Amr b. Milḥat, 'Amr b. Saiyār b. Kīrwāsh, and, after the rise of Islām, the Kharijī al-Tirmīmah, whose *Diwān* was edited by Krenkow (*G. M. S.*, xxv., 1928). Lexicon and *Diwāns* have preserved specimens of the dialect of Taiy: *baḳā* and *fanā* for *baḳiya* and *faniya*; *maḍjaḥa* for *badjaḥa*; *ḡaltu* for *ḡaliltu*; *'aiyin* for *djadid*.

In Syriac "Taiyites" became a name for "Arabs" and Muslims.

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld; al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen und Register*; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*.

(H. H. BRÄU)

TA'IZZ, an important town in South Arabia, formerly the capital of the Turkish sandjak of Ta'izzīya, which according to the provincial law regarding the general administration of wilāyets *Taḳwīm-i Wekā'i* (March 15, 1913) included the ḳaḍās of 'Udain, Ibb, Mukhā, Kamā'ira, Ḳa'taba, Hudjariya, and, according to R. Manzoni, also Makhādir, Dhī Sufāl, Māwiya, i. e. the whole country between al-Hudaida and the independent lands northeast of 'Aden. The town, which lies in 44° 6' 45" East. Long (Greenw.) and 13° 36' 55" North Lat., at 4,500 feet above sea-level, is built on the northern slope of the Djebel Ṣabr (in al-Hamdānī: Ṣabir) and has 2—3,000 inhabitants. The Portuguese called the town Teis, the Italians (Ludovico di Barthema and Andrea Corsati) Taesa. It is surrounded by a wall 25—30 feet broad and 9—12 feet high which, like that of Ṣan'a', is flanked by towers which stand a further 6—8 feet above the wall and is built of large sundried bricks and covered with an outer

layer of baked tiles. The town wall forms an irregular quadrangle, which stretches from east to west. On the western side of this quadrangle is a polygonal spur of the hill in the south-eastern corner of which rises a steep rock 450 feet high, on the top of which is the citadel al-Ḳāhira, which is however now in a very ruinous state but was at one time regarded as a strong fortress. Corresponding to this in the north east angle of the wall is a sharp spur, the top of which is a steep mound. There are five gateways in the town wall; in the east the Bāb al-Kabīr leads out to the Māwiya—'Aden and Ḳa'taba—Ibb—Yarīm—Ṣan'a' roads, in the west the Bāb Shēkh Mūsā opens on to the road to Mukhā and Ḥais. The Bāb al-Emdāgher on the southwest is the gateway to the Hudjariya and Benī 'Alwān, in the south the Bāb 'Ain Dumma leads to the Djabal Ṣabr and connects the hill with the fort of al-Ḳāhira, and lastly in the south-east we have the Bāb al-Khudaira, which is still surrounded by a wall, also leading to the Djabal Ṣabr. These gates, which are not far from one another, are built in the Arabian style and flanked by two towers which rise above the town-wall and are surmounted by a third which defends the entrance. The town is provided with excellent drinking-water by subterranean pipes from the Djabal Ṣabr and has a large market. Since the troubles of the 19th century it has had a very neglected appearance. The once beautiful houses of stone which, as a rule, have only one storey above ground are for the most part in ruins. Barely 20 are still standing and others have been replaced by wretched huts. The southern quarter of the city has suffered particularly and ruins are scattered all over it. A number of beautiful mosques still testify to the past glory of the capital of the Rasūlids. One of these is the Ashrafiya founded by the Rasūlid al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismā'il b. al-'Abbās (1377—1400 A. D.), a quadrilateral in plan with two minarets and two rows of pillars with 3 domes richly decorated with coloured ornamentation; in the south of the mosque are the tombs of its founder and of his son 'Alī and of two slaves. Behind a grill of fretworked wood lie the three marble sarcophagi which contain the remains of the seven wives of the founder of the mosque; opposite them is a sarcophagus of limestone and brick surrounded by carved woodwork in which lies another of his slaves. The large and splendid mosque of the al-Muzaḥfariya lies on the slope of the Djabal Ṣabr and is also a quadrilateral in shape with three rows of pillars and three great domes and two minarets. Its whitewashed walls make it stand out in striking fashion against the dark volcanic rocks of the hill. The front is pierced by a series of windows with grilles in front and adorned with vaultings which are supported by slender pillars. The surface is decorated with scrolls and interlacings. The well-preserved building, which is still the principal mosque, was not unjustly compared with the St. Maria Rotonda in Rome by the Bolognese traveller Ludovico di Barthema, who visited the town in 1508. Other mosques are the still well-preserved mosque of 'Abd al-Hādī and in the west outside the town wall the mosque of Shēkh Mūsā, in the east the well preserved and splendid mosque of Shēkh Afḍal and his family of the first period of the Turkish conquest, from which period also dates the Makhḍabiya mosque in the south, the high

lying part of Ta'izz, which was built by an Abyssinian slave of Ḥusain Pasha. It is a quadrangular building without a minaret, with a large court in the centre, in a peculiar mixture of Byzantine and Arabic style, richly ornamented with inscriptions, which are written on the doors of inlaid wood and on the walls and pillars. On the left side are large water-basins which were made for the ritual ablutions, but are now used for the hospital laundry. The mosque of Sharaf al-Din is destroyed except for the minaret; it was founded by the Imām Sharaf al-Din b. Imām Muṭahhar and like the Ashrafiya stands in the high-lying southern part of Ta'izz.

Ta'izz is richly provided with gardens, fields and meadows. The most beautiful, in the centre of the town, belongs to Sulaimān Pasha and is called Birkat Ḥusainiya. In its midst stands a kiosk which contains a fine large room; before it is a large oval basin with a spring. In the garden also is the high *qubba* (mausoleum) of Ḥusain Pasha, who is buried here. The gardens are amply supplied with water by aqueducts from the Djabal Ṣabr. The same plants and trees are grown here as in Ṣan'ā' and Rawḍa except the nut-tree: the date-palm does not do very well. Bananas flourish exceedingly. The plain around Ta'izz is well tilled; the slopes of the Djabal Ṣabr north-east of Ta'izz are covered with little groves of tamarisk and carob trees, with many little hamlets near them. The Djabal Ṣabr itself is like a botanical garden, on the lower slopes of which grow almost all kinds of fruits, tamarinds, quinces, citrons, vines and on the higher slopes all kinds of aromatic plants in addition to the usual trees and shrubs. Cultivation is carried up to the highest points of the hill and barley and *khardal* flourish especially. The true wealth of the country however lies in the extensive plantations of *kat* [q. v.] (*celastrus edulis* Forsk.), the aphrodisiac of which the people of Yemen are so fond. Glaser says the site of Ta'izz is exceedingly unhealthy and the climate malarial. Ta'izz has good caravan connections with Zabīd, Yarīm, Ibb and Ṣan'ā', as well as with 'Aden and under Turkish rule used to have a weekly postal connection with al-Ḥudaida. The railway planned in 1912 to connect al-Ḥudaida with Ṣan'ā' and the interior was intended to include a line al-Ḥudaida-Zabīd-Ta'izz-Ibb-Yarīm-Ṣan'ā' but has never been constructed as a result of the Italo-Turkish war and the Great War.

Local tradition says that Ta'izz was founded in the pre-Muḥammadan period. It connects the Djabal Ḍarbat 'Alī N. E. of Ta'izz with the son-in-law of the Prophet, afterwards Caliph. The mountain which now has two peaks is said to have once been a solid mass. When 'Alī, engaged in the conquest and conversion of the Yemen, came to Ta'izz, its inhabitants showed themselves extremely hostile to him and the teaching of the Qur'ān. 'Alī laid siege to the town and took up his quarters on the summit of the hill which bears his name. The siege dragged on on account of the stubborn resistance of the inhabitants; 'Alī's envoys to the heads of the town talked to deaf ears and only received abuse, indeed, one embassy was ill treated and beaten by the inhabitants. 'Alī was so enraged at this that he took his celebrated sword and struck the summit of the hill such a blow that he made the long deep cleft which is still to be seen. Although not a tent was shaken in 'Alī's

camp and no man was injured, the houses in Ta'izz were all overthrown and even the most solid collapsed. Ambassadors thereupon came to 'Alī from Ta'izz who declared 'Alī a prophet and adopted Islām.

This story is of course quite unhistorical. The peculiar form of the hill has given rise to the legend. Several other places are also connected with 'Alī, for whom the people of Yemen have a particular fondness. For example, according to Glaser, on the Djabal al-Dār (near Rubāṭ on the road to Ḍhamār) on the roadside (probably at the highest point) 'Alī's footprint (*riḍl 'Alī*) is shown on a rock and close beside it, but to the left of the road, is a rock which seems to have been perforated, called *ḍarbat 'Alī*. Another legend is connected with the vicinity of Ta'izz, namely that of the Seven Sleepers, the scene of whose sleep Ibn al-Mudjāwir puts in a grotto of the Djabal Ṣabr. The South Arabian version of this legend says that the seven sons of a king were taken to king Doḳiyanūs al-Ḡhaddār as hostages. When the king went to war, the hostages escaped and went into Mā Humaid (near Thaḥbad) and did not reappear till they came out on the top of the Ḳaryat al-Miḳāb on the Djabal Ṣabr where they lived. Doḳiyanūs sought them without being able to discover them. They lived there for 310 years and slept the whole time. They then awakened and it seemed to them as if only a single day had passed. They found some of the money that they had had with them and sent one of their number into the town to buy food. Wicked men seized him and found the money in his possession. They thought that he had found a hidden treasure and took him before the authorities; no one knew him in the place and as he had no home in the town he was thought to be mad and released. He returned to the cave and remains there still. Winds are now said to blow out of the cave. Glaser visited the spot on November 20, 1887. The Mosque of the Seven Sleepers (*Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*) is a very fine one, has wonderful wooden columns and a very good roof. The sanctuary proper is in the north-west corner of the mosque and is a simple walled space in the shape of a prism, on the right side of which there is a hole which the Arabs call Maghāra (cave). Glaser investigated it very closely without tracing a current of air or any considerable orifice. He thought it probable however that the rocks were not close together so that a slight current of air blows through them. Saiyids live near the Masjid. The place which Botta erroneously calls *Ahl al-Kahf* was visited by him in 1837. At the foot of the Djabal Ṣabr near Ta'izz there was pointed out to him the entrance to the cave, from which the Seven Sleepers had made their way through the whole hill. It is not probable that Ta'izz was in existence in the pre-Muḥammadan period. The capital of this area was Sawwā and later Djabā, neither of which is far from Ta'izz. According to the *Djihan-numā* of Hādjdjī Khalifa, Ta'izz was founded by the Aiyūbid al-Malik al-'Azīz Saif al-Islām Ṣahīr al-Din Abu 'l-Fawāris Tughtekin who came to the Yemen in 578 (1182—1183). According to Glaser, Ta'izz was built for the most part out of the material of the adjoining little town of Thaḥbad on the left bank of the Wādī Ṣāla. Ta'izz, according to his investigations, was called 'Udaina 5—600 years ago, but only the foundations of the walls of this

date survive; the walls themselves are of recent erection. The village of 'Udaina lies 3—4 miles almost due east of Ta'izz on the slopes of the Djabal Šabr like Ta'izz itself. It is said to have been originally the residence of the kings until Ismā'il Muḥ, a celebrated Sunnī saint, to whom many miracles are ascribed as patron of Ta'izz, built a mosque and his tomb on the mound of al-Ḳāhira, where the citadel later arose and the town grew up, so that the latter also like Muḥā, Bēt al-Faḳīh, Luḥaiya etc. owes its origin to a saint. On the other hand as a result of enquiries made in 1887 of Ḳāḍī Yaḥyā in Ta'izz, Glaser says that Ta'izz is older than Tha'bad, which was only founded under the Rasūlids or even later in the seventh century A. H. Ta'izz, he was told, existed under the name 'Udaina as early as 133 (750—751 A. D.) and the town used to be much larger. How far this is true cannot be definitely ascertained. Yāḳūt (d. 1229) already describes Ta'izz as a large and famous Yemen fortress and 'Udaina as a suburb of Ta'izz. Ibn al-Muḍjāwir (wrote about 630 = 1232—1233) calls Ta'izz a strong fortress and residence of the king of the country. Ibn Baṭṭūta who visited Ta'izz in 1332 A. D. describes this residence of the Yemen rulers as one of the finest and largest towns in the country and its inhabitants as arrogant, proud and uncultured. Of its three quarters one was inhabited by the ruler and his servants and Mamlūks and nobles; the second called 'Udaina was occupied by the military and officers, the third by private citizens; in the last was the great bazaar called al-Muḥālib. The town prospered exceedingly as the capital of the Rasūlids. Five educational buildings were founded by them in Ta'izz; viz. two by al-Malik al-Manšūr 'Umar (1229—1250 A. D.), a third by his successor al-Malik al-Faḍl Muḍjahid (called the Muḍjahidiya), a fourth by al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismā'il (1377—1400 A. D. the Ashrafiya) and a fifth by al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd (1296—1321 A. D.) who left a library of 100,000 volumes and is buried in the madrasa. The fortress does not seem to have been very strongly built, for in 1392 A. D. a part of the castle collapsed and killed two people. In 1516 Ta'izz was taken by Ḥusain al-Kurdi, the admiral and general of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sultān Ḳānsūh al-Ḡhūrī, in 1545 by the Turks and in 1567 it passed to the Imāms of Ṣan'ā'. The French physician De la Grélaudière, who passed through Ta'izz in 1712 describes it as a famous old town with fine walls built by the Turks. The citadel had 30 cannons and was used as a state prison. Under the rule of the Imāms of Ṣan'ā' who succeeded the Turks in 1635 the town had therefore recovered from all the blows it had suffered.

Later Ta'izz passed to the powerful tribe of Dhū Muḥammad who held it till Ibrāhīm Pasha took it from them and it was under Egyptian rule from 1835 to 1840. When the Turks began to reconquer the Yemen in 1871 Ta'izz fell to them on October 28 and they were able to hold it till the great general rising of the Yemenis under the Imām Aḥmad al-Dīn in 1892. The fortress was only temporarily in Zaidī hands, for the Turks reconquered it in 1893 and held it till the conclusion of peace in 1918. With the withdrawal of the Turks from the Yemen, Ta'izz has again passed under the rule of the Imāms of Ṣan'ā'.

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TAKASH (Turkish pronunciation: Tekesh) B. İL-ARSLĀN, king of Ḳh̲wārizm [q. v.] 567—596 (1172—1200), of the fourth and most glorious dynasty of Ḳh̲wārizmshāhs [q. v.], was, before his accession governor of Djand on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā [q. v.]; he had to fight for his throne with his younger brother Sultān Shāh, and in the struggle at first Takash and then his brother received the support of the Kara-Khitai [q. v.].

When the fight was finally decided in favour of Takash, Sultān Shāh succeeded with the help of the Kara Khitai in establishing himself in Merw, Sarakhs and Tūs and held this territory till his death in 589 (1193), being sometimes at peace and sometimes at war with his brother. The capital of Ḳhorāsān, Nishāpūr, had already been taken by Takash in Rabi' I or Rabi' II 583 (1187); Takash's eldest son Malik Shāh was governor there. After the death of Sultān Shāh, Malik Shāh was transferred to Merw and his brother Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad appointed his successor in Nishāpūr. Of greater importance was the destruction of Saldjūḳ rule in Persian Irāk ('Irāk 'Adjami) by the victory over Sultān Tughrl II in 590 (1194). This victory raised Takash from the status of a local dynast to a ruler of a great power and henceforth he called himself on his coins no longer Ḳh̲wārizmshāh but "Sultān, son of the Ḳh̲wārizmshāh". Persian Irāk with al-Raiy and

Hamadhān passed into the possession of Takash, who appointed his son Yūnus governor of Hamadhān; later he handed over Hamadhān to the ruler of Āḥarbaīdjān, Abū Bakr, as his vassal, who sent his brother and ultimate successor Özbeg thither. In 592 (1196) an army of the Caliph Nāṣir was defeated at Hamadhān; the Caliph had demanded that Takash should vacate the conquered territory and retire to the east but Takash wanted not only to retain his conquests but to get Khūzistān also from the Caliph. Takash, like the Saldjūks before him, including Tughrl II, is said to have demanded that the Caliph should hand over to him the secular power in Baghdād itself and be content with a nominal sovereignty over the Muslim world. This dispute was not decided on this occasion, but was continued under Takash's successor, Muḥammad.

We know still less about the fighting between Takash and the Kara Khitai. The most important event in these wars, the capture of Bukhārā by Takash, is placed by Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, xii. 88 sqq.) in the events of the year 594 (1198); there is however a document relating to it in the collection of state-papers made by Muḥammad b. Mu'ayyad al-Baghdādī of the years 576—579. In any case, the success was but a transitory one and in spite of his position of great power in the Muslim world Takash remained a vassal of the Kara-Khitai till his death.

Bibliography: Cf. especially G. M. S., xiv/i. (Hamd Allāh Kazwini), p. 491—493; xvi/ii. (Djuwaini), p. 17—46; New Series, ii. (Rāwandī), p. 375—399; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, index; W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skago nashestviya*, ii. 361—374; do., *Turkestan down to the Mongol Conquest*, G. M. S., New Series, v., p. 337—349. — On the collection of state-papers mentioned above cf. *Catal. Lugd.*, i. 169 sqq.; excerpts in Barthold, *op. cit.*, i. 73 sqq. (W. BARTHOLD)

TAKBİR (A.), infinitive II from the root *k-b-r* in the denominative sense: to pronounce the formula *Allāh akbar*. It is already used in this sense in the Qur'ān (e.g. Sūra lxiv. 3; xvii., lxi with Allāh as the object). On the different explanations of the elative *akbar* in this formula cf. *Lisān*, s. v. and the Qur'ānic elative *akram* also applied to Allāh (Sūra xcvi. 3) and *al'ā* (Sūra xcii. 20; lxxxvii. 1).

The formula, as the briefest expression of the absolute superiority of the One God, is used in Muslim life in different circumstances, in which the idea of Allāh, his greatness and goodness is suggested. When Muḥammad had learned by supernatural means of the death of Naḍjāshī in Abyssinia, he proclaimed the news to those around him, arranged them in rows on the Muṣallā and had a *takbīr* pronounced four times (Bukhārī, *Djānā'iz*, bāb 4, 55, 61). On other occasions also Muḥammad is said to have called the *takbīr* four or five times over a funeral bier (Muslim, *Djānā'iz*, trad. 72). The fourfold *takbīr* remained or became usual at the ṣalāt for the dead (*Shirāzī*, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, p. 47 sq.). The *Adhān* [q. v.] is also opened with a fourfold *takbīr*.

The Prophet is said to have uttered very frequently the *takbīr* during the Ḥaǧǧ, at the beginning of (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 144), during (Bukhārī, *Djānā'iz*, bāb 132, 133; but not too loudly, *op. cit.*, bāb 131) and at the end of

the journey (Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 5), at the sight of the Ka'ba (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 320), at the Black Stone (Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 264), between Minā and 'Arafa (Bukhārī, *Ḥaǧǧ*, bāb 86), on Ṣafā and Marwa (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 320) etc.

The *takbīr* is prescribed by the law at the beginning of the ṣalāt (the so-called *takbīrat al-iḥrām*); during the ṣalāt it is five times repeated.

Bibliography: The Dictionaries, s. v. *k-b-r*; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 61, 65; A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. (A. J. WENSINCK)

TAKDİR. [See **QADAR**].

TAKHTADJI, lit. "woodcutter", the name of an Anatolian sect with Shi'a tendencies. The Takhtadji, like the Čepni or Četni (cf. F. Babinger in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvi [1922], 141 and F. Taeschner, *ibid.*, p. 282 sqq.) who are mentioned as early as the end of the xivth century, the Zeibeks [q. v.] and all the sub-sects comprised under the name Kızılbaş, form a separate element in the population of Anatolia, as regards ethnography and religious history, the origin of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. As to the Takhtadji, they are mainly found in Western Asia Minor; they are settled in villages and engage in cattle-rearing, agriculture, wood-cutting etc. They seem to have got their name *takhtadji* from their activities as woodmen. The origin of the Takhtadji is obscure. While F. von Luschan in his *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis*, Vienna 1889, ch. xiii., thinks, mainly as a result of cranial measurements, that they are remnants of the original inhabitants of the country, G. Jacob has suggested (cf. *Islam*, ii. 232 sqq.) that the Takhtadji are the remnants of the brotherhood of the *δενδροφόροι* (cf. F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa s. v. *Dendrophori*, also H. C. Maué, *Die Vereine der Fabri, Centenarii und Dendrophori im Römischen Reich*, Frankfurt a. M. 1896, Programm). These two views have little in their favour; and the Takhtadji are rather Persian settlers from Persia at the end of the xvth century to western Anatolia, who were adherents of the Ṣafawid sect [q. v.]. Of them we know that they were widely dispersed over Asia Minor even before the rise of Shāh Ismā'il (cf. F. Babinger, *Scheich Bedr ed-Din*, Leipzig and Berlin 1921, p. 91 sqq.). In favour of this view is the striking similarity in customs and practices of the Takhtadji and of the Ṣafawiye in the time of Shāh Ismā'il. They are said to drink wine, eat pork and have ceremonies which recall baptism and communion. The women go, and have always gone unveiled, among them. Persians and Christians, but not Turks, are welcome guests among them and the Shi'i names 'Alī and Ismā'il are especially popular among them; cf. W. Heffening, in *Der Neue Orient*, iv., Berlin 1919, p. 264 sqq. It is also noteworthy that the Takhtadji, according to the report of the Austro-Hungarian Consul of Adalia, Tibor v. Pözl (cf. *Österr. Monnatschrift für den Orient*, xli., Vienna 1915, p. 506 and F. Babinger in *Isl.*, xii. [1921], 103), lived outside the authority of the Turkish government, and "until quite lately were regarded as Persian subjects according to old tradition." All these indications suggest a former very close connection with the Ṣafawid kingdom. According to the same authority, the Takhtadji are especially numerous in the sandjak of Teke (around Adalia), spend the winter on the coast and in summer go with their

herds back to the mountains, where they dwell in tents and wretched huts and live by cattle-rearing.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources quoted above cf. J. H. Mordtmann, *Vier Vorträge über Vorderasien und die heutige Türkei*, Berlin 1917, p. 100 sq.; F. v. Luschán, in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, xix., Braunschweig 1891, p. 31 sqq.; and the literature given by F. Babinger, *Scheich Bedr ed-Din*, p. 99 sqq. (cf. also *Isl.*, xii. [1921], 103).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

TAKĪ KĀSHĪ, TAKĪ AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD B. SHARAF AL-DĪN ḤUSAINI KĀSHĀNĪ, a Persian biographer, a native of the town of Kāshān, died in 1016 (1607). He wrote in 985 (1577—78) the *Khuḷāṣat al-Ashʿār wa-Zubdat al-Afkār*, and wrote the preface to the *Diwān* of Muḥtasham, who was a poet of the time of Shāh Ismāʿil I and of Tahmāsp I.

Bibliography: Bland, *J.R.A.S.*, ix. 126—134; Sprenger, *Catal. Oudh.*, p. 13—46; Rieu, *Catal. of Persian Mss.*, p. 1046b; E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii. 370; W. Ivanow, *Descriptive Catal.* (Calcutta 1924), p. 298, 305.

(CL. HUART)

TAKĪ AL-DĪN. [See AL-MUẒAFFAR].

TAKĪYA (A.), caution, fear (see *Glossarium* to Ṭabarī, s.v. *t-k-a*) or *keitmān*, “disguise”, is the technical term for dispensation from the requirements of religion under compulsion or threat of injury.

Muḥammad himself avoided suffering in the cause of religion in dogmatics by docetism (Sūra iv. 156) and in everyday life by the *hiǧra* and by allowing in case of need the denial of the faith (Sūra xvi. 108), friendship with unbelievers (iii. 27) and the eating of forbidden foods (vi. 119; v. 5). This point of view is general in Islām. But, as he at the same time asserted the proclamation of his mission to be a duty and held up the heroic example of the old saints and prophets as a model (lxiv. 7; v. 71; iii. 40 etc.), no definite general rule came to be laid down, not even with the separate sects. Minor questions, which are very fully discussed, are whether *takīya* is a simple permitted alleviation (*rukḥṣa*) or a duty, whether it is valid in private interest or in that of the community.

The *takīya* was not rejected even by the extreme wing of the strict Khāridjīs [q.v.] although among the Azrakīs in the related question of divine worship when danger threatens (*ṣalāt al-khawf*), it is often given as an example that one should not interrupt the ṣalāt even if his horse or his money be stolen from him during it. The advice is quite old: “God gave the believers freedom of movement (*wasṣaʿa*) by the *takīya*; therefore conceal thyself!” The principle adopted by the Ibādīs however was that “the *takīya* is a cloak for the believer: he has no religion who has no *takīya*” (Djumaīyil; see *Bibl.*, xiii. 127 sq.).

Among the Sunnī authorities the question was not such a burning one. Nevertheless Ṭabarī says on Sūra xvi. 108 (*Tafsīr*, Būlāk 1323 sqq., xxiv. 122): “If any one is compelled and professes unbelief with his tongue, while his heart contradicts him, to escape his enemies, no blame falls on him, because God takes his servants as their hearts believe”. The reason for this verse is unanimously said to have been the case of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, whose conscience was set at rest by this revela-

tion when he was worried about his forced worshipping of idols and objugation of the Prophet. It is more in the nature of theoretical speculation, when in this connection the question of *hiǧra* is minutely investigated, that in certain circumstances e.g. threat of death, a Muslim who cannot live openly professing his faith may have to migrate “as God’s earth is wide”. Women, children, invalids and one who is tied by considerations for them, are permitted *muwāfaqa* (“connivance”); but an independent individual is not justified in *takīya* nor bound to *hiǧra*, if the compulsion remains within endurable limits, as in the case of temporary imprisonment or flogging which does not result in death. The endeavour, however, to represent the *takīya* as only at most permitted and not under all circumstances obligatory, as even some Sunnīs endeavour to hold on the basis of Sūra ii. 191, has resulted in the invention of admonitory traditions, e.g. *raʿs al-ḥiʿl al-mudārāt* “to be good friends with unbelievers is the beginning of actual unbelief”. To prove that steadfast martyrdom is a noble thing, the story is told of the two Muslim prisoners of Musailima, one of whom allowed himself to be forced to acknowledge the anti-prophet, while the other died for the Prophet. The latter is reported to have said: “The dead man has departed in his righteousness and certainty of belief and has attained his glory, peace be with him! But God has given the other an alleviation, no punishment shall fall upon him”.

The *takīya* is of special significance for the Shīʿa. Indeed it is considered their distinguishing feature, not however always with justice, as Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī in the *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal* protests against Rāzī (see at the foot of his *Muḥaṣṣal Afkār al-Mutaqaddimīn waʾl-Mutaʾakhkhirīn*, Cairo 1305, p. 182, on 1). The peculiar fate of the Shīʿa, that of a suppressed minority with occasional open not always unheroic rebellions, gave them even more than the Khāridjīs occasions and examples for extreme *takīya* and its very opposite; even the Ismāʿīlīs, usually masters in the art of disguising their creed, made the challenge to their leaders: “He who has 40 men at his disposal and does not seek his rights is no Imām”. The Zaidīs give as the number of helpers which removes the necessity of *takīya* from the Imām, that of those who fought at Badr. It is a common polemical charge of the Sunnīs, quoted from the writings of the Shīʿīs themselves, that the latter, as followers of fighting martyrs, are not justified in *takīya*, while the Twelvers in particular, while representing the Imāms as examples compelling one to resoluteness, appeal on the other hand to the conduct of ʿAlī during the reign of the three first Caliph and to the *Ghaiba* of the Mahdī as the typical *takīya*. Belief is expressed by heart, tongue and hand; a theory of probabilities developed with considerable dialectic skill calculates under what real or expected injuries, “the permitting of what is pleasing to God and the forbidding of what is displeasing to God” is permitted. Observance with the heart is absolutely necessary. But if it is probable to any one (*law ghalaba ʿalā ḡannihī*) or if he is certain that an injury will befall him, his property or one of his co-religionists, then he is released from the obligation to intercede for the faith with hand or tongue.

In Shīʿī biographies concealment is a regular feature; we are told that the hero broke the laws

of religion like the prohibition of wine under compulsion and not at all in an excusable way. But since for them also Muḥammad is the Prophet, and since as among the Sunnis a Prophet may not practice taqiya in matters of his office, because otherwise one could not be certain of the revelation, we have, in view of the double example of the Imāms, in the code of morals for the ordinary pious men of the Shī'a, the following sayings of 'Alī in juxtaposition: "It is the mark of belief to prefer justice if it injures you, and injustice if it is of use to you"; and as an explanation of Sūra xlix. 13: "He among you who is most honoured before God is the most fearful (of God)", that is he who uses the taqiya most (*atḥākum = atḥarukum taqiyatan*); and it is also said: "The *kitmān* is our *djihād*", but at the same time the *djihād* chapters are to be read with the implied understanding that the fighting is primarily against other Muslims. It is also to be noted that the taqiya of the Shī'is is not a voluntary ideal (cf. Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-Djannāt*, Teherān 1306, iv. 66 sq.), but one should avoid a martyrdom that seems unnecessary and useless and preserve oneself for the faith and one's co-religionists.

Latterly the taqiya is based on the intention and so we continually find the appeal made to the niya in this connection. The validity of the profession of faith as an act of worship is not only settled by the correct formulation of the intention to do it, but this is the essential of it, so that it alone counts, if under compulsion a profession of unbelief is made with the lips or worship performed along with unbelievers. God's rights alone can be injured by the taqiya. He has the power to punish the constrainer, and only in certain circumstances will a slight portion of the punishment fall upon the constrained. The wiles used in this connection especially in oaths with mental reservations give however ample opportunities to injure one's fellow-creatures.

The moral dangers of taqiya are considerable, but it may be compared with similar phenomena in other religions and even among mystics. The ethical question whether such forced lies are not still lies, such a forced denial of the faith not still a denial, is not put at all by the one "who conceals himself", as he is not in a state of confidence which would be broken by lies or denial.

Bibliography: Goldziher, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lx. (1906), p. 213—226, where further references are given. — Sunnis: Bukhārī, *K. al-Ikrāh*; al-Ḳudūrī, *Mukhtaṣar*, Kāsan 1880, p. 162; al-Nawawī, *Minḥādī al-Ṭālibin*, ed. van den Berg, Batavia 1882—1884, ii. 433. — Kharijīs: al-Basīwī, *Mukhtaṣar*, Zanzibar 1304, p. 123; Djumayil b. Khamis, *Kāmas al-Sharī'a*, Zanzibar 1297—1304, xiii. 127 sqq., 157. — Zaidīs: Mss. Berlin 9665, fol. 35^a; 4878, fol. 96^b; C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, s. Index; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, p. 90 sqq. — Imāmis: Dja'far b. Ḥusain al-Hillī, *Sharā'i' al-Islām*, St. Petersburg 1862, p. 149 sqq.; Ibn al-Mutahhar al-'Allāma al-Hillī, *Mukhtalaf al-Shī'a*, Teheran 1323 sqq., ii. 158 sq.; Horovitz, in *Isl.*, iii. 63—67. — Druses: Manuscr. Berlin, Mq 814 (not in Ahlwardt), fol. 11^b; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faisal fi 'l-Milal*, Cairo 1317, iii. 112 sqq.; iv. 6; al-Sha'rānī, *Balance de la loi*

musulmane, ed. Perron, Algiers 1898, p. 456 sq. — Modern general survey of the question: Maḥmūd Shukrī Ālūsī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tuḥfa al-Iḥnā 'ashariya*, Baghdād 1301, p. 188—194. (R. STROTHMANN)

TAKLID (A.), "to hang something around the neck or on the shoulders", used as a technical term in the following three meanings:

1. *Taklīd* is the name of the custom originating in Arab paganism and surviving in the ancient practice of Islām and in Fikh, of hanging certain objects around the neck of the animals to be slain (*hady*) as a sacrifice in the sacred territory of Mecca (*ḥaram*) (as *ḥilāda*, plur. *ḥalā'id*). The *ḥalā'id* are mentioned along with the *hady* in Ḳur'ān v. 2 and 98 among the customs of the pilgrimage instituted by Allāh. The object of this rite was, along with the *ishkār* (branding by an incision in the skin), to mark the animal for sacrifice in the *ḥaram* and to give it a kind of *iḥrām* [q. v.] which may be supposed to be analogous to that of the pilgrim. Connected with this, although not identical, is the custom of the pilgrim having round his neck and that of his steed on the return journey from Mecca the bark of certain plants, which is also called *ḥilāda* (an isolated form of the tradition regarding it gives this for the journey thither and mentions hair as the necklet for the return journey); this custom is still found in Islām but is usually opposed or ignored in the Fikh. The *ḥilāda* on the sacrificial animal is quite unlike this, for it consists of one or both shoes of the pilgrim or in default of them of a piece of leather; the animal so marked goes through all the essential ceremonies of the *Ḥadjj* along with the pilgrims including the sojourn in 'Arafa and is slain in Minā. One tradition records this with all details of the Prophet; although it is quite possible that Muḥammad did do so, the tradition as well as those still to be mentioned can at most only be regarded as evidence of the practice of early Islām. The latter was not unanimous as to what consequences the sending of a sacrificial animal to Mecca and its taklīd, without the person concerned at the same time performing the *ḥadjj*, had for him, a practice which may be specifically Muslim and foreign to Arab paganism. There is a group of traditions which — usually claiming to be based on a corresponding practice of the Prophet — impose upon the sender the obligations of the *iḥrām* from the time of the assumption of the *taklīd* by himself or down to the time of slaying the animal, but the traditions are far more numerous which — some with an obvious polemical intention — say that the Prophet did not assume the *iḥrām* in this case (thus the superscription and the bias of the tradition in al-Bukhārī, *Aḍā'i*, bāb 15, is strongly against the practice of observing the *iḥrām*, the existence of which term is quite evident from the text of the tradition); finally there is also an intermediate ḥadīth which leaves the assumption of the *iḥrām* to the choice of the individual (al-Nasā'ī, *Ḥadjj*, bāb 70). In the fully developed *fikh* there is no longer any place for this *iḥrām* and it is ignored (al-Shāfi' simply rejects it without troubling to refute it: *Kisāb al-Amm*, ii. 183); it must have dropped out of use quite early; besides 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās who — without historical authority — appears as the great authority for the assumption of this *iḥrām*, 'Umar and 'Alī, also wrongly given in

this connection, and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar who is also quoted in support of the opposite view, this opinion is only ascribed to ʿKais b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Aṭā' and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn; the brief reference to "others" does not mean much. In Saīd b. al-Musaiyib we have the essential alleviation but it still retains a main feature of the *iḥrām*, that one thing only, sexual intercourse, is forbidden on the Friday night. A further proof of the close connection between *iḥrām* and *taḥlīd* is the view reported of Sufyān al-Thawrī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Ishāḳ and others, that the pilgrim to Mecca becomes *muḥrim* by putting on the *taḥlīd* alone, and the allied view that the *taḥlīd* put on by a pilgrim binds him to adopt the *iḥrām*; Mālik b. Anas says that it is at least undesirable for the Mecca pilgrim to separate the *taḥlīd* from the assumption of the *iḥrām*. The *Fīḥ* regards the hanging on of a *ḥilāda* (two sandals, one sandal or a piece of leather) as desirable (*mustaḥabb*) in the case of camels or cattle or according to the Shāfi'is, Ḥanbalis and Abū Thawr and Dāwūd in the case of smaller beasts also; of the Ḥanafis and Mālikis who do not allow it, the Mālikis entirely refuse to allow small animals to be used for sacrifices (*ḥady*). After the animal is slaughtered the *ḥilāda* is dipped in its blood. When the pilgrims no longer brought the sacrificial animals with them from home and the market for them was instituted in Minā, the *taḥlīd* fell with oblivion.

In conclusion, we may note that a leather neck band, also called *ḥilāda*, on the camel to avert the evil eye, especially if a bell hang from it, is suggested in one tradition.

Bibliography: Lane, *Arab.-Engl. Lexicon*, s. v.; for the traditions: Wessink, *Handbook*, s. v. Victims; Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatta'* in both recensions; al-Zurkāni, *Kommentar zum al-Muwatta'* and al-Taḥāwī, *Sharḥ Ma'āni al-Āthār*, lithogr. 1300, i. 439; the *Fīḥ*-works; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, p. 279—285 (a very thorough treatment of the custom in paganism and Islām, although differing in minor points from the sketch given above).

2. *Taḥlīd* also means installation in a military office, which was done by girding on a sword; it then comes to mean investiture with any administrative office, including that of *ḥāḍi*.

Bibliography: Lane, *Arab.-Engl. Lexicon*, s. v.; Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms (Bibliotheca Indica)*, p. 1178.

3. *Taḥlīd* lastly means "clothing with authority" in matters of religion; the adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating reasons (the derivation of the technical use from *ḥilāda* is wrong). In this sense *taḥlīd* is the opposite of *idjtihād* [q. v.]. The historical beginnings of the *taḥlīd* coincide with the formation of the juristic *Madhāhib* (cf. *MADHĤAB*), which in part at least arose through adhesion to particularly notable jurists. Al-Shāfi'ī in his *Risāla*, 8, 18, uses the word in a sense very close to the later technical use, but al-Taḥāwī still uses it of the recognition of traditions or their use for the deduction of precepts of *fīḥ*. When definite conceptions had been formed recognising the *muḍjtahid* i. e. the person qualified for independent derivation of *fīḥ* rules from the sources, and at the same time the

conviction of the cessation of unlimited *idjtihād* from the third century on, and of the other kinds of *idjtihād* correspondingly later, all later scholars or laymen were at once bound to acknowledge *taḥlīd* as regards earlier authorities. According to the general orthodox Muslim view, everyone is now and has been for centuries bound to what has been authoritatively laid down by his predecessor, no one may any longer consider himself qualified to give a verdict of his own in the field of *fīḥ*, independent of that of the earlier *muḍjtahid*. All later persons are called *muḥallid*s i. e. those who have to exercise *taḥlīd*. This obligation to *taḥlīd* is defended by saying that the *fakīhs* only in the early centuries of Islām had possessed the real perspicuity and sufficient learning to deduce *fīḥ* from sources and to form an opinion of their own about it, while this was quite beyond the powers of later generations, a view which is only a part of certain aspects of the history of the philosophy in orthodox Islām.

The *taḥlīd* has contributed to maintain the differences between the separate *madhāhib* but is not to be held responsible for the deadening of the stimulus to the development of *fīḥ* in later times.

While it is the unanimous view that the layman as well as the scholar is bound to *taḥlīd*, it is occasionally demanded of the scholar that he should be aware of the correctness of the *idjtihād* of his *muḍjtahid*. If there are several *muḍjtahids*, as is actually the case, the *muḥallid* may follow any one of these he pleases (presuming of course that he remains within the bounds of the *idjmā'* i. e. does not choose a *muḍjtahid* whose teachings are no longer recognised by the *idjmā'*; the obligation to *taḥlīd* is also based on the *idjmā'*); according to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Ibn Shuraiḥ, he has to decide to whom the preference is to be given and to follow him (this divergence of opinion is really confined to terminology). In theory the *muḥallid* can make a new choice of a *muḍjtahid* with each question that arises for him, but in practice he usually joins once and for all the *madhhab* of one of the four recognised *muḍjtahids*. There are a fair number of cases of transference from one *madhhab* to another (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, p. 25; 2nd ed., p. 48—50); opinions are divided as to whether such a transfer is admissible in theory (cf. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 3rd ed., p. 22). It very often happens that on a particular question the more convenient rules of another *madhhab* are followed; the *fīḥ* books themselves occasionally hint at the possibility of *taḥlīd*, but in such a case it is demanded that the business should be carried through to its conclusion, in keeping with the laws of the particular *madhhab* once it has been chosen.

This all holds of *taḥlīd* in questions of *fīḥ*; with regard to the *ʿakliyyāt*, the fundamental questions of dogma, e. g. the existence of Allāh, besides the opinion that *taḥlīd* is obligatory or that it is admissible, we also have the view that it is inadmissible, as on these questions knowledge is demanded which cannot be obtained by *taḥlīd* alone. It was the school of the Ash'aris which gave this originally Mu'tazilī view wide dissemination in Islām (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 123 and 136, note 10; 2nd edition, p. 121 sq. and 327, note 72).

The principle of *taḥlīd* in law has not been enforced in orthodox Islām without opposition; even

in later generations there have been scholars who held that there must always be a *muḍjtahid*, like Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (d. 702 = 1302) or al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 = 1505) or some who were inclined to claim for themselves unlimited *idjtihād*, like al-Djuwainī (d. 478 = 1085) and the already mentioned al-Suyūṭī, and even some who held that *idjtihād* was obligatory for later scholars and condemned the system of *taḳlīd*, like Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, Ibn Ḥazm and other authorities of the Zāhirīs, and some Ḥanbalīs like Ibn Taimiyya and Ibn ʿAlī al-Djawziyya, who are already on the border of orthodoxy. The Wahhābīs, whose views go back to these Ḥanbalīs, beginning with their founder Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb reject *taḳlīd* (cf. the Ḥanbalī-Wahhābī works and propagandist pamphlets printed at the Manār press in Cairo and ʿI-Shawḳānī's brochure entitled *al-Ḳawāl al-miʿfīd fī Adillat al-Idjtihād wa 'l-Taḳlīd*, which deals particularly with the *idjtihād-taḳlīd* question). Like the Ḥanbalīs, their extreme opposites, the modernists in Islām, for whom the Ḥanbalīs, it is true, paved the way, reject *taḳlīd* and demand and exercise a new *idjtihād* which in its lack of restrictions far surpasses even the most liberal of the early period of legal development (cf. Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islam*, and the writings of the different modernist schools, some of the most important of which are quoted in the article *SHARʿA*). For reasons similar to those of the Ḥanbalī-Wahhābīs the Ibādīs also rejected *taḳlīd*. Lastly the Shīʿīs reject the orthodox doctrine of *taḳlīd*; according to the Twelvers, during the period when the "hidden Imām" is concealed, there are *muḍjtahids* who have to guide the faithful as his agents; as these have thus living teachers always in view in religious matters, *taḳlīd* towards a dead man is forbidden (cf. C. Frank, in *Islamica*, ii, 171 sqq.).

Bibliography: in addition to the works quoted above: Lane, *Arab.-Engl. Lexicon*, s. v. and Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms* (Bibliotheca Indica), p. 1178 (not wholly reliable); on the terminology; the *Uṣūl*-works; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 3rd ed., p. 23 sqq. and note 13; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, passim. (J. SCHACHT)

TAKLĪF is imposing a requisition or constraint upon any one; it requires an action in which there is difficulty and trouble (Lane, *Suppl.*, p. 3002c; *Lisān*, xi, 218: *amarahu bi-mā yashukku ʿalaihi*). The verb is used in several forms seven times in the *Qurʾān* (ii, 233, 286; iv, 86; vi, 153; vii, 40; xxiii, 64; lxxv, 7) to express that Allāh does not require of any one what is beyond his capacity (*wusʿ*). Technically it means the necessity which lies on the creatures of Allāh to believe and act as He has revealed to them. It is therefore defined legally by the majority of canonists as the requiring (*ilsām*) of an action in which is difficulty and trouble. On this definition, it applies only to things necessarily required and to things forbidden (*al-wāḍjīb*, *al-ḥarām*). But some canonists define it as an assertion of a belief that the action is one of the legal rulings (*al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyya*). On this definition, *taḳlīf* applies also to the recommended (*al-mandūb*), the disliked (*al-makrūh*) and the permitted (*al-mubāḥ*). Further, there is dispute as to who is *mukallaf*, i. e. under this divine requirement. It is accepted that every sane, human adult (*ʿāqil*, *insā*, *bāligh*) is thus *mukallaf* (Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 69). But the *djinn* are also under this *taḳlīf* so far as

the prophetship of Muḥammad is concerned; he was sent to the *djinn* and the other prophets were not. Similarly of the angels, although this applies only to their acts of obedience, as faith (*īmān*) exists of necessity (*ḍarūri*) in them. Yet some assert that as their created nature is obedience, the prophetic mission of Muḥammad to them was only to glorify them (*li-tashrifihim*; cf. al-Baiḍjūrī on the *Kifāya* of al-Faḍālī, ed. Cairo 1315, p. 13). Some further extend this *taḳlīf* of the prophetic mission of Muḥammad even to inanimate things (*al-djumādāt*), on the ground that in some of the miracles (*muʿdʿjizāt*) of Muḥammad reason was created in some inanimate things to the point that these believed in him. Another matter of controversy as to *taḳlīf* is the allowability of Allāh's requiring of a creature that which the creature has not power to do (*taḳlīf mā lā yuṣāḳ*). The Māturīdites asserted, in the language of the *Qurʾān* as above, that the creature is not required to do what is not in his capacity (*mā laisa fī wuṣʿihi*; *ʿAḳāʿid* of al-Nasafī, ed. Cairo 1321 with commentary of al-Taftāzānī, p. 103). Al-Idjī in his *Mawāḳif* (ed. Bulāḳ 1266, p. 535 middle, 537 middle), as an Ashʿarite, brings the question back under the general ruling that Allāh's will and action cannot be limited in any way; nothing is incumbent upon him and nothing is evil that proceeds from him. It is a general agreement of the Muslim people (*al-Umma*) that Allāh does not do an evil thing (*ḥabīḥ*) and does not leave undone a necessary thing (*wāḍjīb*). He adds that the Ashʿarites put it that the *ḥabīḥ* and the *wāḍjīb* have no relationship to Allāh at all, while the Muʿtazilites hold that what would be *ḥabīḥ* from Him he does not do and what is incumbent on Him he does. See, further, in the passages cited above, long scholastic discussions of these points by al-Taftāzānī and al-Idjī.

Bibliography: Add to passages cited above the general discussion in *Dictionary of technical terms*, under "Taklif", p. 1255.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

TĀKORONNĀ, a name given in Muslim Spain to the mountain massif of the south of Andalusia, now called *Serranía de Ronda*. This is undoubtedly a double of the Berber word which is frequently found in North African names, *tākrūna*. Different writers have given different vocalisations of Tākoronnā: they may be found collected with references in a valuable note by W. Marçais and Abderrahmān Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takrouna* [in Tunisia], i, Paris 1925, p. viii, note 1. Cf. also Yāḳūt, *Muʿdʿjām*, s. v. *SHIRĀZ*; Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl, *al-Ṣila*, ed. Codera, *B. A. H.*, p. 185 and 302; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿtār*, s. v. — Dozy, after thinking of explaining this name by a combination of the Berber prefix *tā-* and the Latin *corona*, wisely abandoned this etymology, which could hardly be defended (*Hist. des Mus. d'Esp.*, i, p. 343, note 2, and iv., p. 339; cf. also *Recherches*³, ii, 43, note 1). In any case, according to the same authorities none of the proposed etymologies is satisfactory.

The capital of the district of Tākoronnā, later the capital of the little independent kingdom of the Banū Ifrān till its annexation to the kingdom of Seville, was Ronda; cf. the article Ronda for a resumé of the history of the region during the Muslim occupation.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAKRĪT (popular pronunciation TIKRĪT, cf. Yākūt), a town on the right bank of the Tigris to the north of Sāmarrā (according to Streck the distance is a day's journey) and at the foot of the range of the Djabal Ḥamrīn. Geographically this is the northern frontier district of the 'Irāk. The land is still somewhat undulating; the old town was built on a group of hills, on one of which beside the river, stands the modern town. To the north is a sandstone cliff 200 feet above the level of the river, on which still stand the ruins of the old citadel. The traces of the old town stretch to the west of these two hills in a large circle, which shows that Takrit was once of considerable extent.

It has been suggested that the name may be recognised in a tablet of the time of Nebuchadnezzar (Strassmeyer, quoted by Streck, ii., p. xiii.) but the first certain mention is that of Ptolemy (v. 18, 19) who calls it BIRTHA (Yākūt, i. 861, in giving the latitude and longitude also refers to Ptolemy). Ammianus Marcellinus calls it VIRTĀ. Indeed the hill of the citadel is still known as BURTHA. In Syriac literature the town is called TEGHRITH. From the fourth century it was the see of a Jacobite bishop until, in 1155, the diocese was combined with that of al-Mawṣil (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, i. 174, 465). The Arab writers attribute its foundation to the Sāsānian king Sābūr, son of Ardāshīr; the town is said to have been called after a Christian woman named Takrit bint Wā'il; several legends are connected with its foundation (Yākūt, *loc. cit.*; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḥwīm al-Buldān*, ii. 288). Before Islām the town was temporarily occupied by the Arab Christian tribe of the Iyād (al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, i. 46); they were driven from it, but the Iyād remained for a long time afterwards in the neighbourhood (Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, p. 180) and in the period of the conquest the soldiers of the Iyād in the garrison of Takrit secretly assisted the Arabs [cf. IVĀD]. The first Muslim capture of the town seems to have been effected in the year 16 by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'tam who was sent out by Sa'd b. Abi Waḥḥās. Then in 20 A.H., the town again surrendered by agreement; tradition ascribes this second occupation to al-Nusair b. Daisam or to his deputy 'Ukba b. Furḡad or to Mas'ūd b. Ḥurath b. al-Abdjar. The last named was the first governor and built the djamī' mosque there (Yākūt, *loc. cit.*; al-Balādhurī, p. 248—249).

Down to the middle of the tenth century, the Arab geographers reckoned Takrit as belonging administratively to al-Djazīra (Ibn Khordādhbeh, p. 94; Ibn Rusta, p. 106; Ibn al-Faḥīh, p. 129; Kudāma, p. 245, 250; Istakhrī, p. 72, 77; Ibn Hawkal, p. 156; Mas'ūdi, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, p. 36), but from the time of al-Maḥdīsī (p. 54, 115) the town is more often regarded as belonging to the 'Irāk (excepting by Idrīsī and Dimashī). In the early centuries of Islām the town was almost exclusively Christian. Ibn Ḥawkal and Mas'ūdi (*op. cit.*, p. 155) mention the al-Khaḍra' church there, and there is still a ruin of this name in the south of the town. There were also other Christian buildings (like the monastery of Sa'āba on the opposite bank [Yākūt, ii. 673] and the Dair Mār Yuhannā, Yākūt, ii. 701). The name of the great Muslim sanctuary al-Arba'in, a quarter of an hour west of the old town, seems to indicate that it was formerly the site of a Christian building. Two

vaulted chambers decorated with stucco are still standing; the building goes back to the xiiith century. Takrit was celebrated for its manufactures of woollen goods (Maḥdīsī). In the xiiith and xivth centuries it is described as a large town (Ibn Djubair, p. 223; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 133). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī says it is a town of average size. Idrīsī (transl. Jaubert, ii. 147) mentions the al-Dudjail canal which ran from the Tigris near Takrit and went on to Baghdād; this is probably identical with the Nahr al-Ishāḳī, dug, according to Abu 'l-Fidā', in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihan-numā*, p. 434). Traces of this canal, which according to Ewliyā Ćelebi was cleaned out by Murtaḍā Pasha in 1654 (quoted by von Hammer, *Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1821, vol. xiii. 235), are still visible.

Takrit never played an important part in history. In the eleventh century it belonged to almost independent lords until the Salḍjūk Tuḡhrīl Beg took advantage of the death of its lord to seize it (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 448). From 1149 the town was part of the territory of the Begteḡīnids and in 1190 it passed to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs. It was the birth-place of Saladin, whose father Naḍīm al-Dīn Aiyūb had been appointed commandant of the town under the Salḍjūks. When the conqueror Timūr took it, it was in the possession of Arab brigands (Sharaf al-Dīn, transl. Pétis de la Croix, ii. 141—154). In the following centuries it remained a small place; Christians are mentioned in it for the last time by Tavernier (*Voyages*, ii. 87). Under Turkish rule, Takrit was a *sandjak* in the *eyālet* of Raḡḡa (*Djihan-numā*, p. 434), but after the reforms of the xixth century it was reduced to a *nāhiya* of the *ḡadā* of Sāmarrā (in the *wilāyat* of Baghdād). In the xixth century the population was probably never more than 4,000—5,000 souls. All travellers have been poorly impressed by it; the majority of the inhabitants of the present day make their living by navigating keleks, which change crews there. From the archaeological point of view Takrit seems to be promising. Herzfeld found there pottery of an interesting type belonging to the Sāsānian period and to the early centuries of Islām.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

TAKRÜR, Tuculor (French Toucouleur), is the name given to the population of negro stock which inhabits the greater part of the lowlands of Senegalese Fūta and the larger part of Bundu. The first of these countries lying on either side of the river Senegal but more on the left bank, includes from west to east the provinces of Dimār, Tōro, Lāo, Yirlābe or Irlābe, Bōseya, Ngenār or Ganār and Damba. Bundu lies west of the lower Faleme. Tuculor colonies are also found in different parts of West Africa, especially at Kayes (on the upper Senegal), at Nyōro (in Sudanese Sahel), at Sēgu (on

the Niger), at Pandjagara (eastern Māsina), at Dingirai (east of Fūta Djallon); these colonies were founded in the middle of the xixth century by natives of Senegalese Fūta who had followed the fortunes of the conqueror al-Ḥāǧǧī 'Umar. They are also found between the Niger and Chad, particularly at Sokoto [q. v.]; these last are descended from other natives of Senegalese Fūta who had accompanied 'Uṯmān Fōǧjo on the conquest of the Hausa country at the beginning of the xixth century.

The word "Tuculor" is a slight corruption of the pronunciation among the Wolof of the Lower Congo of the name of the people in question. Among them the word assumes the form *Tokoror* or *Tokolor*. We find it in the narratives of the early travellers and on old maps with the spelling "Toucourol" or "Toucourogne". The Arabs wrote it *Takrūr* and have made the ethnic *Takrūrī* from it, plural *Takārīr*, which is applied by the Moors of the right bank of the Senegal to the Tuculors. It seems that at one time Tokoror or Takrūr was the name of a town near the river Senegal, as well as the name of the kingdom of which it was capital, which corresponded practically to Senegalese Fūta and lastly it was the name of the people of this kingdom. There is still a place called by this name (Tokoror) not far from Gede in the Tōro or district of Podōr near the arm of the Senegal which is called the "marigot de Doué"; this corresponds to the position assigned by al-Bakrī, Idrīsī and other Arab geographers of the middle ages to the town of Takrūr. In time Arab writers and following them the Sudanese chroniclers who wrote in Arabic extended the application of the word Takrūr to the whole of the Muslim Sūdān, from the Atlantic up to (but not including) the valley of the Nile and have made *Takrūrī* a synonym of Sudanese. This is why the European atlases have for long borne south of the Sahara, the inscription "Tekrur or Sudan". But this extension of the name is not in keeping with the facts, and Takrūr or Tokoror strictly means the true home of the Tuculors, i. e. Senegalese Fūta.

There is not absolute certainty about the origin of the present Tuculors, who seem to form a very mixed population. They are probably in part the descendants of the old autochthons of Senegalese Fūta, who are probably of the same stock as the Wolof and the Sērer; in part the descendants of the old negro autochthons of modern Mauritania and the Hodh (Ḥawḍ) who must have been of the same stock and migrated southwards when the southern Sahara began to dry up; partly the descendants of the Sarakolle (or Soninke) and of the Mandingoes (or Malinke) who came at a remote epoch and settled round the commercial centres of ancient Takrūr, and partly, descendants of negro serfs called Rimāibe, belonging to the Fula of Termes (in the N. E. of Nyōro) who came with their masters to Senegalese Fūta before the xixth century; these Fula remained shepherds and settled in the highlands, while their negro serfs devoted themselves to agriculture in the valley of the river.

Whatever may be the origin of the Tuculor, they cannot, as has been said, be regarded as Fula half-breeds. Of course such half-breeds are found among them but as a whole the Tuculors are negroes of pure stock. The only thing they have in common with the Fula is the language

which is clearly a negro idiom related to the Wolof and very closely to the Sērer, probably borrowed by the Fula from the old negro autochthons of Termes and the adjoining districts. The Tuculors give to the Fula dialect which they speak the name of *Pulār*, and sometimes describe themselves as *Hālpulāren*, i. e. those who speak Pulār. The Fula has certainly been the mother-tongue of the Tuculors for a long time, although we cannot tell whether they already spoke it before the arrival of the Fula in Senegalese Fūta. In any case we know from a reference in al-Bakrī that in the xixth century the hippopotamus was known by its Fula name (*ngābu*) to the people on the banks of the Senegal in the country of Fūta.

The Tuculors are in general agriculturists, but they have a natural fondness for fighting. In the xviiith century, they successfully resisted the domination of the Fula in Senegalese Fūta, who from 1559 to 1775 exercised supremacy there under the leadership of the *satigi* or *saltigi* or *sīlatigi* (the "siratiques" of the early travellers) belonging to the Fula dynasty of Denianke. At the later period they for long resisted the French conquest. They played a considerable part in 'Uṯmān Fōǧjo's conquests in the Hausa country in 1800 and in those of al-Ḥāǧǧī 'Umar in the Mandingo country, the Bambara lands and the Māsina, from 1848 to 1864, furnishing these conquerors, both natives of Tōro, with their best officers and finest troops. Since then they have enlisted in large numbers in the Senegal tirailleurs and have contributed to the black army of France a very large number of soldiers of great bravery and N. C. O.'s of a high order.

They include within their ranks professional castes which are perhaps of a different origin from the rest of the population, but are now at any rate completely incorporated with the rest and speak the same language. Such are for example the *Subalbe* (sg. *Tyuballo*) fishermen and sailors, the *Lawbe* (sg. *Labbo*) joiners and basket-makers, the *Burnābe* (sg. *Burnādyo*) potters, the *Wailube* (sg. *Bailo*) smiths, the *Walabbe* (sg. *Galābo*) shoemakers, the *Māzube* (sg. *Mābbo*) weavers, the *Wambābe* (sg. *Bambādyo*) musicians, the *Wawlube* (sg. *Gawlo*) bards or troubadours, the *Wosube* (sg. *Goso*) and the *Dyāwambe* (sg. *Dyāwando*) courtiers etc.

The Tuculors are all Muhammadans and were among the earliest peoples of the Sūdān to be converted to Islām. This religion penetrated to Senegalese Fūta towards the end of the first half of the xixth century, at the beginning of the Almoravid movement and under its influence. Al-Bakrī says that the first ruler of this region to embrace Islām and spread it around him was a certain Wār-Dyābī or Wār-Dyābē or a third form Wār-Ndyāī (the variants in the manuscripts give these different forms), who died in 1041—1042 A. D.; his son Lebbi in 1056 supplied a contingent to the Almoravid leader Yahyā b. 'Umar, of the Berber tribe of Lamtuna, in his war with the Berber tribe of the Goddāla. Local tradition on the other hand gives the name of the first to spread Islām in Senegalese Fūta as *Abū Dardai*, who is sometimes confused with *Ndyadyan-Ndyāi*, the missionary of Djolof. In any case the Tuculors have never ceased to profess Islām since their conversion. In the period of domination of the pagan Fula, religious was added to nationalist

sentiment to stimulate the Tukulors to cast off the yoke of the Denianke kings. Tuculor was synonymous with Muslim as Fula was with pagan.

It was the *Tōrodbe* section (sg. *Tōrōdo*) among the Tukulors that always showed itself the most devoted and ardent Muslims. Sulaimān Bāl, who succeeded in casting off the suzerainty of the Fula kings, and in establishing in Senegalese Fūta in 1775—1776 shortly before his death, a Tuculor theocratic monarchy, belonged to this section. 'Uthmān Fōdjo and al-Ḥādjīdj 'Umar were also Tōrodbe.

Politically Takrūr or Senegalese Fūta has successively consisted of: 1, a series of provinces more or less independent of one another (before the ninth century of our era); 2, a kind of kingdom ruled by princes who came from Hodh (Hawḍ) via Tagant and were known as Dyā'ōgo (ixth—xixth century); 3, a more or less direct dependency of the Sarakolle kingdom of Dyāra (Sāḥel) under the government of Tuculor princes or Sarakolle governors (xixth—xiiith centuries; this is the period of the Fula immigrations from Termes and the conversion of the Tukulors to Islām); 4, a dependency of the same Sarakolle kingdom, which was now in turn a vassal of the Mali or Mandingo empire (xiii—xvth century); 5, still a dependency of this same kingdom, but the latter was now under the suzerainty of the empire of Gao or of the Songoi (beginning of the xvth century to 1558); 6, an independent kingdom ruled by the Fūla dynasty of Denianke who were pagans, i.e. Koli Tengella and his successors (1559—1775); 7, an independent theocratic Muslim federation, the power being in the hands of Tukulors (1776—1858); 8, a series of Tuculor principalities separated from one another and gradually coming under French protectorate (1858—1890); 9, a series of provinces annexed to the colony of Senegal (1890 onwards).

The theocratic Tuculor state of Senegalese Fūta, founded in 1776, was ruled by a chief of a religious character, called *almāmi* (from the Arabic *al-imām*), elected by the notables and frequently destined by them to a very brief reign. The first almāmi of Fūta was 'Abd al-Kādir (1776—1805). He had 33 successors, some of whom had several reigns, like Yūsufu who had nine. The almāmi Muḥammadu Birān, elected for the first time in July 1841 signed a treaty of friendship with France on Oct. 7 of the same year. In the reign of Sībawaihi (1854—1856) a fort was built at Podōr in Tōro by the governor of Senegal, Faidherbe, who now set himself the task of leading the separate provinces of Fūta to leave the confederation and acknowledge French suzerainty. Under the almāmi Muṣṭafā (1858—1859), the French protectorate was accepted by the Dimār who became independent of Fūta. In 1859 the almāmi Muḥammadu Birān, who was then reigning for the fifth time, abandoned his rights over Tōro and Damga, which were next year placed under French protectorate and the confederation of Fūta now comprised only the Lāo, Yirlābe, Bōseyā and Ngenār. On Oct. 24 1877, the almāmi Muḥammadu Aḥmadu ceded to France the provinces of Lāo and Yirlābe and finally in 1881, the governor Brière de l'Isle obtained from the almāmi Sire Bāba Lih, the recognition of French suzerainty over what remained of the Fūta federation: the Bōseyā and Ngenār. This was the last almāmi. He died in 1890 and on his death the seven provinces which had composed

the Tuculor state of Senegalese Fūta were annexed to the French colony of Senegal.

The Tukulors of Bundu had formed in their country a similar state, which made an alliance with France in the middle of the sixth century. The almāmi Būbakar Sa'ada who was then reigning in Bundu vigorously supported the governor Faidherbe in his struggle against al-Ḥādjīdj 'Umar especially in 1857 and 1859.

It was in 1801 that a Tuculor, a native of Tōro, 'Uthmān, son of a certain Muḥammadu called Fōdjo, i.e. the "learned", having raised an army among his compatriots of Senegalese Fūta and strengthening it with soldiers recruited in Māsīna, Liptāko and Songoi, taking as an excuse the exactions of the king of the province of which the shepherds of Göber had complained, preached a holy war against the Hausa, seized Tesāwa, capital of Göber, then Sokoto, Katsēna, Zinder, Kāno, Zaria and other Hausa towns and founded between the Niger and Chad an empire the capital of which he made at Wurno, near Sokoto, and whose boundaries he extended to Nupe in the southwest and Adamāwa in the southeast. He even invaded Bornu but was driven out again by the celebrated Kānemī, in 1810. He died in 1815 as a result of a kind of fit of mystic mania. His brother 'Abdullāhi assumed the government of the western part of the empire with Gando as capital, and his son Muḥammadu Bello, that of the central part, called the kingdom of Sokoto; as to Adamāwa, it became practically independent. Muḥammadu Bello, who reigned from 1815 to 1837, had to fight against the greater part of his subjects who rebelled against Tuculor domination and returned to paganism; he had also to fight against Bornu. He was a notable scholar and wrote in Arabic a number of historical and religious works. In 1828 he received with consideration the explorer Clapperton. He was succeeded by his brother 'Āṭiku (1837—1843) who was distinguished by his rigid puritanism and forbade dancing and music in his kingdom. 'Alī (1843—1855) who received Barth was the son of Muḥammadu Bello; he allowed the royal power to slip from his hands into those of the governors of the various provinces, and the five last Tuculor kings of Sokoto never succeeded in recovering it: Aḥmadu (1855—1866), 'Aliyun Karami (1866—1867), Aḥmadu, second of the name (1867—1872), Abūbakari (1872—1877) and Moyāsu (1877—1904). The last named offered no resistance to the British troops under Sir Frederick Lugard who occupied Sokoto in 1904 and put an end to Tuculor rule in the Hausa country by re-establishing the authority of the native princes.

The other Tuculor empire of the sixth century founded by al-Ḥādjīdj 'Umar had a shorter duration. Born at Alo'ār, in Tōro about 1797, 'Umar Tal in 1820 went to Mecca where he performed the rites of the pilgrimage and acquired the title of *al-Ḥādjīdjī* (the pilgrim) and received investiture as *khalīfa* for the Sūdān of the Tidjāniya brotherhood. On his return he spent a considerable time in Sokoto with his compatriot Muḥammadu Bello, who gave him a daughter in marriage. In 1838 he established himself in Fūta Djallon, then in view of the hostility of the chiefs of this region took up his residence in the south of the Mandingo country at Dingirai where he built a fortress and raised an army, the principal con-

tingents of which he brought from Senegalese Futa. Preaching the holy war against the infidels, he conquered Mandingo and Bambuk, marched against the Bambara and Kaarta, destroyed their kingdom and victoriously entered Nyōro in 1854. Then turning against Khāso, which had placed itself under French protection and had a French post established at Medina, the capital, by the governor Faidherbe, he laid siege in 1857 to the capital and the French garrison. Paul Holle who commanded the fort of Medina with a handful of men held out for three months. Just when, having neither food nor ammunition left, Paul Holle was going to blow up the fort with its defenders, Faidherbe, who had been waiting for the waters of the Senegal to fall, appeared with his troops before Medina, and routed the army of al-Ḥādīdj Umar. The latter went to Bundu where he had to fight the almāmi Būbakar Sa'ada, then went to Senegalese Futa, a part of whose population he forced to follow him to Nyōro. Having thus reconstituted his army, he marched against the Bambara of Sēgu and took this town in 1861. He then turned his attention to the Fula of Māsina, who although Muslims had assisted the pagan Bambara, took their capital Ḥamdallāhi and seized their king Aḥmadu-Aḥmadu, whom he beheaded in 1862. He then proceeded to sack Timbuktu, after which besieged by the rebel Fula he was brought to bay in a cave, where he was smoked to death in 1864.

One of his sons, Aḥmadu, whom he had left in Sēgu wished to succeed him, but he found rivals in his brothers and other relations installed at Dingirai, Nyōro and Bandyagāra (Māsina). The empire founded by his father was divided into four kingdoms, all at variance with one another. Aḥmadu tried to get rid of his brothers and of several of his brother's lieutenants by having them assassinated but he did not succeed either in gaining absolute power or in putting down the continual rebellions which his cruelty and cupidity provoked among the Bambara and Fula. After professing a desire to negotiate with France, he committed acts of deliberate hostility and the French authorities decided to put an end to a tyranny which all the natives hated. Agibu, brother of Aḥmadu and king of Dingirai, had joined the French. Colonel (later General) Archinard took Sēgu on 6th April 1890, Nyōro on Jan. 1, 1891 and Bandyagāra on April 26, 1893, thus destroying the Tuculor empire of the Western Sūdān and putting to flight Aḥmadu; he sought refuge with Moyasu, king of Sokoto and died in Hausaland in 1898.

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(M. DELAFOSSE)

ṬALĀʾIF. B. RUZZĪK AL-MALĪK AL-ŠALĪḤ, Fāṭimid wazīr (495—556 = 1101—1161). The events immediately attendant on the treacherous murder of the 12th Fāṭimid caliph al-Zāfir (1154) called him forth, at the request of the ladies of the royal household, from his governorship at Ushmūnain to play the rôle of strong man essential in the circumstances. Success crowned his march on Cairo with his followers from Upper Egypt. Then, following the deposition of 'Abbās, he was appointed wazīr to the child caliph al-Fā'iz in 549 (1154) with the title of *al-Šalīḥ bi 'llāh*. His traitorous predecessor in office, 'Abbās, had fled with his wealth to Palestine and had there fallen into the hands of the Crusaders. Ṭalāʾif treated with the latter for the surrender of their prisoner, paying it is said about 10,000 dinārs (Ibn Iyās, i. 66). The exchange was affected and 'Abbās and his son Naṣr were cruelly tortured and crucified in Cairo. Ṭalāʾif, as might have been expected of such a general, maintained a rigorous control of affairs. In his leisure hours he manifested a penchant for versification, which even obtruded itself in the style of his military despatches. Specimens of his poetry are quoted by Ibn Khallikān (i. 658). He seems to have been a liberal patron of Art and Letters, although he was not above grinding the peasantry with his taxes. The ruins of the mosque which he built may still be seen near the Bāb al-Zawila in Cairo, bearing witness to his zeal for the faith. He was ever a strong supporter of the Ismaʿīlians. On the death of the little caliph in his eleventh year (1160), and the accession of another child, his cousin al-ʿAdīd, the last of the Fāṭimids, Ṭalāʾif continued as wazīr and married his daughter to the caliph. Although virtually ruler of the country, it was only a question of time before his political enemies undermined his power. The restrictions he put on the royal ḥarem, for one thing, earned for him the hatred of the caliph's aunt, whose intrigues led to the wazīr's assassination. Even as he lay dying his dominating spirit manifested itself in his ordering the lady to be put to death before his eyes. His death took place on the 19th Ramaḍān 556 (Sept. 1161). He was ultimately buried in the cemetery of the Karāfa. There is a story in Abu Šālīḥ's Chronicle (fol. 89^b) that an aged Christian monk in Upper Egypt had foretold to Ṭalāʾif, when he was still a provincial governor, that he would attain the highest rank in the state. When the prophecy was fulfilled the wazīr is said to have made a grant of land to the monastery. Whatever else he may have been, he was certainly a valiant warrior. He did his utmost by diplomacy, bribery and attack to drive the Crusaders from Palestine, but without success, chiefly due to the collapse of his negotiations with the orthodox Muslim ruler of Damascus. With his dying breath he is said to have regretted his failure to re-capture Jerusalem from the Franks. Amalric is said to have invaded Egypt during his wazirate.

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index; Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, i. 66—67; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 294; H. Derenbourg, *Oumāra du Yemen*, index; do., *Vie d'Ousāma*, p. 177; Kay, *Omārah's Hist. of Yaman*, vi. 78; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍirah*, Cairo 1327, ii. 17; S. Lane-Poole, *Egypt in the Middle Ages*, index; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen*, index; W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, p. 186. (J. WALKER)

ṬALĀḲ (A.), repudiation of a wife by a husband, a form of divorce, effected by his pronouncing the words *anti ṭaliḳ*. The root idea of the verb *ṭalaka* is: to be freed from a tether etc. (of a camel), to be repudiated by a man (of a wife; in this sense also *ṭaluḳa*), hence *ṭallaka*, to release (a camel) from a tether, to repudiate (a wife); *ṭaliḳ* means a camel untethered or a woman repudiated by a man (cf. Lane, *Arab. Eyl. Lexicon* s. v.).

I. The right to a one-sided dissolution of a marriage belonged to the man exclusively, among the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs. Long before Muḥammad this *ṭalāk* was in general use among the Arabs and meant the immediate definite abandonment by the man of all rights over his wife, which he could insist upon as a result of his marriage. Cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *De mohammedaansche bruidsgave* (Diss. Leyden), p. 42—64, who corrects the view held by W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 2nd ed., p. 112 sqq. and J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern* (*Nachrichten v. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Göttingen 1893), p. 452 sqq.

II. The Qur'ān lays down regulations which go into the *ṭalāk* with comparative thoroughness. From their fullness, and still more from the many admonitions to observe them exactly, it is evident that Muḥammad was here introducing new rules which had been previously quite unknown to his contemporaries. Muḥammad found particularly repulsive the apparently not uncommon exploitation in his milieu of the wife by the *walī* as well as by the husband, which took place especially in connection with the *ṭalāk*. The first Muslim regulation about the *ṭalāk* seems to be the prohibition to use it for extortions from the woman: Sūra iv. 24 (of the years 3—5, on the whole chronology, which is here given in further detail, cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*; the preceding verse 23 is directed against encroachments by the relatives of the deceased and by the *walī*): "If ye be desirous of exchanging one wife for another and have given one of them a certain sum (as *mahr*, or bridal gift) make no deduction from it; would ye take it by manifest slander and sin? (25) How could ye take it when ye have had intercourse together and they (the wives) have received a binding promise from you?" (Here Muḥammad recognises the *ṭalāk* as such as legitimate). The next passage which deals with the *ṭalāk* introduces an important innovation by the Prophet, namely the period of waiting (*'idda*), which is on the one hand intended to leave no doubt about the real paternity of a child born from the divorced woman and on the other to give the man an opportunity of atoning for a too hurried pronouncement of the *ṭalāk* by withdrawing it; thus it is laid down in Sūra ii. 228: "The women who have been given the *ṭalāk* shall wait three *ḳurū'* (this expression which is variously explained means in any case phenomena connected with menstruation); it is not permitted to them to conceal what

Allāh creates in their bodies, if they believe in Allāh and the last day; their husbands have the full right to take them back during this period, if they desire to make atonement; they have to demand the same good treatment to which they were bound but the men are a step above them; and Allāh is powerful and wise" (the man is here given the right to take back the wife during the period of waiting even against her will). But this right now given to the man for the first time was very soon abused; the wife was taken back near the end of the period of waiting and a new *ṭalāk* at once pronounced over her so that she was permanently in a state of waiting, in order to induce her to purchase her freedom by giving back the *mahr* or making some other financial sacrifice; verse 229 was therefore revealed. "If the man has twice pronounced the *ṭalāk*, he may still keep his wife if he treat her kindly or let her go in a seemly fashion; it is not permitted to you to take away anything of what ye have given them.... (in an interpolation the *ḳhul'*, the amicable purchase of her freedom by the woman in contrast to the extortions condemned above, is declared permitted). 230 If he pronounces the *ṭalāk* over her for the third time, it is not permitted for him to take her again unless she has married another husband; if the latter pronounce the *ṭalāk* over her, it is no sin for the two to return to one another if they think they can observe Allāh's commands; these are the commands of Allāh which make clear to those who have knowledge" (it is probable that the second part of verse 230 was induced by a concrete case in which a thrice divorced woman who had married another husband and received the *ṭalāk* from him also, desired to marry her first husband again). A further extension made necessary by the practice, which was intended to prevent abuses of the right of taking back the wife during the period of waiting, is given in verse 231: "If ye give women the *ṭalāk* and they reach their time, retain them with you kindly or let them go kindly; but do not keep them to harm them with hostile intent; he who does so only injures himself; make not a jest of Allāh's words!" (here it is forbidden to take back the wife under a show of reconciliation, and to keep her simply with the object of making her life uncomfortable and forcing her to purchase her release by the payment of a sum of money; the perhaps contemporary verse 232 contains warning admonitions to the *walī's* of divorced women). Later than Sūra ii. 228, which is presupposed, but still before the year 5 are the regulations of Sūra lxxv. 1: "O Prophet, when ye pronounce the *ṭalāk* over women, do it with regard to their period of waiting (the meaning, not quite clear, of the Arabic expression seems to be that the *ṭalāk* is to be pronounced in such a way that the period of waiting can be easily calculated i.e. not during menstruation), and calculate the time exactly and fear Allāh your Lord; put them not out of your houses and they are not to depart of their own accord, unless they have manifestly done something shameful (i. e. committed adultery); these are the commands of Allāh and whoso transgresseth them injures himself alone; thou knowest not whether Allāh after this may not bring about a change (in the attitude of the man to the woman so that he may take her back). 2. When they have reached their time, then either help them

with kindness or separate from them with good feeling, and take upright people from among you as witnesses and bear witness before Allāh. This is a caution for him who believes in Allāh and the last day 3. (further exhortations to observe the precepts). 4. If your wives can no longer expect a menstruation or have not yet had one and ye are in doubt (as a result, about the period of their waiting) their period of waiting shall last three months and if they are pregnant, the period shall be until they are delivered; Allāh will make his commands easy to him that feareth him. 5. (further exhortations). 6. Let them live where ye live, in keeping with your means and oppress them not by making their lives unpleasant; if they are pregnant, maintain them till they are delivered..." (here follow rules for the divorced woman while she is nursing); (in these verses certain obligations are laid upon men regarding the housing and maintainance of their wives during the period of waiting; this completes the work of protecting the woman against financial exploitation by the man in connection with the *ṭalāk*, which Sūra iv. 24 had begun). Sūra xxxiii. 48 belongs to the end of the year 5: "O believers! when ye marry believing women and then pronounce the *ṭalāk* over them before ye have consummated the marriage, ye have not to make them wait a period; provide for them and dismiss them in a suitable fashion." The general rule here given is stated more fully in Sūra ii. 237: "It is no sin for you if ye pronounce the *ṭalāk* over your wives before ye have consummated the marriage or made a settlement (as bridal gift) upon them; provide fairly what is needful for them, the well-to-do according to his fortune and the impoverished according to his means; this is a duty for those who do what is right. 238. If ye pronounce the *ṭalāk* over them before ye have consummated the marriage and have already made a settlement upon them (as *mahr*) ye shall give them half of what ye have settled unless they withdraw their claim, or he withdraws who has to decide about the contract of marriage (i. e. the husband); that you should withdraw your claim is nearer to the fear of God; forget not generosity to one another; Allāh sees what ye do" (this rule also seems to owe its origin to a concrete case in which doubts had arisen; on the legal significance of the withdrawal from the promise of marriage, which here appears as a *ṭalāk* before consummation, cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.* p. 73).

In addition there are Sūra xxxiii. 28 (of the end of the year 5) and Sūra lxvi. 5 (of the late Medina period in which Muḥammad threatens his own wives with the *ṭalāk* as well as Sūra ii. 226 sq., where the *ṭalāk*, is mentioned in connection with the *ilā'*).

III. The *ṭalāk* is treated hardly less fully in the Ḥadīth than in the Qur'an. Besides numerous traditions which simply repeat the well-known precepts of the Qur'an and therefore need not be dealt with here, there are also some which further develop the doctrine of *ṭalāk*. A group of ḥadīths which endeavour to limit as much as possible the *ṭalāk*, deserves particular attention: "Among permitted things the *ṭalāk* is the most hated by Allāh"; two arbiters appear who are to negotiate between husband and wife; the wife cannot demand from the husband that he should pronounce the *ṭalāk* over another wife on her account; Allāh

punishes the woman who seeks the *ṭalāk* from her husband without sufficient reason. Sūra lxxv. 1 is unanimously interpreted to mean that it is forbidden to pronounce the *ṭalāk* during the woman's period of menstruation; such a *ṭalāk* is regarded as a sin and error (*khata'*, contrary *ṣawāb*) but its validity is not disputed; the man who has pronounced it should however withdraw it and if he insists on a divorce should pronounce a *ṭalāk* in keeping with the rules. A question not yet conceived in the Qur'an is that of the effect of a *ṭalāk* pronounced three successive times; the traditions are divided regarding this; alongside of the approval of such a thing, there is the strongest disapproval, sometimes it is even held to be invalid; in the same direction points the ḥadīth that down to the caliphate of 'Omar such a *ṭalāk* was considered to be a single one and that 'Omar was the first to introduce into jurisprudence his view that it was a threefold one, in order to restrain people by the fear of the undesirable consequences of this abuse. The traditions further mention as a third requirement for the *ṭalāk* which is to be *sunna* i. e. in keeping with the prescriptions of the Qur'an and of the Prophet, that the man in the period of purity in which he pronounces it, must have had no intercourse with the woman. The so-called *taḥlīl* which consists in marrying a thrice divorced woman and at once pronouncing the *ṭalāk* over her, simply with the object of enabling her to remarry her first husband (cf. Sūra ii. 230) is strongly disapproved of and even cursed. In general the woman is only considered "permitted" (*ḥalāl*) for the first husband when the second marriage is actually completed. To check frivolous pronunciation of the *ṭalāk*, a *ṭalāk* pronounced in jest is considered legal and binding. As, on the other hand, the *ṭalāk* means the dissolution of the marriage, a *ṭalāk* pronounced before the conclusion of the marriage is of no importance. Whether a woman who has thrice received the *ṭalāk* has a claim during the period of waiting on her husband for lodging and maintenance is not evident from the Qur'an; the earliest differences of opinion are enshrined in a group of traditions, some of which completely deny any such claim, some of which recognise it only for lodging and some for maintenance also.

Ṭalāk between slaves is not regulated in the Qur'an; the ḥadīth gives the slave also the right to the *ṭalāk* but (in analogy with other legal enactments) only twice and similarly puts the period of waiting of a slave-woman at two *ḥur*²-periods. Anyone who becomes a convert to Islām and has more than four wives is bound to keep four and pronounce the *ṭalāk* on the others. If he has married two sisters, he must pronounce the *ṭalāk* on one of them. Finally it should be mentioned that according to tradition, Muḥammad at once gave the *ṭalāk* to women who took their refuge with Allāh before him and is said to have induced 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar to separate from his wife by a *ṭalāk* out of consideration for his father's dislike of her.

IV. The oldest jurists (down to the beginning of the formation of the *madhhab*'s), some of whom go back to the time of the origin of the traditions, develop the doctrine of *ṭalāk* on the lines indicated above; the most important views to be mentioned here are the following. The doctrine of *ṭalāk* al-

sunna and its three requirements is further developed; it is ascribed among others to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, al-Daḥḥāk, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Ikrima, Muḍjahid and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (such attributions to the oldest authorities must be regarded as unhistorical; they only become certainly historic with Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī; this is also true of what follows); it is even applied to the case when a woman is pregnant; for this 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, Djabir b. 'Abd Allāh, Ḥammād, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī are given as authorities. The *ṭalāk* pronounced three times in immediate succession is considered a sin but as thrice valid, by the overwhelming majority, including 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, Ḥammād, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, al-Zuhri; sometimes the view is even described as the only prevailing one, against which no contradictory opinion exists; but at a somewhat later date there were nevertheless champions of the view that the *ṭalāk* of this kind is to be considered as only once valid. While according to the view of the majority, among whom are mentioned 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās and al-Daḥḥāk, the wife becomes *ḥarām* for the man after a threefold *ṭalāk* and can only marry him again after completing and dissolving a marriage with another man, these consequences, according to a view recorded of Muḍjahid (among others), who follows Ṭabari, and which goes back to a divergent interpretation of Sūra II, 229 f.), come into force after a twofold *ṭalāk*, if the man does not withdraw it, but "allows the woman to go". That the second marriage must be actually consummated if the woman is to be *ḥalāl* again to the first man, is unanimously demanded e.g. by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyib, al-Zuhri. The validity of the *ṭalāk* pronounced in jest, is expressly affirmed by 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and is regarded as generally recognised. The principle is unanimously affirmed that in ambiguous expressions the opinion of the speaker decides, but there is much difference of opinion as to whether certain expressions are to be considered ambiguous or not, and also whether the *ṭalāk* pronounced under pressure or under the influence of intoxication is valid or not. Here it is a question of the application of principles, important in other cases also, in a field, which on account of its practical importance had a great influence on its development. The validity of the *ṭalāk* pronounced before the consummation of the marriage is denied in agreement with the tradition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Ali, 'Ikrima, Muḍjahid, Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyib etc. The *ṭalāk* pronounced on condition the marriage is consummated (if I marry thee, thou art divorced) is on the other hand recognised as valid by 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, al-Zuhri while others deny it. Any *ṭalāk* pronounced before the consummation of the marriage is irrevocable (cf. Sūra ii. 238; xxxiii. 48); authorities for this are 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, al-Zuhri etc. (this rule is undoubtedly in the spirit of the *Qur'ān*; cf. Sūra xxxiii. 48). The different views found in the *Ḥadīth* regarding the claims of the thrice divorced woman to lodging and maintenance are also found here: according to 'Abd Allāh b.

'Abbās, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and 'Ikrima she has no claim at all, according to al-Zuhri (who however also appears among the advocates of the first view but probably wrongly) only to lodging. According to 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm and 'Omar to lodging and maintenance. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyib and al-Zuhri allow the slave only the possibility of the twofold *ṭalāk*, whether in respect of a female slave or a free woman.

According to 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī on the other hand the deciding factor is the status of the woman as a slave, so that every husband of a slave, whether slave or free-man, has only the possibility of a twofold *ṭalāk*. The *Qur'ānic* expression *ḥurū* (Sūra, ii. 228 sq.) is sometimes interpreted as menstruation and sometimes as the period of purity; among the representatives of this former view are 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, al-Daḥḥāk, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Ikrima, 'Omar and the 'Irākīs; as adherents of the latter view 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, al-Zuhri (the first view is also wrongly attributed to him) and the Medinese are mentioned; 'Ali and Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyib appear in both groups. Less important differences of opinion are associated with the interpretation of different *Qur'ānic* expressions in Sūra ii. 228 and lxxv. 1, 2, 4. There is unanimity on the point that the man has the right to withdraw the *ṭalāk* even against the will of the woman. This is expressly stated, for example by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, al-Daḥḥāk, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Ikrima and Muḍjahid.

V. The teachings of the *Fiqh* on *ṭalāk*, which can be briefly summarised as follows, are based on the above. The husband has the right to pronounce the *ṭalāk* on his wife even without giving the reasons, but his pronouncing it without good grounds is considered *makrūh* (reprehensible) and by the Ḥanafis even as *ḥarām* (forbidden); the *ṭalāk al-bid'a* also, i.e. one in which the requirements of the *ṭalāk al-sunna* (cf. above) are not observed is regarded as *ḥarām*; the validity of the *ṭalāk* is not in any way affected thereby. To be able to pronounce the *ṭalāk* the husband must have attained his majority and be *compos mentis*; the *ṭalāk* of a minor is regarded as valid only by one tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; the guardian acts for the legally disqualified husband. The *ṭalāk* is a personal right which the husband must exercise in person or through a mandatory specially appointed by him; he may even entrust this mandate to his wife, who can then pronounce the *ṭalāk* on herself. The *ṭalāk* presupposes a valid marriage; the *ṭalāk* pronounced on condition that the marriage is carried through (cf. above) is invalid according to the *Shāfi'is* and *Ḥanbalis* but valid according to the Ḥanafis and *Mālikis* (according to the latter however, not if it is expressed in quite general terms, e.g. "every woman that I marry, is divorced.")

The *ṭalāk* pronounced in delirium or by a lunatic is invalid. The *ṭalāk* of an intoxicated man has given rise to lively discussions in all the *madhāhib*; in the case of culpable intoxication it is regarded as valid by the majority. The *ṭalāk* pronounced under pressure is valid according to the Ḥanafis, but not according to the *Mālikis*, *Shāfi'is* and *Ḥanbalis*.

Words referring unambiguously and directly to the *ṭalāk* bring it into operation, whatever may have been the intention of the speaker who uttered

them: if the speaker uses unambiguous circumlocutions, the Ḥanbalis, Ḥanafis and Shāfi'is demand also a corresponding intention, while the Mālikis pay no heed to the intention. In the case of ambiguous expressions or gestures the intention of the speaker is the only deciding factor. There is a great difference of opinion among the *madhāhib* on all these questions, when it comes to the individual case. The question of the validity of a conditionally pronounced *ṭalāk* (apart from the above mentioned case) is also much disputed; the Ḥanafis and Shāfi'is make such a *ṭalāk* come into operation on the fulfilment of the condition; the Mālikis regard it, according to the nature of the condition, as sometimes at once effective and sometimes void.

The woman's period of waiting begins at once after the *ṭalāk* unless it is a question of a *ṭalāk* before consummation of the marriage, which is always definite: in this case the woman does not need to have a period of waiting and has only a claim to half the bridal gift, if it was already fixed (if it was already paid, she has to pay back half of it) or to a gift at the discretion of the man, the so-called *mu'ā* (cf. Sūra, ii. 237). A distinction has further to be made between a revocable and a definite *ṭalāk*. In the first case the marriage is still considered legally in existence with all its consequences and the woman has a claim upon the man for lodging and maintenance for the whole period of waiting; on the other hand the man has the right to revoke the *ṭalāk* throughout the period of waiting. If he allows the period to pass without exercising this right, the marriage is definitely dissolved at its expiry. If the bridal gift was not yet paid, it is now due unless some later date was agreed upon for its payment. If a reconciliation then takes place between the two parties and they wish to marry again, they must draw up a new contract of marriage with a new bridal gift.

With a definite *ṭalāk* on the other hand, the marriage is at once finally dissolved (with the single exception that a definite *ṭalāk* pronounced by a man during his mortal illness does not abolish the wife's rights of inheritance: so the Ḥanafis, Mālikis and Ḥanbalis with *ikhtilāf* on details, while the Shāfi'is consider the opposite view the better). The woman has however in this case also to pass the period of waiting, during which she cannot conclude a new marriage; during this period she has a claim on the husband for lodging, but for maintenance only if she is pregnant. The husband's payment of the bridal gift is the same as in a revocable *ṭalāk*. The conclusion of a new contract of marriage between the former partners is impossible, unless the woman has in the meanwhile lived with another man in a regularly completed marriage (cf. Sūra ii. 230); but even this way out is only open to them twice.

The third *ṭalāk* is considered definite among freemen (cf. Sūra ii. 229 sq.) and the second among slaves; it is a matter of indifference whether the separate repudiations were announced in one marriage or in several, not separated by *tahliḷ*. In mixed marriages between freemen and slaves the status of the man is decisive according to the Mālikis, Shāfi'is and Ḥanbalis, and of the woman according to the Ḥanafis.

The period of waiting for a woman is three *ḡurū* (cf. Sūra ii. 228) i.e. according to the Mālikis and Shāfi'is three periods of purity, and

according to the Ḥanafis three menstruations; if she is pregnant, the period lasts till her confinement (cf. *ibid.*). For a slave woman the period of waiting is in the first case two *ḡurū* and in the second a month and a half; if she is pregnant, the period of waiting again lasts till her confinement.

Sexual intercourse with a not definitely divorced woman during the period of waiting is not permitted according to the Ḥanafis and the better known view of the Mālikis; according to the Mālikis, Shāfi'is and the other Ḥanbali view, it is forbidden. In keeping with the views of the first class, it is regarded by them as revoking the *ṭalāk* in every case; according to the Mālikis only if the man intends to do so, while the Shāfi'is only regard an utterance by the man as revoking the *ṭalāk*.

VI. The Shari'a rules concerning *ṭalāk* only differ in unimportant details from the Sunnī with which we have so far dealt. In a more strict interpretation of Sūra lxxv. 2 the production of two legal witnesses is regarded as absolutely necessary for the validity of a *ṭalāk*, while the Sunnis dispense with them. All circumlocutions, ambiguous expressions and gestures are neglected, whatever may have been the intention of the speaker.

VII. As an institution of family law, the *ṭalāk* has in practice to follow lines strongly dictated by the principles of Muslim law. The very frequent pronouncement of the *ṭalāk*, often on the most worthless grounds and three times in succession has brought about the following usage: if the couple wish to marry one another again after the third *ṭalāk*, they seek a suitable individual who is ready for a certain reward to go through the ceremony of marriage with the woman and at once repudiate her; the woman is then again *ḡalāl* for her first husband and he who undertakes this *tahliḷ* is therefore called *muḡallil*. For this purpose a minor or a slave is used by preference. Nothing can be urged against the validity of such a procedure providing that at the conclusion of the intervening marriage the word *tahliḷ* is not used; its permissibility is defended by the Ḥanafis but disputed by the Mālikis and Shāfi'is; the Ḥanbali Ibn Taimiyya regarded the *tahliḷ* in general as invalid and attacked it in a special work (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 155, 38) but he seems to be practically alone in this view.

The conditional pronouncement (*ta'liḳ*) of the *ṭalāk* may have different objects: a man may pronounce such a *ṭalāk*, for example, to drive his wife or himself to something or to refrain from something by threatened separation, or to give force to some statement made by him. In India, the Straits Settlements and a large portion of the Dutch East Indies, this *ta'liḳ* of the *ṭalāk* has become a regular custom at the conclusion of a marriage; it is hardly ever omitted and serves to impose upon the man certain obligations towards his wife, on the non-fulfilment of which the marriage is dissolved by the *ṭalāk*. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, i. 382 sqq.; *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/i. 300 sq.; iv/ii. 370; Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche wet*³, p. 207 sqq.

On the practice of the *ṭalāk* as it has developed in different countries under the influence of the Shari'a and under native customary law, cf. for example, for North Africa: Ubach and Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika*, p. 37, 97, 194,

277, 379; for Egypt: Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chap. iii. and iv.; for Transjordan: A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, § 3; for Northwest-arabia: do., *Coutumes des Fuqarâ*, § 4; for the Dutch East Indies the literature quoted by Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 207, note 3; and ethnological works and travels in general.

Turkey with the introduction of the Swiss civil code in 1926 is so far the only Muḥammadan state that has abolished the *ṭalāk*.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already mentioned and the Arabic works on *Ḥadīth* and *Fiqh*, cf. Roberts, *The Social Laws of the Qurān*, p. 18 sqq.; Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muḥammadan Tradition*, s. v. Divorce; Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, i. 920; ii. 921; Juynboll, *Handleiding*³, p. 203 sqq.; Sachau, *Muḥammedanisches Recht nach schafitischer Lehre*, Book i.; Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i. 201 sqq.; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v. Divorce.

(J. SCHACHT)

ṬĀLAḲĀN (ṬĀLḲĀN; Sam^ʿānī, *Ansāb*, f. 363^b), name of two towns in Persia.

1. A town in Ṭukhārīstān, between Balkh and Merw al-Rūdh, three days' march from the latter. Situated in a plain, but quite close to the mountains (an arrow-shot, *ghakwa*), it was the largest town of the province and had a large market; it was divided into several parts by two rivers: Khutal-āb (correction of de Goeje) and Bar-āb. It was destroyed in 617 (1220) by Čingiz-Khān; ruins near Čācaktū.

2. A town in Dailam, between Ḳazwīn and Abhar, capital of a district of the same name including several small towns. The birthplace of the famous minister, *zāhib* Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād, whose father Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAbbās, had the ethnic name of Ṭālākānī. The inhabitants were suspected of sharing in the heresies of the Ismāʿīlis. Near it there is one of the two sources of the river Shāh Rūdh, tributary of the Safid-Rūdh, as well as the source of two streams, the Karah-Rūdh and the Būh-Rūdh.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 491 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 376; Iṣṭakhārī, *B. G. A.*, i. 278; Muḳaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 303; Mustawfī, *Nuḡhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, *G. M. S.*, London 1915, p. 65, 156, 217, 220, 222 = transl., p. 70, 153, 210, 213, 214; Ibn Ḳhallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, transl. de Slane, Paris 1842, i. 216; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 225, 423, 432; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Ġiographīe* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840), p. 420, 458; Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, i. 278, note.

(CL. HUART)

TALAVERA, the name of several places in Spain; the Arabic form is *Ṭalabira*. They are the following: 1. Talavera de la Reina, a town of 10,600 inhabitants, the *Caesarobriga* of the Romans, on a fertile plain on the banks of the Tagus about 100 miles below Toledo, at the entrance to the Sierra de Gredos: Towers dating from the period of Arab occupations may still be seen there: "the Torres Albarranas". The Arab geographers boast of the solidity of the *ḥiṣn* of this town; 2. ca. 20 miles south of the latter: Talavera la Vieja, the ancient *Augustobriga*; 3. Talavera la Real, a little village

on the south bank of the Guadiana, 12 miles above Badajoz.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 187, transl., p. 227; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s. v.; Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, p. 92.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TALBIYA (A.), infinitive of form II of the verb *labba*, which is formed from the term *labbaika* to mean "to pronounce the formula *labbaika*" etc. *Labbaika* is connected — and probably rightly — by the Arab lexicographers with *labban* which means "offering devoted service" as *labbaika* does "at your service". According to the native grammarians *labbai* is a "frequentative" dual. It is difficult to say what is the significance of the element *ai* in this and similar forms like *sa'daika*. The explanation from the Hebrew proposed by Dozy (*De Israëliten te Mekka*, Haarlem 1864, p. 120) may be said to be now generally abandoned.

The formula is used in various forms and on different occasions. The *talbiya* of the Prophet is said to have been: *Labbaika allāhumma labbaika labbaika lā sharika laka innā 'l-ḥamda wa 'l-ni'mata laka wa 'l-mulka laka sharika laka* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīdj*, B. 26), but shorter forms are given like: *labbaika allāhumma, labbaika wa-sa'daika* etc. It is usually referred to Allāh, in *Ḥadīth* also to Muḥammad, or to his helpers but only its briefest form *labbaika* (e. g. Bukhārī, *Ḳhuṣūmāt*, B. 4; Muslim, *Zakāt*, Tr. 32; Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-Ḳiyāma*, B. 36) and *yā labbaika* (Muslim, *Ḍiḥād*, Tr. 76). It is also placed in the mouths of pious men of the past like Ādam and Nūḥ. According to a tradition in Muslim (*Ḥadīdj*, Tr. 22) the heathen in Muḥammad's time used it in a false form. The *talbiya* is especially pronounced on the *ḥadīdj* [q. v.], at an early stage at the *iḥrām* which Muḥammad and others assumed with the formula *labbaika bi-ḥadīdjin wa-umratin* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīdj*, B. 34) or *labbaika bi-umratin wa-ḥadīdjin* (Tirmidhī, *Ḥadīdj*, B. 11) or with the exclusive mention of the *ḥadīdj* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīdj*, B. 35). At the beginning of the *umra* ʿĀ^ʿisha is said to have used the formula *labbaika bi 'l-umrat* (Abū Dāwūd, *Manāṣik*, B. 23).

The *talbiya* is continually pronounced during the *ḥadīdj* up to the lapidation (e. g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 114) and in a loud voice (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 192).

On the question whether the *talbiya* is obligatory or sunna, see al-Nawawī on Muslim, *Ḥadīdj*, Tr. 22. (A. J. WENSINCK)

ṬALḤA B. ʿUBAIDALLĀH, companion of the Prophet, one of the ten *mubashshara*, i. e. those to whom the Prophet had promised Paradise. He belonged to the Ḳuraish clan of the Banū Taim b. Murra [q. v.]; his genealogy was: ṬalḤa b. ʿUbaidallāh b. ʿUḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taim b. Murra and his *kunya*, Abū Muḥammad, from his son, celebrated for his piety and one of the first readers of the Ḳurʿān; both father and son were killed in the battle of the camel in 36 A.H. ṬalḤa was one of the earliest converts to Islām. According to tradition he had suffered along with Abū Bakr the threats and ill-treatment of the Ḳuraish. He went with Muḥammad on the *Ḥijra* and was henceforth one of his councillors and most intimate friends. At the battle of Badr, having been sent out to spy the movements of the Meccan caravan,

he was unable to return in time to take active part in the battle but was allowed to share the spoil equally with the other *muhājirūn*. In the unfortunate battle of Uhud, Ṭalḥa particularly distinguished himself by his bravery; using his body as a shield to defend the Prophet in the retreat, he received numerous wounds and one blow cut the tendons of two fingers which remained paralysed. This exploit gained him a prestige during the lifetime of the Prophet and after his death and a place in the veneration of Muslims which the blots on his later career never destroyed. Ṭalḥa also took part in the other expeditions organised by Muḥammad; on the death of the latter his relations with the first two Caliphs seem to have been rather cool; he is said to have hesitated for a long time before recognising Abū Bakr and 'Omar. The latter in the turn were careful not to give high office to the powerful Companion whose ambition they had probably reason to fear. This did not prevent him from amassing immense wealth as a result of the Muslim conquests, in estates in Arabia and the 'Irāk and in specie: tradition tells us that his generosity was in keeping with his fortune. His prestige and his financial position made him a person of the first importance in the caliphate of 'Omar. That he along with al-Zubair and 'Alī was one of the instigators of the murder of this Caliph, as Caetani has held (*Annali dell' Islām*, v. 42—46), cannot be proved and it seems all the less likely as Ṭalḥa was away when the murder took place in Medina (cf. *R. S. O.*, iv. 1060—1061); in any case he was a candidate for the succession and was bitterly disappointed when it fell to 'Uthmān. Thrown into opposition, Ṭalḥa took advantage of the discontent soon aroused by 'Uthmān's rule to try once more to get the caliphate. The real character of the movement which cost 'Uthmān his life is difficult to understand at the present day, since the records of it are obscure and biased, but it seems certain that Ṭalḥa was one of the chief actors in the drama, especially in its last days when the long discussions between 'Uthmān on the one hand and Ṭalḥa, al-Zubair and 'Alī on the other, were abruptly broken off and the Caliph killed in his house by the mob. Ṭalḥa thought his dream was about to be realised and it even seems that he was near being proclaimed Caliph when 'Alī was proclaimed in his stead. Here again tradition in spite of the mass of details which encumber it is not at all clear. 'Alī probably relied on the more turbulent elements which gained the upper hand in these troubled times while Ṭalḥa (and al-Zubair who was working in accord with him, although for his own ends) seeking to take a middle course was thrust aside. In any case he found himself forced to recognise the new master; but immediately afterwards he fled from Medina with al-Zubair and reached Mecca where he joined 'Ā'isha — she being the enemy of 'Alī as she had been of 'Uthmān — who seems to have urged Ṭalḥa's claims to the caliphate (perhaps on account of their ties of blood: they both belonged to the Taim b. Murra). The three allies went to Baṣra where they — Ṭalḥa especially — relied on finding many partisans; they announced that they wished to avenge 'Alī's murder of 'Uthmān for which they disclaimed any responsibility. We know the unfortunate end of their enterprise; the defeat in the battle of the Camel (*yawm al-djmal*, Djumādā

II, 36) in which Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair lost their lives and 'Alī won the 'Irāk, which however he could only hold for a few years. Ṭalḥa's family however did not suffer by the fall of their head; his heirs entered into possession of his fortune and continued to enjoy a high position; many of them are known as traditionists, but they completely abandoned politics.

Ṭalḥa was a brave warrior and a noble and generous character, so far as we can judge from the statements of tradition; he was ruined most likely by the fault, which is common to parvenus, of not being able to moderate his ambition. The unexpected successes of his career made him see no bounds to its possibilities; the qualities necessary to enable him to realise them were apparently lacking to him.

The judgment that should be passed on the conduct of Ṭalḥa (as well as on that of al-Zubair and 'Ā'isha) has always been a very delicate question for Muslim orthodoxy. They decided it in the conciliating spirit that has always characterized them: Ṭalḥa and his allies are sinners of good faith and their previous merits are sufficient to wipe out their faults. Many traditions even say that Ṭalḥa repented before his death and that 'Alī for his part declared himself reconciled to his adversary. It is only the extreme Shi'is who have not renounced "cursing those lacking in faith" (*la'nat al-nākithin*).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, III/i. 152—161, and the other sources for the biography of the companions. The texts relative to Ṭalḥa are collected and translated in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ix. 380—399 (cf. also in the same work the indexes to vols. i.—ii., iii.—v. and to vols. viii. and ix., the years 35 and 36 A. H.); cf. also G. Levi Della Vida, *R. S. O.*, vi. 434—449 (for the rebellion against 'Alī).

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

TALĪK. [See ARABIA, i. 387a.]

TALĪSH, a district and people in the north of the Persian province of Gilān [q. v.], which since the peace of Gulistan (12/24th Oct. 1813) has belonged to Russia. The name according to Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 278 sq., is first found in the form T'alish in the Armenian translation of the romance of Alexander, Ch. 194 = ii. 19, p. 76 (ed. C. Müller). In the history of the Arab conquest (Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 327; al-Ṭabari, i. 2805) the country is called al-Ṭailasān; according to al-Aṣma'i in Yāqūt, iii. 571, 19, the Persian pronunciation was Tālīshān (apparently a plural form). According to i. 812, 18, Tālāshān (so vocalised) was a district (*'amal*) of the province of Gilān. According to the itinerary given by Muḥaddasī (*B. G. A.*, iii. 373) from Sālūs (on the frontier between Ṭabaristān and Gilān) to Shemākha [cf. SHĪRWĀN], the last town belonging to Gilān was Kuhan-rūdh, 4 days' journey south of the Kur [q. v.]. Ḥamd Allāh Kāzwinī (*G. M. S.*, xxiii. 180 ult.) mentions a village Tālīsh on the road between Sulṭāniya and Ardabil, 6 farsakhs from the latter town; the corresponding district (*wilāyet*) was called Ṭawālīsh (p. 162, 12). Before the wars between Russia and Persia, Tālīsh seems to have been of no particular importance; under Persian rule it was governed by a special Khān and the capital was, as it still is, the town of Lenkoran. The narrow strip of land between the hills or "alps"

of Talīsh and the Caspian Sea has a very much moister climate than the plain lying to the north of it (the rainfall in Lenkoran is 52 inches, in Baku 10), belongs geographically to Gilān, is equally fertile and unhealthy and has a more varied fauna (including the tiger). The people, called by the Russians "Talīshi" or "Talīshinci", call themselves "Tolīsh"; they are found to the north as far as the Mughan steppes, where the Talīsh lead a nomadic life and to the south up to about 30 miles south of the Russian frontier. The number of Talīsh living on Russian territory is 75,824 according to the last census (1922). Like the people of Gilān, the Talīsh are Shī'is; their dialect differs very little from that of Gilān.

Bibliography: Bibliography in the *Gr. Iran. Phil.*, 1/ii. 345; N. Marr, *Talīshi*, Petrograd 1922, p. 24. — G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 173 sq.; E. Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888, index; *Spisok narodnostei S.S.S.R.*, pod redakciei I. I. Zarubina, Leningrad 1927, p. 9. (W. BARTHOLD)

TALISMAN. [See ZAMĀ'IL.]

TALKHĪŞ, an Arabic *maşdar* meaning to make a précis, means in the official language of Turkey a document in which the most important matters are summed up for presentation to the Sultān. The officials who had these papers prepared and presented them to the Sultān were the grand vizier and the *Shaikh* al-Islām. On account of its change of significance, *talkhīş* is included among the *ghalaṭāt-i maşhūra*, cf. Muḥammad Hafid, *al-Durar al-muntakhabāt al-manḥūra fī lṣāḥ al-ghalaṭāt al-maşhūra* (1221 A. H., p. 115).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TALKHĪŞDJI, or in the official style, **TALKHĪŞI**, was the individual appointed to prepare the précis called *talkhīş* [q. v.] and to take it to the palace where it was handed over to the chief of the eunuchs. The *Talkhīşdji* was therefore an official of the grand vizier's department; in addition to preparing the *talkhīş*, he took part in several official ceremonies. The *talkhīşdji* of the *Shaikh* al-Islām was not — at least in the later period — in direct communication with the palace; documents presented by him had to pass first of all through the hands of the Re'is Efendi and of the grand vizier.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, ii. 260; iii. 343; von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, i. 31, 475. (J. H. KRAMERS)

ṬĀLŪT is the name of king Saul of the Bible in the Qur'ān (ii. 248, 250). The name is explained as early as *Tha'labi* from the height (*ṭāl*) of Ṭālūt. Ṭālūt recalls *Djālūt* (Goliath), an assonance of pairs of names, like Hārūt-Mārūt, Hābil-Qābil, Yādūdī-Mādjūdī (Goldziher). *Djālūt* itself is explained from the Hebrew גִּלְיָת (Horowitz).

In the Qur'ān (ii. 247—253) the following is told of Ṭālūt. After the time of Moses Israel demanded a king. God appointed Ṭālūt king but the people did not find him worthy of the throne. Ṭālūt was distinguished for the greatness of his knowledge and for his great physique also; it was a sign of his fitness to rule that angels brought back the ark (*ṭābūt*) with the *sakīna* and with what remained of the people of Moses and Aaron. Ṭālūt tested his people at a river; whoever drank from it did not follow him. Israel took the field

against *Djālūt*; David slew *Djālūt* and became king.

The more or less confused memories of the Biblical story in this version are obvious. The first book of Samuel relates that Israel demanded a king (viii.) but no respect was shown to the new king (x. 27; xi. 12). The sacred ark which Muḥammad regards as a token of Saul's worth was recaptured in the Bible before his accession. The test by drinking water is made in the Bible, not by Saul but by Gideon (Judges, vii. 5—7).

Nöldeke sees in this Qur'anic story an effort by Muḥammad to arouse the Muslims to courage and obedience by examples from Jewish history. Later Muslim tradition (*Ṭabari*, *Tha'labi*; al-Kisā'i) often mentions that the number of the faithful who fought by Muḥammad's side in the battle of Badr was that of those who passed Ṭālūt's test by water.

Muslim legend has more to say, explains every feature of the Qur'ān story, and adds many new details. Later writers (*Ṭabari*, *Tha'labi*, Ibn al-Aṭhīr) also know the name Saul, son of Kīsh,

(شاول بن كيش). In explanation of the name Ṭālūt, we are told that at this time the future king of Israel was to be recognised by his height (*Tha'labi*); Samuel set up a measure, but no one in Israel reached its height, except Ṭālūt. As a miracle which took place to show the rightness of their choice, we are told that when Ṭālūt went to consult Samuel (*Shamwīl*) about his lost she-asses, the coronation oil began to boil. *Ṭabari's Tafsīr* mentions inspiration as another token. In explanation of the story in the Qur'ān, that Ṭālūt appeared unworthy to the people, it is said that Saul was descended from Benjamin, that is neither from Judah, the tribe of kings, nor from Levi, the tribe of priests (*Tha'labi*). On the ark, the token of Ṭālūt's worthiness, Muslim legend has much that is marvellous to tell. This sacred ark had been handed down from the time of Adam from generation to generation through Ismā'il to ʿĀḍar. ʿĀḍar gave it to Jacob. Within the ark were kept the *sakīna*, the hearts of the prophets, the tables of the law, the rod of Moses, Aaron's turban and rod (*Tha'labi*). This ark had fallen into the hands of *Djālūt*, the king of the Amalekites. When plagues fell upon the Amalekites, they sent back the ark on the advice of a captured Jew. Two cattle led by angels brought the ark to Ṭālūt and returned. According to another legend, the angels themselves brought it to Ṭālūt between heaven and earth. The people were then convinced of Ṭālūt's worthiness.

Ṭālūt's relations with Dā'ūd are fully described. Ṭālūt promised his daughter and one third of the kingdom to whoever should kill *Djālūt*. Nevertheless he next demanded a nuptial gift of 200 slain giants. When the affections of the people turned to Dā'ūd, Ṭālūt wanted to slay his son-in-law. Warned by his wife, Dā'ūd put a wine-skin in his bed and Ṭālūt stabbed it. Dā'ūd on one occasion was saved by a spider spinning a web at the entrance to a cave. Dā'ūd showed his magnanimity by once leaving four (in Ibn al-Aṭhīr: two) arrows besides Ṭālūt; on another occasion he took from Ṭālūt, his cup, his jar, his arms, a piece of his garment and hair from his beard.

Saul's raising of the dead (I Sam. xxviii) is completely transformed in Muslim legend. Some-

times it is Joshua and sometimes Samuel that is called up. Tālūt learns that there is only atonement for him, he must fight with all his family and die for Allāh. Tālūt abdicates and suffers with his sons the "death on the path of Allāh".

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 549, 559, 1297, 1298 (Badr); Tabari, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, ii. 357—375; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 167—173; Ibn al-Athīr, *Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, i. 150 sqq.; Kisā'i, *Vitae Prophetarum*, ed. Eisenberg, Leyden 1923, ii. 250—258; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Frankfurt a/M. 1845, p. 192—208; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, Leyden 1893, p. 185—189, 192—195; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qorāns*, i. 184. — On the name: Goldziher, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, p. 232—234; Joseph Horowitz, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii, Cincinnati 1925, p. 162, 163; do., *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, p. 81—89, 106, 123. — On the spider's web which saved David: R. Basset, *La Borda du Cheikh el Bousiri*, Paris 1897, p. 81—86.

(BERNHARD HELLER)

TAMATTU'. [See IHRĀM, MUTA']

TAMGRŪT, the principal town in the Wādī Dar'a (Dra [q. v.]), in the south of Morocco and the site of the mother-zāwiya of the religious brotherhood of the Nāṣiriya [q. v.]. It is a fair-sized town with houses of red clay, surrounded by groves of palm and fruit trees, on the left bank of the Wādī Dar'a, which is here 120 to 250 feet broad but of no depth and runs between hills about 300 yards apart. Tamgrūt is surrounded by low walls pierced by 4 gates: in the north, Fumm (class. *fam* = mouth) al-Suk, in the N. E., Fumm Tā'urīt, in the S. W., Bāb al-Rizk and to the east, Fumm al-Sūr. An important market is held there on Saturdays.

The zāwiya of Tamgrūt, which owes all its importance to the Shaikh Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, was founded in 983 (1575—1576) by a member of a Marabout family of the Wādī Dar'a, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī from the zāwiya of Saiyid al-Nās. It was the fame as mystics of two holy men who lived in the zāwiya of Tamgrūt, Saiyidī 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusain and Saiyidī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, that incited the Ṣūfī novice Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, born at Ighlān in 1015 (1603), to settle there. On the death of Saiyidī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, he became head of the zāwiya, and founded his order there, directly based on the teaching of al-Shādhili [q. v.]. He died here in Ṣafar 1085 (May 1674) and his descendants from father to son without interruption have since been heads of the zāwiya of Tamgrūt. The latter contains the tombs of Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and his successors together in a mausoleum, rebuilt in 1869 after a fire and surmounted by a pyramidal cupola of green tiles, with a *djāmūr* with three golden balls on top. It is also said to contain a very fine library, but it is unfortunately still impossible to attempt to catalogue it.

The zāwiya of Tamgrūt and the holy men who lived in it have formed the subject of a monograph by Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣiri al-Slawī [q. v.], author of the *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā*, entitled *Tāl'at al-mushṭarī fi 'l-Nasab al-djāfari* (2 vols., lith. Fās n. d. [1309]). Tamgrūt was the birthplace of Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Tamgrūti, a noted official of the Sa'dian court.

Bibliography: De Foucauld, *Reconnais-*

sance au Maroc, Paris 1888, p. 293; Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, p. 467; H. de Castries, *Notice sur la région de l'Oued-Draa*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, vol. xx., 1880, p. 497 sqq.; de Ségonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, Paris 1910, p. 89—98; M. Bodin, *La zaouia de Tamegrout*, in *Archives Berbères*, Paris 1918, p. 259—295; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa, Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIème au XXème siècle*, Paris 1922, p. 99 note 1 and 354.

AL-TAMGRŪTĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. MUHAMMAD, a Moroccan writer, a native of Tamgrūt [q. v.], died at Marrākush in 1003 (1594—1595) and was buried in the sanctuary of Ḳādī 'Iyād. He held an official position at the court of the Sa'dian Sultān Abū 'l-Abbās Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (986—1012 = 1578—1602). He was placed by this ruler in charge of the embassy to Sultān Murād III in Constantinople along with another court dignitary Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Fisḥṭālī, d. 1021 (1612—1613). Al-Tamgrūti prepared an account of his journey (*riḥla*) which he called *al-Nafaḥat al-miskiyya fi 'l-Sifārat al-turkiyya*: it was afterwards used as one of his sources by the author of the *Nuṣḥat al-Ḥādī*, al-Ifrānī (or Ufrānī, [q. v.]). It contains interesting information about the court of Marrākush at the end of the xvth century. An edition, with a translation, of al-Tamgrūti's work had been announced by H. de Castries, before his death in 1927.

Bibliography: al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intaṣḥar*, Fās n. d., p. 106; al-Ḳādīrī, *Nuṣḥat al-maḥānī*, Fās 1310, i. 31 (transl. in *Archives Marocaines*, vol. xxi., Paris 1913, p. 70), reproduced exactly by Ibn al-Muwakkīt, *al-Sa'adat al-abadiyya*, Fās 1336, i. 90—91; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa, Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIème au XXème siècle*, p. 98—99.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAMĪM B. MURR, an Arab tribe; their genealogy (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, K. L.) Tamīm b. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭabikha b. al-Yās b. Muḍar, puts them among the Muḍarī tribes where they take first place; indeed their name is often used as a synonym of the whole Muḍarī branch in contrast to the Ḳais and the Rabī'a. Of the two latter, the Rabī'a are most closely related to them, which is not apparent in the systematic genealogies (where on the contrary the Ḳais are descended from the Muḍar while the Rabī'a are not), but from expressions like the dual *al-Djuffān* (*Lisān al-'Arab*, x. 373) meaning the Tamīm and the Bakr b. Wā'il together (the latter being the principal group of the Rabī'a). In any case, the Tamīm are much nearer geographically as well as historically to the Ḳais and Rabī'a than the Kināna [q. v.] with whom the traditional genealogy closely connects them.

The Greek and Latin writers, who describe the Arabian Peninsula, having left no reference to the Tamīm, we are dependent on native tradition for their early history, the beginnings of which are as usual related with a number of legendary details (the tomb of the eponymous Tamīm at Marrān, Ibn Ḳutaiba, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 37; Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 479; birth and ad-

ventures of his sons Zaidmanāt, 'Āmr and al-Ḥārith, Ibn Duraid, *Kit. al-Ishṭikāḥ*, p. 5 etc.) the true character of which it is impossible to ascertain, nor to distinguish what is fantastic fiction from what might be a mythical travesty of historical events. At the period when their history becomes better known to us, i. e. from the sixth century A. D., the Tamīm appear as a very large tribe, whose vast territory occupies a great part of the eastern coast of Arabia: nearly all Najd, a part of Bahrain and a part of al-Yamāma. To the south their lands stretched as far as the steppes of al-Dahnā and to the northeast to the banks of the Euphrates; their neighbours in the north were the Asad, the Bahila and Ghatafān [q. v.] on the southwest; within their own territory they were much mixed with parts of the tribes of the 'Abd al-Kais and the Ḥanifa (especially on the east and south coast) and with Bakr and Taghlib in the north. Essentially nomads, they never had any towns in the proper sense: Ḥaḍjar, al-Aḥsā' and al-Djar'ā' (is the last the *Gerra* of classical authors? Cf. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 132) are mentioned by the sources as places which they frequented on the occasions of markets and fairs but they were not their owners (cf. Hamdānī, *Djazirat al-ʿArab*, p. 136; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 56) although they are said to have occasionally seized and held them for a time (cf. the *Ṣāḥib Ḥaḍjar*, Mundhir b. Sāwā who negotiated with Muḥammad belonged to the Tamīmī group of the Banū Dārim not, as the sources allege, to the 'Abd al-Kais, cf. Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Isāba*, Cairo, vii. 135, who quotes Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Brit. Mus. MS., p. 65a); their relation with these towns was probably that of Beduins harassing and holding to ransom the settled population, alternately at peace and at feud with them. The very imperfect development of the culture of the Tamīm is seen in their forms of worship, about which our information is extremely meagre. We know of the general Arabian worship of al-Lāt, Manāt, and al-'Uzzā among the Tamīm only from the occurrence of the names of these deities in proper names and in oaths; that of the sun, Shams (in the dialectic variant *shums*) from a brief note in Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*, iii. 19); the worship of Shams is said to have been common to the tribes descended from Udd: Tamīm, Dabb, 'Ukl, Taim 'Adi, Thawr under the leadership (*sadana*) of the Tamīmī tribe of the Ibn Aws b. Mukhāshin). The fact that they lived beside the Christian tribes of Bakr and Taghlib ought to have favoured the spread of Christianity among the Tamīm (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām* A. H. 9, § 3), but it does not actually seem to have met with much success. The only Tamīmī group known to have been completely converted to Christianity is a part of the 'Ibād of al-Ḥīra, the best known member of which is the poet 'Adī b. Zaid [q. v.], but these were a clan who had abandoned their native territory and completely altered their manner of life and their relations with the rest of the tribe.

The extent of the territory inhabited by the Tamīm early accelerated their division into numerous groups and subdivisions, each of which finally attained the importance of an autonomous tribe. This is what explains how the tribe never had a very strong feeling of solidarity so that the two Tamīmī poets Djarir and Farazdaq, members of

different clans, were able in their poetical duels to insult in the most atrocious manner each other's clans. Indeed we find sometimes one and sometimes another of the Tamīmī groups involved in wars and alliances in which the other groups took no part or even were on the other side. On the other hand events of special importance often induced these groups to combine their forces but always in the form of an alliance (*ḥilf*), in which each kept its autonomous character (e. g. *Naḥḥā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 699, 752, for the alliance between the B. Yarbū' and the B. Nahshal). The famous genealogist Abu 'l-Yakẓān Suḥaim b. Djaḥḥ (d. 190 A. H.) seems to have devoted a special work to the alliances of the Tamīm among themselves (if, as seems certain, one should read in the *Fihrist*, p. 94, 24, *Kitāb ḥilf Tamīm ba'diha ba'dan* instead of *ḥalḥ*, an absurd reading which the commentary on the text p. 44 explains in an even more absurd fashion). The principal branches of the Tamīm are the Zaidmanāt and 'Āmr, the principal sub-group of the latter being the 'Anbar, while the former is divided into Sa'd and Malik; to the Sa'd belong the Minkar and 'Uṭārid, to the Ḥanzala and Dārim, who are again subdivided; from the Ḥanzala are descended the Yarbū', one of the most important clans, including among others the Riyāḥ and the Kulaib (Djarir's clan); from the Dārim the Nahshal and the Mudjāshī' (al-Farazdaq's clan).

It is of course impossible here to follow out the vicissitudes of the various Tamīmī clans, whose doings make up the history of the tribe in the pre-Islamic period. The information which we possess on this subject is very full and surpasses in quantity all that we have about the other Arab tribes. This is due in the first place to the large number of celebrated poets among the Tamīm whose verses formed, as usual, the nucleus around which historical traditions gathered as they were collected in later times by the philologists commenting on them. It is particularly to the zeal and erudition of Abū 'Ubaida [q. v.] and cf. also AYYĀM AL-ʿARAB that we owe the preservation of the greater part of the historical references to the Tamīmī *ayyām*. Others are due to Ibn al-Kalbī [q. v.]. We owe this historical matter mainly to the great commentary on the *Naḥḥā'id* of Djarir and al-Farazdaq (ed. by A. A. Bevan, Leyden 1905—1912.)

The *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and to a less extent the sections relating to the *Ayyām al-ʿArab* in the *ʿIkd* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (vol. iii.) and the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Aṭhīr (vol. i.) also preserved a certain amount of early Tamīmī history which can be supplemented from other historical and philological texts. It would be difficult and would take too much time to try to arrange the chronological and historical sequence of the battles of the Tamīm from the confused mass of details supplied by tradition (for the difficulties of the chronology of the *ayyām* cf. above ii., p. 654): an exhaustive study of this subject, which has not been made since Caussin de Perceval, might however succeed in getting some kind of order, starting from those happenings in which the kings of Persia and al-Ḥīra take part, whose chronology is known and comparing the results thus obtained with the series of genealogies which for this period are sufficiently reliable. Two facts may be gathered from all the stories: on the one hand the continual rivalry between the Tamīm and their neighbours Bakr b. Wā'il (and especially their subdivision 'Āmir b.

Ša'sa'a): on the other their relations with the kings of Persia who, having brought the Bakr and Taghlib under their influence, endeavoured to extend their authority over the Tamīm also whose presence was a continual threat to their communications by land with the east coast of Arabia and Yemen. Tradition retained the memory of two episodes in the relations of the Sāsānians with the Tamīm: Šapūr II's expedition to Hadjar Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, p. 56) and the sanguinary punishment inflicted on the Tamīm by the representative of Khusrāw II Parwēz, when they attacked a Persian caravan which was crossing their land from the Yemen to Ctesiphon (*Yawm al-Mushakkār*; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 256 ff.). These are episodes of little importance, inevitable incidents in the colonial policy of the Sāsānians which no doubt were frequently repeated in the course of centuries. They alternated with periods of peace during which the kings of Persia and their vassals the Lakhmids of al-Hira endeavoured to attach the Beduin tribes to themselves by means of concessions, one of which at least is recorded by tradition, the *ridāfa*, a group of privileges of a military and fiscal nature. The Yarbū' were granted it in the time of Mundhir III (d. 544 A.D.) and it was he who, wanting to deprive them of it to give it to the other Tamīm clan of the Dārim, was the cause of the battle of Tikhfa (Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden*, p. 112—113, 133; *Naḳā'id*, p. 66, 299).

The list of battles which follows, taken from the index to the *Naḳā'id* (in the edition of which will also be found parallel passages from other authors), is only intended to refer the reader to the sources and to show the tribes with which the Tamīm were on friendly or hostile relations:

Irāb (Yarbū' against Taghlib); Akrun (Dārim against 'Abs); Uwāra (Dārim against the king of al-Hira 'Amr b. Mundhir); Iyād (Yarbū' against Shaibān); Tiya's (Sa'd b. Tamīm against 'Amr b. Tamīm); Djabala (Tamīm and Dhubyān against 'Amir and 'Abs); Hawmal (Yarbū' against Shaibān, commanded by Bistām b. Kais); Dhū Tulūh (Yarbū' against Lahāzim and Shaibān); Dhū Nadjab (Yarbū' against 'Amir); Raḥraḥān (Dārim against 'Amir); Raḡhām (Yarbū' against Kilāb); Zubālā (Tamīm against Bakr); Šaiyiṭān (id.); Šarā'im (Yarbū' against 'Abs); Tikhfa (cf. above) Ghābīt (Malik and Yarbū' against Shaibān); Ghawl (Yarbū' against Ghassān); Farūk (Sa'd against 'Abs); Kuṣṣāwa (Yarbū' against Shaibān); Kulāb 2nd (Sa'd and Ribāb against Madhhidj); Marrūt (Yarbū' against Kuṣhair); Mulziḳ (Sa'd against 'Amir); Nibādj (Minḡar against Bakr); Nisār (Tamīm and 'Amir against Ribāb and Asad); Watidāt (Naḡshal against Hilāl); Waḳīt (Dārim against Lahāzim).

Islām found the Tamīm, like the other eastern tribes outside the range of direct influence. It was only after Muḡammad's victory over the neighbouring tribes and after the supremacy of the Medinese theocracy had been imposed on Central Arabia that the Tamīm saw the advantage of an alliance with Islām. They sent an embassy to Medina in the year 8 and made a treaty of friendship with Muḡammad but, it seems, without becoming converts. They were therefore the first to reassert their complete independence on the death of the Prophet. The part which the Tamīm played in the *riḍā* is notable for the share in it taken

by the prophetess Saḡḡah [q. v.] whose true character is unfortunately unknown, distorted as it is by a biased tradition. In any case the vigorous campaign of Khālīd b. al-Walīd brought the Tamīm back to the bosom of Islām and the conquests which followed immediately afforded an outlet for their warlike tendencies (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, index to vols. i—ii.). The bulk of the Tamīm warriors naturally went in the direction of Persia and, settling at first in the two great camps of Kūfa and Baṣra, later went to Khorāsān where in the 'Abbāsīd period they formed the majority of the Arab population. In spite of the fact that the historical record of the conquests goes back for the most part to Saif b. 'Omar [q. v.], himself a Tamīmī, and liable to exaggerate the exploits of the Tamīm in the conquests (cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, 12 A.H., § 356, note 2), it cannot be denied that the latter continued to display as Muslims the same warlike spirit that had distinguished them during the Djabiliya. It was no doubt also to their character as true Beduins, — rebels against all authority by nature — that was due their active participation in all the rebellious movements of the Omayyad period. If they only played a small part in the struggle between Kais and Kalb, which was really quite foreign to them they distinguished themselves all the more as Khāridjīs [q. v.]; it is among the Tamīm that we find the most fanatical of these rebels at the beginning of the movement. The chief of the Azārīka, Kaṭari b. al-Fudḡā'a [q. v.] and the most of his followers were Tamīm. We find them equally numerous among the followers of the 'Abbāsīd *da'wa* in Khorāsān. Finally we may note the success at a later period of one of the tribe, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aḡḡlab, a descendant of the Sa'd b. Zaidmanāt, who founded the African dynasty of the Aḡḡlabids [q. v.].

The grammarians and lexicographers have preserved for us a number of peculiarities of the Tamīmī dialect which will be found in the works quoted in the article KAIS 'AILĀN and also in Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, p. 8—23; Aḡmad b. Fāris, *al-Sāhibī*, Cairo, 1328, p. 24 sqq. Many of these peculiarities are also found in the dialects of other tribes, e.g. the *kashkasha*, which other texts attribute to the Rabī'a, the *'ana-na* which is also recorded of the Kais, the use of *i* for *a* in the prefix of the imperfect, etc. Other peculiarities are: the *ī* of the *nisba* pronounced like *ḡī*, "the letter between *kāf* and *kāf* etc". It would be imprudent to try to found on these statements, which are due merely to casual and sporadic observations and not the result of a systematic study of the different dialects, any generalisations about the character of the Tamīmī dialect. What is certain is that it formed with the dialect of the Kais and Bakr the eastern group of dialects of ancient Arabia, clearly differentiated from the dialects of the west (cf. Vollers, *op. cit.*, p. 4 sq.). The Tamīm were further reputed to be in poetry and eloquence the depository of the true 'Arabiya: we find among them, as has already been mentioned, some of the most illustrious poets of all old Arabic literature: Aws b. Ḥadjar, Salāma b. Dḡandal, Sulāik b. Sulaka, 'Abda b. Ṭabīb, 'Adī b. Zaid, Mālik et Mutammim b. Nuwaira, al-Mukhallab, in the Omayyad period besides Djarir and al-Farazdaq, al-Ba'ith, Kuṭhaiyir, Ṭabīb Kuṭna, Aws b. Maḡḡra', al-'Adḡḡādī, Ru'ba, etc.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 442—443; Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Ishṭīḡāḡ*, ed.

Wüstenfeld, p. 123—160; Ibn Kūtaiba, *al-Ma'arif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 37—38; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb* (MS. British Museum Add., 23,297) f. 62r—96v; *Nakā'id Dīarir wa 'l-Farasaḍaḥ*, ed. Bevan, *passim*; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, ii. 461—484, 569—604.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

TAMĪM B. AL-MU'IZZ, brother of the fifth Fātimid caliph al-'Azīz, is said to have been born c. 337 (948—949). He was noted in his day for his liberality and interest in *belles lettres*. A prince of culture and elegance with a reputation amongst his contemporaries as a poet of refinement and skill. He missed nomination as heir apparent, his brother al-'Azīz being preferred to him. Al-'Azīz seems to have been very fond of him, judging from his grief at the latter's death, which is stated to have taken place at Cairo in Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da 374 (April 985). After the funeral prayers in the Karāfa Cemetery, his body was laid in the palace vault. But opinion differs as to the precise year of his demise. Ibn Taghribirdī dates this event in 368 A. H. Specimens of his verse are supplied by Ibn Khallikān in his Biographical Dictionary.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, transl. de Slane, i. 279 *sqq.*; Ibn Duḡmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiḡār*, iv. 85; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Churches ana Monasteries of Egypt*, transl. Evetts, fol. 41a; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Annals*, ed. Popper, p. 23, 8; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Mughrib*, transl. Tallquist, i. 91 *sqq.*; Yāḳūt, *Geogr.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 865.

(J. WALKER)

TAMĪM B. AL-MU'IZZ, fifth ruler of the Ṣanhādja family of the Banū Zīrī, who reigned in eastern Barbary from 454—501 (1062—1108). He was born at Ṣabra-Man-Ṣūriya near al-Ḳairawān. Ibn 'Idhārī described him as a man of tall stature and handsome appearance, and gives some curious details about his way of living. He was a very highly cultured man and reckoned among the most distinguished poets who have occupied a throne.

He was 23 in 445 (1053) when al-Mu'izz, his father, appointed him governor of al-Mahdiyya [q. v.]. It was just after the appearance of the Banū Hilāl Arabs, who had already inflicted one or two severe defeats on the troops of al-Mu'izz and occupied a considerable part of Ifriḳiyya. Four years later, in 449 (1057), al-Mu'izz left Ḳairawān, his capital, where his position was untenable and took refuge in al-Mahdiyya with Tamīm who received him with deference. Tamīm henceforth conducted the business of the state alone and on the death of al-Mu'izz (454 = 1062), he was officially recognized as sovereign. In the very difficult circumstances under which he came to power, Tamīm showed very remarkable energy and ability. From the town of al-Mahdiyya, which was practically all his dominion, he set himself to regain all the cities of Ifriḳiyya which former governors, Arab emirs, or mere adventurers had made into independent principalities. He had to fight against his relatives, the Banū Ḥammād of the Ḳal'a who were endeavouring to take advantage of the difficulties of the old kingdom of al-Ḳairawān. To this end he availed himself of the rivalries among the different groups of Arabs and gained the assistance of the most powerful, the Banū Riyāḥ. With the help of this alliance which was not without its dangers, he was able to foil the Ḥammādid al-Nāṣir's plans against al-Mahdiyya.

His activities, otherwise, seem to have been mainly directed against the towns of the coast. He sent many expeditions against them, the success of which could at best be ephemeral. He was able to retake Sūs, forced the Banū Ḳhurāsān of Tunis to submit, failed before Gabes, then took it, laid waste the suburbs of Sfax and then entered it. His base al-Mahdiyya was itself much threatened. The Arabs besieged it closely in 1084.

Tamīm's effort against the coast-towns is explained by the aims which sent him to the sea while the land was slipping from him. Following his father in this respect, he tried to prevent the conquest of Sicily by the Normans. Having failed, he intensified his piratical raids. On the Christian side, this produced an alliance of Genoese and Pisans who on Aug. 6, 1087 succeeded in occupying al-Mahdiyya and sacked it. In 1104 the Romans (?) made another attack on the town which ended disastrously for them.

Four years later (1108), Tamīm died at the age of 78 and was buried in the Ḳaṣr al-Saiyida at Monastir.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, transl. de Slane (*Biographical Dictionary*), i. 281—284; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 307—313; transl. F. Fagnan, i. 444—454; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 206—207; transl., ii. 22—24; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 389; x. 10, 19, 30, 105, 109—110, 119, 132—133, 175, 314—315; transl. F. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb*), p. 460, 470 *sqq.*, 486 *sqq.*, 490, 501, 509—510, 515—517; Ibn Abī Dīnār (El-Ḳairawān), *Mūnis*, transl. Pellissier and Rémusat, p. 145—147; al-Tdjānī, *Rihla*, transl. Rousseau, in *J. As.*, 1852, ii., p. 130 *sqq.*; 1853, i., p. 370 *sqq.*; Mas Latrie, *Traité des paix*, i. 29—30; Hasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *al-Muntakhabāt al-Tūnisiyya*, Tunis 1337, p. 101—104; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, p. 124—125, 134—139, 142—143.

(G. MARÇAIS)

TAMĪM AL-DĀRĪ, a companion of the Prophet. His *nisba* al-Dārī is said to be derived from the clan of the Banu 'l-Dār (for 'Abd al-Dār, according to Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 108, note 4), a section of the tribe of Laḳhm [q. v.]. Al-Nawawī however (*Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 178) gives him the *nisba* of al-Dairī, said to be derived from the convent (*dair*) in which he was a monk before his conversion to Islām. His genealogy was: Tamīm b. Aws b. Ḳhāridja b. Sawād (var. Sūd) b. Dījadhīma b. Darā' (var. Dhīrā', Widā') b. 'Adī b. al-Dār b. Hānī b. Ḥabīb b. Numāra b. Laḳhm (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tabellen*, 5—25; cf. Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2542, 2545; Ibn Sa'd, vii/ii. 129—130 etc.). From Palestine, where he lived with his tribe, Tamīm came to Muḥammad at the head of ten of his relatives after the Ḳhaibar campaign in 7 A. H. (Ibn Hishām, *Str.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 777) or, what is more probable, after the Tabūk campaign in 9 A. H. which brought the Muslim army up to the frontiers of Syria (Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 75, following al-Wāḳidī and Ibn al-Kalbī): the first statement may be due to some confusion that has arisen from the fact that Muḥammad allotted to the Banu 'l-Dār the revenue from part of the lands taken at Ḳhaibar (Wāḳidī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 287). Tamīm embraced Islām and settled in Madīna. The fact that he had been a Christian, like most of the Arabs of Syria, enabled him to advise the

Prophet on details of public worship which were adopted by him from the Christians, among them the use of oil-lamps in the mosque (cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *R.H.R.*, lxxxi. [1920], 247 sqq. = *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, viii. 216 sqq.: *La lampe et l'olivier dans le Coran*). He is said to have been the first narrator of religious stories (*kāṣṣ*: cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 161 infra; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ*, p. 178) and it is really to this literary genre of the *ḥiṣṣa* [q.v.] that belong the stories of the end of the world and the coming of Antichrist (*al-Daḍḍjāl* [q.v.]) and of the Beast (*al-Djassāsa*), which Tamīm communicated to Muḥammad and the latter published on his authority. Tamīm is said to have seen the two apocalyptic monsters with his own eyes and spoken with them in an island situated at the end of the world, where the tempest had thrown him on a voyage on the Syrian seas. On this island *al-Daḍḍjāl* and *al-al-Djassāsa* are kept to await the day when they will be let loose on the world. This legend of Tamīm must have arisen at quite a remote period for it is already found with all its details in the earliest collections of ḥadīth: Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, *al-Tirmidhī*, Ibn Māḍja, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (see the references by Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muḥammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p. 50 s.v. *Daḍḍjāl*). At a later period, the legend is located after the death of Muḥammad and put in a different setting: it is no longer as a result of a shipwreck that Tamīm comes to learn the mysteries of the other world; he is carried during the night from his house by a djinnī and passes through a series of unknown countries, peopled with all kinds of fantastic beings, and after experiencing a number of weird and perilous adventures in which the meeting with *al-Daḍḍjāl* and *al-Djassāsa* is only an episode, he is taken by an angel on a cloud and brought back to his home. His wife who had thought him dead and married again is in a most difficult position. The question laid before the Caliph ʿOmar was referred by him to ʿAlī who said that the Prophet had foreseen all that would happen to Tamīm and left the wife free to choose between the two husbands; she prefers to go back to Tamīm. This form of the legend which combines the two common motives of a journey to the realms of fable and the supposed dead man returning, was very widely diffused and it is known in Turkish, Malay and Spanish versions. A recension of the Arabic text to which these versions go back was published by R. Basset (*Les aventures merveilleuses de Tamīm al-Dārī*, in the *Giornale della Società Italiana*, v. [1891], 3-26) from a manuscript in Algiers to the MSS which he mentions in Paris, Oxford, Leyden and Tunis may be added those of the India Office, No. 1044 viii., and Berlin, 9069, 9070, 9105-9122. The text has also been printed in Cairo in a popular form). It is of course impossible to fix the date at which the legend took shape: Basset notes that *al-Dimashkī* (d. 727) gives a resumé of it in a form very like that of our texts (*ʿAdḍāʾib al-Barr wa ʾl-Baḥr*, ed. Mehren, p. 149).

Another incident of quite a different kind has contributed to the fame of Tamīm al-Dārī. When he met Muḥammad he is said to have asked him to give him as a fief (*ḥaṭṭāʾ*, cf. *ḥaṭṭāʾ*) for himself and his descendants the district in which he lived with his family at Hebron al-Khalīl [q.v.]. The Prophet granted the request, although Palestine

was still under the Byzantines, and the grant was confirmed by a document which Tamīm produced at the Arab conquest of Palestine which secured him and the heirs of his brother Nuʿaim (Tamīm had only a daughter) the possession of the districts of Ḥabrūn (var. Ḥibrā), al-Marṭūm (var. Maṭlūn, Maṭlūn, al-Ruṭūm, Maṭlūn: perhaps the last is the correct form and in it should be recognised the word *al-marṭūl* = μαρτρίον with the usual substitution of *n* for *l* as in *Djibril*, *Djibrin* etc.), Bait ʿAinūn and Bait Ibrāhīm; this estate remained in the family till quite a recent period and at the present day the keepers of the *ḥaram al-Khalīl* claim to be descended from Tamīm al-Dārī. The significance of this gift is a double one. In the first place it is evidence of the supernatural powers of the Prophet and on the other, it is the earliest reference to a regular grant of an *iqṭāʾ*. The text of the deed which was drawn up by ʿAlī (although some sources say Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān) was handed down in two versions of which the first, the shorter one, only mentions Ḥibrā and ʿAinūn and is signed only by ʿAlī (Ibn Saʿd, *i.ii.* 21, 27-22, 3; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādī*, Bulāḳ 1302, p. 132), while the other, a longer one, begins with the formula: *hādḥā mā anṭā* (var. *aḥṭāʾa*) *Muḥammad...*, gives the four places mentioned above and is signed by the three first Caliphs, Abū Bakr, ʿOmar and ʿUthmān, as witnesses. It is the latter text which was in the possession of the Dārīyūn, who guarded it jealously and always produced it when threatened with spoliation by the local authorities. When Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmārī saw it on the occasion of a visit which he paid to the sanctuary of Hebron in 745 (*Masālik al-Aḥṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, Cairo 1342, i. 172-175), it was written on an old piece of skin which had been a part of one of ʿAlī's shoes; the letters, in old Cufic characters, which were almost entirely obliterated and only a few faint traces left, but a certificate (*shahāda*) of the Caliph al-Mustaḍī (566-575) confirmed its authenticity and gave a copy of the text; the document was wrapped in a rich covering of silk and kept in an ebony casket. Muḍjir al-Dīn al-ʿUlaimī who saw the document about 150 years later (cf. al-ʿUmārī, *al-Uns al-ajalīl*, Cairo 1283, p. 428-429: the book was written in 900-901) gives practically the same information but the *shahāda* according to him was from the caliph al-Mustandjīd (555-566). Later, under Ottoman rule, the Dārī Taḳī al-Dīn gave the document to Sulṭān Murād who put it in his library and as a reward gave the Taḳī al-Dīn a post as *ḳāḍī* in Cairo. The Murād in question can only be Murād III (982-1003 = 1574-1595) or Murād IV (1032-1049 = 1623-1640) for the incident is recorded by one of the scholiasts of the *Kitāb al-Ishṭīḳāḳ* of Ibn Duraid (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 226b.), a certain Muḥammad b. ʿOmar who (p. 211b.) says he was a descendant of the historian Muḥibb al-Dīn b. al-Shiḥna (d. 890 = 1485) (cf. the preface, p. v.; Wüstenfeld is wrong in thinking he was his grandson). The longer version is also given in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 195; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Dimashk*, Damascus 1331, iii. 344-357, who also gives the shorter version in the very full and detailed biography which he devotes to Tamīm on which al-Ḳalqashandī relies entirely (*Subḥ al-Aṣḥāʾ*, Cairo 1337, xiii. 118-122).

The apocryphal character of the document scarcely needs to be proved (cf. Caetani, *Annali*

dell' Islām, ii. 288—291 [9 A. H., § 69, note 1, § 70, note 2]; Krenkow, *Islamica*, i. [1925], 529—532: the existence of the two versions is sufficient to show that the text is a complete fabrication. But the fraud must be old; not only is the document given in Abū Yūsuf, al-Wakīdī, Ibn al-Kalbī (cf. above) which takes us to the end of the second century A. H. but we could take it back to the end of the first century if we can believe the anecdote recorded by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 129, 13—14) from Ibn al-Kalbī (it is given also in the *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Escorial MS., f. 70 a b), according to which the Caliph Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, when passing by the fiefs of the Dāriyūn was careful not to stop there "for fear of bringing God's curse upon him". This is clearly an allusion to the document, which in the shorter version threatens with the curse of God any one who in any way infringes the *ḥaṭṭa* granted by the Prophet. Besides, there is another tradition according to which Muḥammad had only promised to Tamīm to grant his family the *ḥaṭṭa* of Hebron and the document was only drawn up after the conquest in the name of Abū Bakr (Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 75, following Ibn al-Kalbī: the story of course naturally passed into later writers). Although Wellhausen (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, iv. 126, note 1) considers this tradition to be a "spätere Korrektur", it seems on the contrary to be the older. It is easy to believe that the Muslims at their conquest of Palestine found the sanctuary of Abraham at Hebron occupied by a section of the Christian tribe of Lakḥm, who perhaps exploited it by making charges to pilgrims who came to visit it; the *nisba* al-Dārī would not be an ethnic especially as, except for the family of Tamīm and other individuals mentioned in the story of the embassy to Muḥammad, we have no knowledge of a tribe of al-Dār; it could very well refer to the Dār "the sanctuary" (on this meaning of the word *dār* cf. the article *ḲUṢAYR*). These Lakḥmids, converted to Islām, were probably able to keep the guardianship of the *ḥaram Ibrāhīm*, which became sacred to the Muslims as it had previously been for Jews and Christians, and based their claim on an alleged grant made by Muḥammad to their chief Tamīm whose fame was gradually extended until he was made one of the inspirers of the eschatological beliefs and liturgical institutions of the young faith of Islām. It might even be asked if the traditions associated with the figure of Tamīm al-Dārī are based on any historical figure or if his personality is not completely legendary. Clermont-Ganneau in his article quoted above refers to his *Archaeological Researches*, ii. 463—464 (which are not accessible to me) for the "analogies which the grant of Hebron made to Tamīm al-Dārī presents with that of the same town made in similar conditions to the Caleb of the Bible". But the Calebites received Hebron (Joshua, xv. 13; cf. Judges, i. 10) on the occasion of the general distribution of southern Palestine among the families of the tribe of Judah of which they were clients; there is then no analogy with the grant made to Tamīm in quite special circumstances.

Tradition knows practically nothing of the life of Tamīm after the death of Muḥammad: it only narrates that he left Madīna after the murder of 'Uthmān in 35 and that he returned to his native land where he died at the end of the caliphate of 'Alī (40 A. H.).

Bibliography: Besides the sources and the authors quoted in the course of the article cf. the biographies of the companions; Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 441—442; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, i. 408, 460; iii. 13 note, 432; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, x. 544—546 (40 A. H., §§ 400—404).

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

TAMMŪZ, the tenth month in the Syriac calendar. Its name is derived from that of the fourth Jewish month with which it roughly coincides. It corresponds to July in the Roman calendar and like it has 31 days. According to al-Bīrūnī, in Tammūz the lunar stations 8 and 9 rise and 22 and 23 set; the days on which one rose and the other, 14 days apart from it, set were the 10th and 23rd. According to al-Ḳazwīnī on the other hand, stations 7 and 8 rise, 21 and 22 set, on the 4th and 17th respectively. In the year 1300 of the Seleucid era (989 A. D.) according to al-Bīrūnī the stars of the stations mentioned by al-Ḳazwīnī rose and set on the 9th and 23rd.

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 70, 347—350 (in the English translation the pagination of the Arabic text is given at the side); al-Ḳazwīnī, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūkāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 44 sq., 49, 78 sq. (German transl. Ethé, p. 93 sq., 101 sq., 160 f.); Ginzel, *Handbuch d. meth. u. techn. Chron.*, i., 1906, p. 263 sqq. (M. PLESSNER)

AL-TANĀSĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'ABD AL-DJALĪL ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH, Maghribī author of the xvth century, lived at the court of the Zaiyānid rulers of Tlemcen whose historiographer he became and died in Djumādā II 899 (Feb. 1494). Besides several small works now lost and *fatwās* given by al-Wansharīshī in his *Mi'yār*, we have from the pen of al-Tanāsī a history of his patrons, *Naḡm al-Durr wa 'l-Iḳyān fī Sharaf Banī Zaiyān*, ed. and partly transl. by Bargès, *Histoire des Beni Zayan, rois de Tlemcen*, Paris 1852 and *Complément de l'histoire des Beni Zeiyan, rois de Tlemcen, ouvrage du cheikh . . . al-Tenesy*, Paris 1887. It is, in the fashion of the period, not only a chronicle but also an anthology of poetry, literature, moral sayings and anecdotes.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādī*, Fās 1317, p. 353; Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, Algiers 1326 (1908), p. 248 sq.; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 241; Ben Cheneb, *Idjaza*, Paris 1907, p. 154, § 105. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TANĀSUKH, transmigration, metempsychosis; a belief widespread in India and among several sects of the Muslim world. Muhammadan authors who deal with it attribute it to the Indians rather than to the Pythagoreans.

Shahrastānī in his article on the "people of metempsychosis" takes the word in a wide sense: to him it means the doctrine of the successive lives and rebirths of the world. The Indians, he says, are of all nations that which believes most in metempsychosis. They tell the story of the phoenix and then say it is the same with the universe; after a certain number of revolutions, the celestial spheres, the stars, all come back to the same point and the life of the universe is repeated. The length of this period of revolution is 30,000 years according to some and 360,000 according to others. Mas'ūdī (*Murūdī*, i. 163) also talks of this great revolution and gives the cycle a duration of 70,000 years: This idea was known

to the Greek astronomers who called it the "great year".

In another sense *tanāsukh* means the diffusion and distribution of the divine spirit among the beings of our world. The *Ghulāt*, who were extreme *Shī'is* admitted, says *Shahrastānī*, *tanāsukh* and the descent or incarnation (*hulūl*) of all or part of the divine principle in certain men. Belief in this kind of *tanāsukh* is found among many peoples, who received it from the Mazdaki Magi, Brahmans of Indian, philosophers and Sabaeans. *Hudjwiri* is acquainted with a sect of *Šūfis* whom he calls *Hulūlis*; they assert that there is only a single spirit, eternal and divine, which is diffused and passes into different bodies. This view, says *Hudjwiri*, is that of many Christians, although they do not confess it, of the generality of Indians, Tibetans, Chinese, and it is found among the *Shī'is*, *Qarmatians* and the *Ismā'ilis*. There are four degrees of metempsychosis: *naskh*, *maskh*, *faskh* and *raskh*.

In the popular sense, of passing from one body to another, the belief in metempsychosis is held by several *Shī'ī* sects. Among the *Mu'tazilis*, according to *Shahrastānī*, the disciples of *Aḥmad b. Ḥa'it* taught that God first created beings in a kind of Paradise; then those who were guilty of some disobedience were sent by Him into our world in the form of men or animals according to the gravity of their sins; they then migrate from form to form until the effects of their sins have ceased.

The *Ismā'ilis* did not admit the passage of the soul into the bodies of animals; but they did admit successive lives in which the souls are active in the world of birth and death until they have recognised the *Imām*; they then rise to the world of light.

The *Nuṣairis* believe that the sinner of their religion will return to the world as a Jew, Sunni Muslim or Christian; the infidels who have not known 'Alī become camels, mules, asses, dogs or other similar animals. There are seven degrees of metempsychosis, according to the *Nuṣairis*; the faithful soul which has passed through the seven degrees rises into the stars from which in the beginning it had descended. *Anz* and *Dussaud* have connected this theory with the doctrine of the ascension of the soul through the seven heavens which originating on the Babylonian soil spread into Persian beliefs and then into those of the Neo-Platonists and the Gnostics. The *Druses* have taken some of their popular beliefs from the *Nuṣairis*, although their founder *Ḥamza* was opposed to them; they believe that the souls of the enemies of 'Alī will enter the bodies of dogs, monkeys and swine. The *Kurds* and the *Yazīdīs* believe in transmigration into the bodies of men and animals and in successive existences separated by an interval of 72 years. According to *Saiyid Sharif Djurdjāni* (*Ta'rifāt*) the *tanāsukh* is the passing of the soul to a new body without intervals on account of the inclination of the spirit for the body.

Al-Samarḳandi quotes curious legends about *maskh* (a variant of *naskh*), according to which the monkey, the pig and other animals are descended from people who have been metamorphosed. The star *Suhail* and the planet *Zuhra* (Venus) are in the same way said to have been a king and a princess punished by God for their crimes and

placed — somewhat illogically — among the stars. Finally we may mention the stories of metamorphosis found in the *1001 Nights* and other tales.

Bibliography: *Shahrastānī*, *Kitāb al-Milāl wa 'l-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, London 1842, ii. 297 and *passim*; *Hudjwiri*, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, transl. R. A. Nicholson, in *G. M. S.*, Leyden and London 1911, p. 260 *sqq.*; R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nuṣairis*, Paris 1900, p. 120 *sqq.*; W. Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen* by v. Gebhardt und Harnack, xv., Leipzig 1897; St. Guyard, *Un grand Maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin*, *J. A.*, Paris 1877 (tales); *Shaikh Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarḳandi*, *Bustān al-ʿArīfīn*, Mecca 1300, p. 240; J. Menant, *Les Yézidis*, in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris 1892, p. 87. (B. CARRE DE VAUX)

AL-TANĀWUTĪ, the *nisba* of many spiritual *shaikhs* of the *Abādis* [q.v.]. To the fifth (eleventh) century belongs:

Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Tanāwutī who often appears in later tradition. His son *Ismā'īl* but still more his grandson Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. *Ismā'īl* had the reputation of being very devout and miraculously gifted. The most important bearer of the name is the last-named's son:

Abū 'Ammār 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Tanāwutī, fellow-pupil and friend of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī al-Wārdjalānī. He came of a wealthy family and had an allowance of 1,000 *ḍinārs* a year for his studies in Tunis, of which he gave half to his teachers. His interest in learning, particularly in Arabic philology, was so keen that he did not even stop to read the letters that accompanied the paternal remittances. When he opened them, as he was about to return home, he read in one of the death of his father and in another of the death of his mother. His principal teacher in theology was Abū Zakariya Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārdjalānī [q.v.] who also taught Abū Ya'qūb. Abū 'Ammār lived principally in Wargla (Wārdjalān). In the spring he roamed with his herds far to the south among the oases of *Mzab*. His co-religionists revere him as one of the renewers of their religion (*muḥyī al-dīn*). On the question of the verdict on the Caliph 'Alī, always a fundamental one with the *Abādis*, he inclined to leniency. On the other hand he shared the general bitterness of the Berbers against the immigrant Arab Beduins [cf. *HILĀL*]. He declared that the property they had acquired in the *Maghrib* was loot (*ghaṣb*) and, like his friend Abū Ya'qūb, he received a painful impression of the Beduins of the *Ḥidjāz* on a pilgrimage to Mecca so that their consciences troubled them as to whether they who in the *Maghrib* carefully avoided any, even business, intercourse with the Arabs, could purchase from them in the *Ḥidjāz*; they consoled themselves with the reflection that the *Ḥidjāz* had belonged to the Arabs from the very beginning. — Among the writings of Abū 'Ammār are noted *al-Mudjīs fī Taḥṣīl al-Su'āl*, a "Refutation of all enemies of truth", i. e. one of those *farḳ* books in which the *Abādis* used carefully to show that they were distinct from all other schools; also *Sharḥ al-Djahālūt*, but particularly the *Sira* in which *Masqueray* recognised "le règle des clercs", a fundamental work for the spiritual organisation of the *ʿazzāb* leaders and their *ḥalka* disciples. A long illness prevented

Abū 'Ammār from ever answering a list of queries from 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Ghālib b. Numair al-Anṣārī regarding the Abādīs teaching regarding their differences from other sects. A reply was only given after his and 'Abd al-Wahhāb's deaths by Abū Ya'qūb al-Wārdjalānī and is contained in the latter's *Kitāb al-Dalīl*. According to this Abū 'Ammār died before 570 (1174). — His teaching was continued, notably by Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Tanāwutī, the younger, whose name is identical with that of the individual first named in this article.

'Adl b. al-Lu'lu' al-Tanāwutī, who lived for a time on the island of Djerba, is said to have been the first man in Wargla to be killed by the invading Arabs. His brother was the father of Umm al-Mu'min, a woman revered for her miracles. As in the cases above named, the brothers Yaḥyā and 'Abu 'l-Rabī' Sulaimān b. Aiyūb b. Muḥammad b. Abī 'Amr al-Tanāwutī are of interest to the biographers on account of their piety and miracles upon which they love to dilate.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

TANGA (or TANGĀ), the name of the small silver coin which formed the main currency of the Mongol world from the end of the viiith/xivth to the beginning of the xth/xvith century. It varied in weight from 20 to 35 grains (1.3—1.95 grammes) and was struck by the later Ilkhāns, the Khāns of the Golden Horde, the earlier Khāns of the Crimea and the early Tīmūrids. The Russians borrowed the denomination and the name in the form *denga* at the end of the xvth century from the Mongols: *dengas*, latterly of copper, were struck in Russia down to the first half of the xviiiith century. The word *tanga* has survived in Central Asia as the name of a small silver coin of about 50 grains (3.25 grammes) which was struck till last century by the Shāhs of Persia, the Khāns of Khokand and the Emirs of Bukhārā. Tanga is to be connected with the Turki word *tamghā*, an official mark, a die (cf. SIKKA) and not with the Indian *tanka* [q. v.].

(J. ALLAN)

TANGIER, the ancient *Tingis*, Arabic TANDJA (old ethnic: Tandji; modern ethnic: Tandjāwī), a town in Morocco, situated on the Strait of Gibraltar, 7 miles to the east of Cape Spartel [q. v.] at the point where the Atlantic coast begins. The town dominates a magnificent bay terminated on the East by Cape Malabata (Rās al-Manār) and on the West by the citadel (*ḥaṣba*) and its slopes, at times fairly steeply, towards the sea. The town is divided into a number of quarters within the walls and others without. The former, fourteen in number, form the town properly speaking (*Madīna*, popularly *Māīna*). Amongst the principal extramural quarters are those of Sidi Bū-Knādel (Saiyidi Abū Kānādīl), Marshān (a large plateau 1,300 yards long, situated to the West

of the town along the sea), ed-Drādeb (al-Darādīb, that is "the slopes"), Ḥasnūna, Sūḳ al-Barrā, Šfāṣef (al-Šafāṣif, "the poplars", or San Francisco), al-Msallā (al-Muṣallā), es-Suwānī (al-Suwānī, the norias) etc. In the immediate vicinity of Tangier are the villages of Sharf and Tandja al-Bāliya, peopled by rustics of the tribe of Faḥṣ of Tangier. There are a comparatively small number of mosques in the town; there are seven *Khutba* mosques and six of less importance. The chief one, which had been transformed into a church at the time of the Portuguese occupation was the object of several restorations after being won back for the faith in 1684. The town in the strict sense is surrounded by a rampart more than 2,000 yards in length, built in stone, which dates in large measure from the time of the Portuguese occupation (1471—1661); it was later restored at different times. Several gates are pierced in it; most of them are recent. On either side of the rampart towers (*bordj*) are still standing; amongst them may be mentioned the *bordj al-na'am*, Irish tower, the *bordj dār al-bārūd* (the York Castle of the English period), the *bordj al-salām*, with 29 bronze cannon of European origin. The principal monument of the town is the Sharifian palace, which is situated in the East part of the citadel. It is here that the government of the town has been located for several centuries. The English during their occupation called it the Upper Castle. The present palace was built on the ruins of this Upper Castle by the Pasha Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamsāmānī al-Rifī before the year 1743, in which he was killed in a battle near al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr (Alcazar quivir, q. v.).

Tangier has now a rather mixed population amounting to about 50,000 inhabitants of whom 30,000 are Muslims, 12,000 Jews and a European colony in which the Spanish element was the dominant one until quite recently. From the nineteenth century, the town was the residence of the representatives of foreign countries at the court of the Sultāns of Morocco. This role of diplomatic capital of the Sharifian Empire has given Tangier a character of its own. It is now the capital of the international zone which bears its name; the status of this zone has been recently defined.

The most varied legends are told about the origin and foundation of Tangier. There is not space to recall them here. The site was known to and first inhabited by the Phoenicians, and after that by Punic colonists. Tangier figures in the *Periplus* of Hanno (530 B. C.). It seems that the town was the capital of different petty native kings of whom the chief one was Bokkus I (c. 105 B. C.). In the reign of Bokkus III (in 38 B. C.) it was formed into a republic and was declared by Rome a free city until in the reign of Claudius (42 B. C.) it was raised to the rank of *Colonia*, with the name of *Julia Traducta* and became the capital of the province of *Mauretania Tingitania*. In the year 291 at the time of the administrative reform of Diocletian, when Mauretania Tingitania was joined to the diocese of Baetica, Tangier became the residence of a *Comes*, and of a *Praeses* for civil administration. Tangier passed thereafter under Byzantine rule, but the residence of the representative of the Emperor of Constantinople was at Ceuta.

It was at the beginning of the eighth century that Tangier became Muslim; it was captured by

the celebrated Mūsā b. Nuṣair, who entrusted its government to one of his lieutenants, Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād al-Laithī, who concentrated close to the town the forces which were to carry out from Ceuta the first Muslim landing in Spain in the year 711. During the period of the governors nominated by the Caliphs of the East, Tangier became the capital of Morocco as far as the Grand Atlas, whence the expression *al-Sūs al-Adnā*, in opposition to *al-Sūs al-Aḡṣā* [q. v.]. The first governor who thus had Tangier as his residence was 'Umar b. 'Ubaid Allāh al-Murādī in the year 732. Soon afterwards, in the very suburbs of Tangier the revolt of Maisara broke out. Maisara was a Berber who, under cover of the Khāridjī movement, desiring to rid Morocco of the Arab yoke, managed to win over to his cause a great number of followers and marched upon Tangier which he seized in the year 740. The troubles which he fomented lasted until 785.

It is at Tangier that the historians make the fugitive Idrīs I, who was to become master of all the country, land on his arrival from the East. Finding the position of this town not sufficiently central, he seems never to have thought of making it his capital and Tangier now lost its rank as the first town in Morocco, which it never regained. It fell at the time of the Idrisid partition of 829 to al-Kāsim, soon displaced by his brother 'Umar, who died in 835. All the North-West of Morocco had passed into the hands of this prince, and his descendants kept it from father to son in an almost independent manner for more than a century. It was not until 949, that Tangier was annexed to the possessions of the Umayyad Caliphs of Spain who appointed a governor, charged at the same time with the administration of Morocco, which had been reduced to the state of a vassal province of Cordova. It was thus that at the beginning of the xith century the Idrisid 'Alī b. Hammūd was appointed governor of Tangier by the Caliph Sulaimān al-Musta'īn bi 'llāh, before fomenting the rebellion which brought him to the throne of Cordova in 1016. All the revolts at the end of the Umayyad Caliphate thus had their repercussions on Tangier and also on the neighbouring Ceuta and the Berbers of the country, ever on the alert to what was taking place on the other side of the Strait, placed at their head two governors of the tribe of the Barghawāta [q. v.], Rizḳ Allāh at Tangier and Suḳḳūt at Ceuta, under the quite nominal suzerainty of the Hammūdids of Spain.

Tangier was taken by the Almoravids in the year 470 (1077). It was there that the celebrated al-Mu'tamid [q. v.] disembarked in the year 1090. He was the last 'Abbādid of Seville, and had been exiled to Morocco by Yūsuf b. Ṭāshfin. On the fall of the Almoravid dynasty the town passed at once under the Almohad domination. The first Caliph, 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī [q. v.], seized it in the year 542 (1147). During the whole of the period of the dynasty it remained a flourishing town, and a port which was much frequented on account of its proximity to Spain.

Tangier, like the rest of North-West Morocco, did not at once recognize the new Marinid dynasty, on the fall of the Almohad dynasty. While Ceuta passed under the rule of the local princes of the family of the Banu 'l-'Azafī, Tangier took as its chief Abu 'l-Ḥadīdjādī Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Amīr al-Ḥamdānī who was killed in the year

665 (1266—1267) after having declared himself first the vassal of the Ḥafṣids of Ifrikiya, then of the 'Abbāsids of the East. In 672 (1274) Tangier was taken by assault by the Marinid Sultān Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ after a three months' siege. During the following century the town passed once more through an obscure period, and became involved in different rebellions, which mark the last period of the Marinid Empire.

It was in the first half of the xvth century that Tangier attracted, for the first time since its conversion to Islām, the covetousness of the Christian states of Europe. The Portuguese, masters of Ceuta since 1415, attempted by land to seize Tangier in 841 (1437). But this attempt remained without result as did those of 1458 and 1464. Finally they occupied the town on the 28th August 1471, during the reign of Alphonso V.

The occupation of Tangier by the Portuguese extended from 1471 to 1661, almost two centuries. Like the other Portuguese possessions in Morocco, Tangier passed nominally to Spain in 1581 under Philip II after the union of Portugal to the crown of Spain but it kept its own administration and its Portuguese garrison. This state of affairs lasted until 1643. After a revolution, Tangier again accepted the authority of the new Portuguese sovereign of the House of Braganza John IV.

In the year 1661, Tangier passed from the hands of the Portuguese into those of the English on the occasion of the marriage of Charles II to the Infanta Catherine of Braganza, the Portuguese possession being part of the dowry of the princess. An English squadron, commanded by the Lord Sandwich, came to take possession of the town and a garrison disembarked there at the end of November of the same year while the garrison and almost all the Portuguese population returned to their native land.

Before the passage of the town of Tangier to the Crown of England, the Portuguese had only been able to maintain themselves in the place with difficulties of all kinds. Numerous skirmishes with *Mudjāhidūn*, under the stimulus of a leader of a holy war, a member of the tribe of the Banū Gurfat, al-Khaḍīr (the Moroccan form of al-Khiḍr) Ghailān b. 'Alī, had harassed them without cessation on the outskirts of the town, and they were almost forced on many occasions to abandon their possession of it. It continued to be the same under English rule. The governor, the Earl of Peterborough, tried at first to conclude a truce with the *Mudjāhidūn* by paying a sum of money but this truce was only respected during the years 1663—1664, after a check that the Muslims had suffered under the ramparts of the town. Hereafter the pact was broken and on the 3rd of May 1664, the new governor, the Earl of Teviot, fell into an ambushade near Tangier and was killed with more than 400 of his soldiers.

The English, however, managed later to win over to their cause the chief Ghailān, who had set up as a pretender against the new 'Alawid Sultān Mawlay al-Rashid [q. v.]. An alliance was signed in 1666 between him and the governor Baron Bellasyse, but after being held in check by the troops of al-Rashid, Ghailān was forced to cease all activity in the north of Morocco. Up to the death of this chief in 1673, the English enjoyed a respite in Tangier and they made use of it to carry out a great scheme of fortification and the con-

struction of a mole. But the expense which these works necessitated along with other causes helped to make the occupation of Tangier very unpopular in England. Thus it was under very favourable conditions that the 'Alawid Sultān Mawlāy Ismā'il decided to lay siege to the town. This siege lasted not less than six years. An army was gathered together to blockade Tangier and the attacks on the advanced position of the system of defences were successful from the year 1678. As the siege became more and more severe, the English decided to evacuate the town after blowing up the mole and the most important fortifications. On February 6th, 1684 the garrison and the English population embarked with the last governor, Lord Dartmouth, and Tangier became once more a Muslim town.

The Moroccan governor, who was appointed to the command of Tangier, named Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamsāmānī al-Rifī, at once proceeded to rebuild the town which had been left in ruins by the English. He, and after him his son, became sufficiently powerful throughout the district to be able soon to withstand Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh, the successor of Mawlāy Ismā'il, and to give an asylum to the pretenders to the dynasty. In later times also, the governors of Tangier who nearly all belonged to the same family had no hesitation in occasionally throwing off the authority of the sultāns. The history of the relations of these governors with the makhzen is the history of Tangier until the sixteenth century.

On August 6th, 1844 Tangier was bombarded by a French squadron under the command of the Prince de Joinville. Eight days afterwards the Moroccan forces were routed at the battle of Isly.

It is unnecessary to quote here the successive agreements come to between the European powers and Morocco which ended in the elaboration and adoption of the statute under which Tangier and its zone are at present ruled, along with the zone of Spanish influence and the zone of French influence in Morocco. A railway from Tangier to Fās and to Rabāt has been open since the year 1927.

Bibliography: A good monograph on Tangier with documents, statistics, illustrations and maps has been published under the title of "*Tanger et sa zone*" being volume vii. of the collection "*Villes et tribus du Maroc*", Documents et renseignements publiés par la Section Sociologique de la Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc, Paris 1921. The "*Archives Marocaines*", Paris 1904—1920 also contain a number of documents on Tangier. For the Portuguese occupation the principal contemporary source is the "*Historia de Tangere*" of D. Fernando de Menezes, Lisbon 1732. Tangier has been the subject of many descriptions by travellers (chiefly English) in the sixteenth century. A list of them can be found in Playfair's *Bibliography of Morocco*, London 1892. In conclusion, the Arabic dialect spoken by the citizens of Tangier has been the subject of a masterly study by William Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, based on the works of Lüderitz, Meissner, Blanc, Marchand and Kampffmeyer. These texts besides their linguistic interest contain valuable information about society and native life in Tangier.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TANKA, (Sanskrit *ṭaṅka*, a weight of silver = 4 māṣas): an Indian coin. When Maḥmūd of Ghazna conquered northwestern India and struck bilingual coins for the convenience of his Hindu subjects, ṭaṅka was used in the Nāgarī legend as the translation of *dirham* in the Arabic legend. Shams al-Dīn Ilutmish, Sultān of Dehli (1210—1235 = 607—633) introduced a heavy silver coin of 175 grains (= 11.3 grammes) and gave it the name of tanka (although *tola* would have been more accurate); a gold tanka of the same weight was first introduced by Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (1246—1265 = 646—664). These two coins were henceforth to be the standard coins of India. The gold tanka was last struck by Mu'izz al-Dīn Mu-bārak (1421—1433 = 824—837) except for a few rare pieces of the Suris. The coin itself was again struck by Akbar but was now known as the *muhr* [q. v.]. The silver tanka became gradually debased after the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughlak, being practically copper ("black tanka") under the Lōdis. In the great reform of the coinage by Sher Shāh (1539—1545 = 946—952) it was restored to its original fineness and weight but was now called the rupee (*rūpiya*). As the rupee, the denomination was taken over by Akbar and has continued the monetary unit of India to the present day. Akbar transferred the name tanka to copper coinage; his tanka was a piece of 2 dāms (640 grains = 41.5 grammes); he also struck a copper coin called the *tanki* which was $\frac{1}{10}$ of a tanka (64 grains = 4.15 grammes).

Silver and more rarely gold tankas were also the currency of the various contemporaries of the Sultāns of Dehli, in Bengal, Gujārat, Malwa and the Deccan. The word still survives in Bengālī in the form *ṭakā* and is the regular Bengālī word for the rupee; in Southern India the name is still in use on the Portuguese coins of Goa where it is the equivalent of anna.

Bibliography: E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, London 1871; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Coins of the Sultans of Dehli in the British Museum*, London 1883, p. xix—xxvii. (J. ALLAN)

TANRI (T.), Heaven; God. In the eastern dialects the vocalisation is usually palatal: Čaghataī, *tāngri* (written تينگری) and similar forms in the other dialects. The trisyllabic forms in Teleut (*tāñürä*) and in the Altai dialect (*tāñäri*) are worthy of note; the Kasan dialect has alongside of *tāngri* (god) a word *täri* = image of a saint, ikon (we may here mention the proper name *Täri-birdi*, where *täri* of course means God). Ottoman Turkish has a non-palatal vocalisation (*tañrı*) as has Yakutich which has also in addition a trisyllabic form (*tañara*).

For the lexicographical material cf. Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, s. v.; W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-dialekte*, iii. 823, 1043 sq., 1047 sq., 1065; O. Böhtlingk, *Über die Sprache der Jakuten: Jakutisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, p. 90; H. Vámbéry, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-Tatarischen Sprachen*, p. 168 sq.; and lastly al-Kāshgharī (*Diwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1333—1335, iii. 278 sq.), who says: "*tāngri* means God; the infidels however call heaven *tāngri* and likewise everything that impresses them, e. g. a high mountain or a large tree. They worship such things

and they call a wise man *tängrikän*". This word *tängrikän* appears also as an old Turkī title (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii. 1048; F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, p. 47: *tängrikän* = ruler). With the meaning "God" (in the Manichaeism system) we find *tängrikän* for example in the Manichaean confession of sins (*Chuastuanift*, ed. A. von Le Coq, 1911, p. 10). The word *tängrim* (i.e. *tängri* with the pronominal suffix of the first person) seems to be used in the Turfan texts in the titles of princesses or queens (cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, p. 48, who compares the modern usage of *khanım* and *begam*). We may here give a few derivatives of *tängri*: *tängriči* (in the Manichaean confession of sins, cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 289, 299) = preacher, chosen one (lit. man of God); Kuman, *tehrilik* = "divine"; Uigur, *tengrilik* = "pious". The Mongol *tägrī* (God) is a loanword from the Turkish (for this form cf. *Bibl. Buddhica*, xii. 51).

The etymologies proposed for the Turkish word (e.g. by Vámbéry and Barbier de Meynard, s. v.) are of no value. In most modern Central Asian dialects of Turkish *tängri* has the two meanings "God" and "Heaven"; in Ottoman Turkish on the other hand the (rather obsolete) word has apparently only the meaning "God". For idiomatic combinations of *täñri*, e.g. *täñri dewedjeji* = thousand-footed, cf. the Dictionaries of Radloff and Barbier de Meynard (s. v.).

To define the conceptions implied by the word *tängri* so far as the beliefs of Turkish paganism is concerned, it will be advisable to deal first with the old Turkish inscriptions and then with the material collected in modern times from Teleut and Altai shamanism.

In the inscriptions *täñri* almost always appears as a divine power: it is by his will that the king attains to power; the king himself is "like *täñri*" and "born of *täñri*" (*täñritäg täñridä bolmış*) and installed by *täñri* (*täñri yararmış*). *Täñri* protects the Turkish people, secures their continuance as a nation and gives the Turkish chiefs victory over their foes: in this quality of special protector of the Turks he is described as *Türk täñrisi*. Alongside of the God of Heaven we find a certain power over the fate of the people and the individual conceded to the spirits of earth and water (*yir-sub*); the highest deity however is *Täñri*.

There are however some passages where the term *täñri* does not imply any real personality. The "blue heaven above" (*özä kök täñri*) is created like the "dark earth below" (*asra yaghız yir*) and mankind. Who created them is not stated. An important passage (V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, p. 112) records that a rising of the Oghuz took place "because heaven and earth were in confusion". Here we have clearly the influence of Chinese ideas of the nature of the universe, the theory which de Groot called "Universismus". This need not surprise us because the Turkish chiefs who had the Orkhon inscriptions prepared lived within the area of Chinese cultural influences.

On the conception of *täñri* in modern Turkish shamanism (i.e. mainly among the Teleut and Altai Turks) cf. H. Vámbéry, *Die primitive Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, 1879, p. 150 sqq.; W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, 1884, ii. 1 sqq. and the texts collected by Radloff in the first volume of his *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen*

Stämme Süd-Sibiriens. This paganism as might be expected, did not remain entirely free from foreign, e.g. Christian and Buddhist influences; when, for example, in a shaman's conjuration we find the expressions *Pyrkan Tengre* and *Pyrkan Kan* (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 33, 44), it is natural to recognise in *Pyrkan* the Mongol (also old Turkish) word *Burkhan* = Buddha. That the pagan Turkish creation myth shows traces of Jewish, Christian and Buddhist influences was noted by Radloff himself (*op. cit.*, ii. 5 sq.). When it is said that the evil spirit Erlik created a heaven for himself, like the god of heaven, one is tempted to think of Zoroastrian influence (the "counter-creations" of Ahriman).

According to Turkish shamanism the most powerful god, Tengere Kaira Kan, created the heavens and also the evil spirit Erlik, the good spirits, mankind and the earth. The form *tengere* (following the orthography in Radloff) corresponds to the Teleut *Tänärä* and Altai *Tänüri*. Kaira Kan must be identical with the Altai *Kairakkan* (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 22), a word used to describe gods and spirits; Tengere Kaira Kan is therefore the "god of heaven".

There are seventeen different regions in heaven arranged in succession one above the other; there the good spirits live. The highest of these minor deities are Bāi Ülgön, Kysagan Tengere and Mergen Tengere. The gods of heaven are not directly appealed to like the spirits of earth and of water but through the intermediary of the spirits of ancestors, i.e. a shaman (*kam*) is required for the purpose. In a Teleut shaman's prayer (Radloff, *Volksliteratur*, i. 238) the heavens above are appealed to as the Creator. In an Altaic myth (Radloff, *ibid.*, i. 61 sqq.) a hero seeks the hand of the daughter of the god of heaven, Tämän Ökö.

When it is said of the thunderstorm in the dialect of Kasan: "The old man of the heavens (*täñri babai*) is thundering", this is a relic of old pagan ideas (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 1425; iii. 1047; iv. 1564).

Speaking generally one may say that, apart from foreign influences, so far as they can be eliminated, in the Turkish conception *täñri* is regarded as the heavens as an element and also as the spirit ruling in heaven. This spirit was probably originally conceived as a kind of force, a something which would be called *mana* in modern ethnology. The conception of a personal god of heaven must have developed out of this.

When Turkish tribes took over other religions the word *tängri* became the name for the god or higher beings of these religions. The meaning "heaven" was naturally driven into the background. To convey the conception of heaven the word *kök* (Ottoman *gök*) was used, which is originally the name of a colour (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 1220). In old Turkish we also find *kök kalık*, the blue ether (*Uigurica*, p. 8, 18; Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 240).

In Buddhist old Turkish texts *tängri* corresponds to the Sanskrit *deva* "god"; in Buddhist mythology, a conception which is better conveyed by the word "angel" because this being lacks several qualities which to us are necessarily associated with the idea of "god". The feminine equivalent *devi* is given by *tängri khatun*; *tängri kızı* is Turkish for *devakanyä* (divine maiden, apsaras). The king of the gods (*devarādja*) Indra

is *tängrilär iliki Khormuzda*; Brahmā is called *Äzrua tängri*. These beings have thus Iranian names, Öhrmazd and (perhaps) Zarwān. The goddess Çri is called *Kut Tängri Khatun* or (without *Khatun*) *Kut Tängri*. The name *Kut Tängri* seems also to be given to Kubera (e.g. Müller, *Uigurica*, p. 45). In a collection of dhāraṇīs for travellers, the *Ṭiṣṭavustik* (ed. by W. Radloff and A. v. Staël-Holstein, St. Petersburg 1910 = *Bibl. Buddhica*, xii.), we find a *deva* named *Tängridām*, whom Radloff takes for Kubera so that the latter has therefore another Turkish name. But this is doubtful, for in one passage (p. 22) of this work, Kubera (*Kupiri*) is mentioned by name and *Tängridām* is mentioned soon after as a different deity, but it must be allowed that in the text there are elsewhere illogicalities (cf. e.g. Turkish text, p. 23 sq.). For Kubera in this work cf. also p. 97, note 2; Buddha himself is often called *Tängri Tängri*. The god of heaven (*devaloka*) is called in Turkish *Tängri Yir* and the *Vaimānika* gods, as a rule peculiar to Jaina mythology, but also found e.g. in the *Ṭiṣṭavustik*, are called *Waimanuki-tängrilär*.

The Manichaean Turkish terminology which is influenced by Buddhist (cf. *Chuastuanift*, ed. A. v. Le Coq, Berlin 1911, p. 5; *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 278) shows the word in the following use: *Tängri* corresponds here to the Iranian *Yazd* (or *Bag*); in the first place this means the highest principle of the Manichaean system and secondly the subordinate spirits of light or gods (*yaruk tängrilär*) in contrast to the demons (*yäklär*). The first man is called *bish tängri*, five-god (from his five components known from the Manichaean myth: ether, wind, light, water and fire). The name *tängri* is also given to the five elements, e.g. *oot tängri* = god of fire. *Tängri* is found with the meaning "heaven" (e.g. *Chuastuanift*, p. 16 = *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 291, l. 167). Paradise is called *Tängri Yir*. This Manichaean terminology corresponds pretty well to the Buddhist. One or two peculiarities may still be pointed out: the occurrence of the already mentioned term, *tängrikän* (*Chuastuanift*, p. 10; *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 281, l. 22), in the name of a deity (*Äzrua Tängrikän*) translated by von le Coq (*J. R. A. S.*, loc. cit.) "Äzrua the Lord" and the peculiar combination *Arkhon Yir Tängri*, the "archon earth-god", in which perhaps the word *tängri* is used for one of the powers of darkness (cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 303, note 31).

In Christian Turkish usage is *Tängri* = God; *Tängri-Oghl* = "Son of God" and *Mshikha Tängri* = the God Messiah. In the Christian fragments published by F. W. K. Müller in *Uigurica* we also have the word *Tängridām*, which we frequently find in Buddhist Turkish; it occurs twice in these Christian texts and seems here to mean simply "God". The Kuman usage gives nothing worthy of special remark.

As regards the earlier Muslim Eastern Turkish texts, the Arabic and Persian terms (*Allāh*, *Khudā*) naturally begin to compete with the Turkish *Tängri*. In the *Kudatku Bilik*, so far as I am aware the Arabic name for God is of rare occurrence (practically only in Arabic quotations). The conception of God is however not exclusively conveyed by *Tängri* in this text but other Turkish words e.g. *Bayat* are used. The word *Tängri* occurs here also with the addition of *ta'ālā*. In the *Bābar-*

nāma *Tängri* seems to be the usual word for the Deity, except in quotations; here also, following the Arabic usage, we sometimes find *Tängri ta'ālā* (e.g. p. 408, ed. Ilminsky). That the word *Tängri* is disappearing in Eastern Turkish also before Arabic and Persian terms is perhaps to be deduced from Shaw's remark (*A Sketch of the Turkish Language*, ii. 69).

Proper names like *Tängribirdi*, *Tängrikul* may be modelled on Persian names like *Khudādā* and *Khadābanda*. (V. F. BÜCHNER).

TÄNSİN, of whom *Shaiḫ* Abu 'l-Faḍl said: "A singer like him has not been in India for a thousand years", was a native of Gwāliyar, and was at first in the service of Rām Čand the Baghela, Rādājā of Pannā, who is said to have given him on one occasion ten million *tankas*. Ibrāhīm Sūr vainly endeavoured to entice him to Āgra, but Akbar, in 1562, sent a mission to Rām Čand at Kāliṇḍjar to induce Tānsin to come to his court, and Rām Čand, not daring to refuse the request, sent him with his musical instruments and many presents to the imperial court. On the first occasion of his performing there Akbar gave him 200,000 rupees. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are still popular in Hindūstān. He had two sons, Tāntarang Khān, also a singer at Akbar's court, and Bilās, whose son-in-law, Lāl Khān, was one of the best singers at the court of Shāh Djahān. Gwāliyar was famous for its musicians, and produced no fewer than eleven of the eighteen singers at Akbar's court.

Bibliography: *Shaiḫ* Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, text and translation by H. Beveridge; *Ā'in-i Akbari*, text and translation by Blochmann and Jarrett; 'Abd al-Ḥamid Lāhawri, *Pādshāh-nāma*, text; all in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(T. W. HAIG)

TAŇTĀ, an important town in the Egyptian Delta between the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile, capital of the Ḡharbiya province, and a busy railway junction, of unprepossessing appearance, about 75 miles from Alexandria. Its Coptic name of **TANTAΘO** has assumed in Arabic the forms *Tandiṭā*, *Tantā* and *TaŇtā*. Formerly it was an episcopal city. Nowadays the place is famous for the tomb and mosque of the most celebrated of the Muslim saints in Egypt, Aḥmad al-Badawī [q.v.]. Throughout the year no fewer than three *Mawālid* or birthdays of this Saint are made the occasion of great fairs to which pilgrims flock from all parts. The presence of a large native population and the extreme veneration with which the spot is regarded have made it a centre of fanaticism. TaŇtā is one of those places where the worship of a Muslim Saint had displaced that of an earlier Coptic one.

The present town is built on one of those numerous mounds of accumulated mud-hut debris so characteristic a feature of the Egyptian landscape. The Aḥmadiya mosque, which was rebuilt under 'Abbās I, is the principal building of any historic importance. It is now the second largest religious establishment in the country. A library, begun in 1898, contains about 9,000 volumes including over 1,000 MSS. The number of professors attached to the TaŇtā institute is over 100; the

students numbering about 2,600. Besides large Government Schools, there is a well-equipped American Mission Hospital. But the health of the people is not improved by the existence of an evil-smelling, muddy canal flowing through the town.

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(J. WALKER)

AL-ṬANṬĀWĪ, MUḤAMMAD 'AĪYĀD (with his full name: AL-SHAIKH MUḤAMMAD B. SA'D B. SULAIMAN 'AĪYĀD AL-MARḤŪMĪ AL-ṬANDITĀ' AL-SHĀFI'Ī), an Arabic scholar of the sixth century, born in 1225 (1810) at Nidjrid (a small village near Ṭanṭā in Egypt), died Oct. 29, 1861 in St. Petersburg. His father, a travelling merchant, was born in Maḥallat Marḥūm, hence his *nisba*: *al-Marḥūmī*. At the age of six he went to a *maktab* in Ṭanṭā. At 13, he moved to his uncle in Cairo and studied at al-Azhar. Of his teachers the celebrated Ibrāhīm al-Bādjurī (d. c. 1276; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 487) had a particular influence on him (see the ode dedicated by Ṭanṭāwī to him, *Z. D. M. G.*, iv. 245—246). He also studied with the poet Ḥasan al-ʿAttār (d. c. 1250; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 473, No. 1). Many of his fellow-students later became famous. His friend Rifāʿa al-Ṭanṭāwī (Brockelmann, ii. 481, No. 6) sent to Paris as Imām of the first scientific mission (1825—1831) by Muḥammad 'Alī was one of the founders of the new literary movement. Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī (1811—1883) was Lane's first tutor (Brockelmann, ii. 478, No. 4). After his father's death in 1243 (1827) al-Ṭanṭāwī had to stay two years in Ṭanṭā, where he continued his studies and gave lectures. Returning to Cairo he joined the teaching staff of the Azhar mosque; here he was one of the first to discuss literary and poetical texts. He had been a teacher for a time in an English school. F. Fresnel was the first to make his fame known in Europe (cf. *J. A.*, 3rd Ser., v., 1828, p. 60 sq.). Many young scholars after him studied with al-Ṭanṭāwī (G. Weil, Dr. Pruner, A. Perron, R. Frāhn, son of the founder and first director of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg). The latter brought his reputation to Russia and in 1840 (1256) al-Ṭanṭāwī was summoned to St. Petersburg as teacher of Arabic in the "Institut des Langues Orientales". In 1848 he was appointed Extraordinary Professor in the University and in 1854 ordinary. His teaching had hardly any permanent influence in Russia; his method was not adapted to the European University system. Of his pupils (1840—1842) the most noted was the Finn G. A. Wallin (1811—1852), the noted Arabian traveller, afterwards Professor in Helsingfors, who corresponded with him regularly till his death (see K. Tallquist, *Bref och Dagboksanteckningar af G. A. Wallin*, Helsingfors 1905). A severe illness forced al-Ṭanṭāwī to go on leave in 1861 and in the same year he died. His tomb with inscriptions in Russian and

Arabic still exists in the Tatar cemetery in Leningrad.

His literary activity before he moved to St. Petersburg was almost exclusively confined to the old fashioned scholarship. He composed many *naẓm*, *sharḥ*, *ḥaṣhiya* and *ḥaṭm* which exist in MS. in Cairo and Leningrad (University Library). Among his original productions of the same kind were his *Ladhīdh al-Tarab fī Naẓm Buḥūr al-ʿArab* (in private hands in Cairo) and his *Urđjuza* with his own commentary, *Mushtaha 'l-Albāb 'alā Muntaha 'l-ʿArāb fī 'Uṭūm al-Irth wa 'l-Djabr wa 'l-Ḥisāb* (Leningrad, MS. Or., 820). To the Russian period belongs his useful *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire*, Leipzig 1848, which, besides the exercises, contains many letters and verses from his own pen (cf. Fleischer's observations, *Z. D. M. G.*, i., 1847, p. 212—213; iii., 1849, p. 474—475). His acquaintance with European literature and his command of French enabled him to make interesting critical observations (cf. *J. A.*, 4rd Ser., ix., 1847, p. 351—354; *Mélanges Asiatiques*, St. Petersburg, i., 1851, p. 474—495; ii., 1855, p. 466—486). Many articles in Arabic from his pen are in the manuscripts left by him (e. g. on the Egyptian festivals, MS. Or., 838, ff. 50—60; a collection of stories and anecdotes in the popular Arabic of Egypt, MS. Or., 745; *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1926, p. 23—26; an Arabic translation of Sa'di's *Gulistan* begun by him, *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, 1924, p. 102 sqq.); an autograph copy of his work *Tuhfat al-Adhkiyā bi-Aḥbār Bilād Rusiyya* of 1266 (1850) has been found in Constantinople (see Rescher, *Z. S.*, iii., 1924, p. 252; *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1927, p. 181 sqq.).

His inestimable claim to fame is his large collection of manuscripts (c. 150) which passed after his death to the University Library (cf. C. Salemann and V. Rosen, *Indices alphabetici codicum manuscriptorum persicorum turcicorum arabicorum qui in Bibliotheca Imperialis Litterarum Universitatis Petropolitanae adservantur*, St. Petersburg 1888). Many manuscripts were copied or collated and corrected by him (cf. *Zapiski*, vi. 384—388). The collection contains few old manuscripts but has many unique and valuable copies, almost all from Egypt (s. e. g. *Zapiski*, xxii. 283 sqq.; *Zapiski*², i. 291 sqq.; *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1924, p. 101 sq.).

Bibliography: al-Ṭanṭāwī's autobiography (to his settlement in Russia) was published by Kosegarten with a German translation, *W. Z. K. M.*, vii., 1850, p. 43—63, 197—200; important corrections to it are given by G. Gottwaldt, in *Z. D. M. G.*, iv., 1850, p. 243—248. The European articles are too scanty and inaccurate (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 479; Huart, *Littérature arabe*², p. 420; Cheikho, *La littérature arabe au XIXe siècle*, ii. 59); more important are the recent Arabic biographies by Aḥmad Timūr, in *Madjallat al-Madīma 'al-ʿilmī al-ʿarabi*, iv., 1924, p. 388—391 (corrections by Ign. Kratschkovsky, *ibid.*, iv. 562—564) and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, in *al-Zahrā*, i., 1343, p. 417—428 (with picture), p. 554. — A description of his manuscripts in Leningrad and his biography is being prepared by Ign. Kratschkovsky. (IGN. KRATSKHOVSKY)

AL-TANŪKHĪ, ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-MUḤASSIN, an Arab writer, was born in 939 or (according to Yāḳūt) in 940—941 A. D., the son of a learned ḳāḍī in Baṣra, and received his early education

there, from al-Šulī [q.v.] and Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī [q.v.] and others. He chose a judicial career and rose to be *qāḍī*, first in Baghdād and then in Ahwāz; as a result of a change in the vizierate in Baghdād his office was taken from him in 969—970 and his property confiscated. He was not allowed to follow his profession for three years. During this period he seems to have lived mainly in Baghdād but also made a journey to Egypt. Then he was restored to office but fell into disfavour with the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q.v.] (981—982) and is even said to have spent some time in prison because he had poured contempt on al-Šāfi'ī and his followers. He suffered many more hardships and much persecution before he died in Baghdād in 994.

The following are given as Tanūkhī's works: A *Diwān* which no longer survives, and three collections of anecdotes: *Kitāb Nishwār al-Muḥādara wa-Akhbār al-Mudhākara*, *al-Mustadī'ad min Fa'alāt al-Adjwād* and, by far his best known book, *al-Farajī ba'd al-Shidda* (not composed before 984). This is a collection of proverbs, anecdotes and sayings on the theme "joy follows sorrow". Madā'inī [q.v.] a century and a half before had written a work similar in title and substance and Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā and the *qāḍī* Abu 'l-Husain after him had published similar collections. Tanūkhī used these works and other literary sources but also drew upon oral traditions for his new compilation. He owed many a story to his father and his teachers, and was also able to draw upon his own experiences; but the bulk of the contributions not taken from literary sources were given him by secretaries and judges. The work begins with a brief introduction dealing with literary history in which Tanūkhī discusses critically the works of his predecessors. Then come the separate stories, most of which are introduced by a brief reference to their sources, divided into 14 chapters from the point of view of matter or form. While Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's work was intended to be edifying in tone, Tanūkhī's collection was lighter and wittier. It found a wide welcome, was much read and copied and in later times played a part in Persian, Turkish and Jewish literature.

Bibliography: A. Wiener, *Die Farajī ba'd al-Shidda-Literatur*, in *Isl.*, iv., 1913, p. 270—298, 387—420, esp. 393—413 (full bibliography: p. 393, note 2 and p. 398, note 1; also Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, vol. vi., p. 251—267); *al-Farajī ba'd al-Shidda*, 2 parts, Cairo 1903—1904. (R. PARET)

TANZIL. [See WAHY.]

TANZĪMĀT, or rather TANZĪMĀT-I KHAIRIYE ("beneficent legislation" from the expression: *kānūn tanzīm etmek* = "to draft a law") is the term used to denote the reforms introduced into the government and administration of the Ottoman empire from the beginning of the reign of Sultān 'Abd al-Majid and inaugurated by the charter generally called the *khatt-i sherif* of Gülkhāne. The expression *tanzīmāt khairiye* is first found in the latter years of the reign of Maḥmūd II. The other end of the period of the *tanzīmāt* is put about 1880, when the absolute rule of 'Abd al-Ḥamid II began.

The *tanzīmāt* are the continuation of the work of Sultāns Selim III and Maḥmūd II, undertaken to save the Ottoman state which had become enfeebled internally and externally. Maḥmūd II had succeeded,

by getting rid of the feudal system at home and the reactionary element of the janissaries, in centralising and consolidating his power in home affairs but he had been unable to avoid the loss of Greece and Egypt. His work however was not yet constructive. This was reserved for his successors or rather for the great statesmen of his successors, for, since the sultāns themselves proved incapable of directing the reforms, the task of carrying them through became more and more the work of a reform party among the Turkish officials themselves. In the period from 1839 to the end of the Crimean War, the soul of the reforms was Muṣṭafā Rashīd Pasha (q.v., d. 1858), who was six times grand vizier; in the second period inaugurated by the charter called *khatt-i humāyūn* from Feb. 1856 the activities of the reformers were directed by 'Alī Pasha (q.v., d. 1871) and Fu'ād Pasha (q.v., d. 1869); the great figure in the third period (from 1871) was Midḥat Pasha (q.v., d. 1883).

The *khatt-i sherif* of Gülkhāne was not distinguished by any new ideas; in it the Sultān announced that henceforth he wished the honour and property of all his subjects to be secure, that the farming out of the taxes (*iltizām*) should be abolished and that recruiting for the army should be done in a more regular fashion; all criminals were to be tried in public and it was expressly laid down that all subjects, to whatever religion they belonged (*ehl-i islām wa-mille-i sā'ire*) should be equal before the law, without exception. To draw up the necessary legal enactments, the council of reform already in existence (*medjlis-i ahkām-i 'adliye*) was to be increased by a certain number of members. Although, in the preamble to the document, it was said that the former prosperity of the Ottoman state was due to respect for the Qur'an, at the end it is stated that the new measures mean a complete change in ancient principles (*usūl-i 'atika*). In fact the aim of Rashīd Pasha in drawing up the *khatt* had been as much to give satisfaction to the European powers, whose intervention in the domestic affairs of Turkey had become more and more serious (solution of the Greek crisis: agreement with Muḥammad 'Alī), as to re-establish confidence in the home government. For the moment this double aim was achieved. But as soon as the attempt was made to carry out the reforms, numerous difficulties were met with. This was in the nature of things. The new institutions were based on the administrative systems of European states, notably France, and in introducing them problems and distinctions were created in the state which, under the old system, had never presented themselves in so threatening a form. Four groups of interests had to be dealt with: 1. the civilian officials and military officers who in the old order had been the slaves of the Sultān; 2. the free Muslim subjects of whom the *'ulamā'* were the most notable section; 3. the non-Muslim subjects, the *rayas* (*ra'iya*) and 4. the foreign interests. The consolidation of the first two groups offered least difficulty; religion united them and Maḥmūd II and 'Abd al-Majid had renounced their rights as sovereign over the lives and property of the officials; the ending of the feudal system by Maḥmūd II had also been favourable to the combination of the Muslim elements. But to give the Christian and Jewish subjects equal rights to the Muslims

threatened to deprive the former of the considerable autonomy which they had enjoyed since the time of Muḥammad the Conqueror; the attempts to deprive the Muslim ecclesiastics of their rights of jurisdiction and administration and the problems raised by the enrolment of non-Muslims in the army soon showed that the latter themselves did not regard the granting of equal rights as an unmitigated benefit and at the same time accentuated the hostilities and differences already existing between the different non-Muslim communities, differences often more serious than those between them and the Muslims. Lastly the foreign group, although numerically weak, with the liberties and privileges granted by the capitulations occupied a position which was all the stronger because foreign powers took advantage of it, not only for their own profit but also to make themselves the protectors of non-Muslim subjects in their struggles to keep their privileges (France by virtue of the capitulations; Russia by virtue of the treaty of Küçük Kainardji). The realisation of the reforms was bound to be in great part illusory so long as the privileged position of the foreigners, known as extra-territoriality, continued to exist in striking opposition to the centralisation of power which was the aim of the reforms. It is for this reason that the great difficulties of the tanzīmât centred round the problem of the rayas (insurrections in Crete, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Lebanon and Bulgaria) and the intervention of the Powers (among them the Holy See) which was always the result. It was for this reason also that there was formed in Turkey itself a considerable party which regarded the tanzīmât as dangerous to the empire. But the path once taken by Rashīd Pasha could not be abandoned, because the old institutions themselves no longer offered guarantees. It was rare however, to hear serious objections from the religious point of view; the Shaikh al-Islām was present at the reading of the *khatt-i sherif*, although it does not appear that he sanctioned by a *fatwā* the different laws which were promulgated as a result of it. The reforming ministers themselves always refused on the other hand to repeal definite sections of the *shari'a* such as that of capital punishment for apostasy from Islām or the non-validity of the evidence of a non-Muslim before a tribunal, although they were quite ready to pass any measures to which the *shari'a* did not refer.

The tanzīmât were thus carried through in a very troubled atmosphere. A grand vizier could hardly ever carry through a programme peacefully; there were sudden falls from power often followed by equal unexpected returns to office. Thus Rashīd Pasha was no less than six times grand vizier between 1846 and 1858 although the Sultān 'Abd al-Madjid was rather in favour of the reforms. The same changes in office took place under 'Abd al-'Aziz, much more capricious than his predecessor; Midhat Pasha was grand vizier for three weeks in 1873 and for the second time for seven weeks (Dec. 19, 1876–Feb. 5, 1877). There were also periods when foreign intervention suddenly called for new efforts; this was notably the case during the deliberations which preceded the peace conference in Paris. Turkey's allies then wanted the Sultān to bind himself by an international agreement to carry out the reforms which were still in abeyance. The result was the *khatt-i humāyūn* of February 1856, which was nominally a spontaneous act of the

Sultān. In article 9 of the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856 the contracting Powers take note of the declaration by expressly stipulating that it would not give them the right of interfering in the interior administration of the empire. Now the *khatt-i humāyūn* is simply a more detailed confirmation of the promises made in 1839 regarding the equality of treatment of non-Muslim subjects; in it is particularly laid down that mixed tribunals shall be instituted for lawsuits between Muslims and non-Muslims and that the laws relating to them shall be codified as soon as possible. One further important point in this act is the right conceded to foreign powers to possess landed property in Turkey. The intervention of European powers did not cease, however, after 1856; thus in 1859 they demanded an enquiry into the European provinces. In 1867 the Ottoman government was again taken to task by the Powers; but they were not agreed among themselves as to the steps to be taken: while Russia demanded an extreme system of decentralisation, France encouraged the Porte to try a policy of fusing together the different categories of subjects. It was the latter view that prevailed for the moment; the opening of the lycée of Ghalata Seray for teaching French was one of the consequences. After 1870, foreign pressure became weaker on account of events in Europe (Franco-Prussian War); it is just this period that is marked by a strong tendency to decentralisation in Turkey, but of a kind which pleased neither the Powers nor the rayas. This policy had a certain amount of success, as for example the strengthening of Ottoman power in Tripolitania and Tunisia. The reaction was not long in being felt. The insurrections of 1875 in the Slav provinces resulted in "a European conference" at Constantinople in 1876 and in the following year came the disastrous war with Russia which separated Rumania and Serbia from the Ottoman Empire and created an almost independent Bulgaria (Treaty of Berlin, July 13, 1879). The act by which Turkey had tried to anticipate this intervention was the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution on December 23, 1876, the day of the first meeting of the European Conference. But this remedy, already regarded very suspiciously by the new Sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamid, did not gain the success anticipated; the author of the constitution, Midhat Pasha, was banished two months later and soon the constitution was completely ignored by the Sultān. In the long "Ḥamidian" period which followed the War with Russia, the reforms were not, however, completely suspended; the laws of 1879 affecting the judiciary in particular in a way completed the legislation of the tanzīmât.

We now give a rapid survey of the different reforms. The grand Council of Justice, also called the council of the Tanzīmât, underwent several transformations in 1854, 1861 and lastly in 1868, when its activities were definitely divided into administrative and judicial functions — i. e. into a Council of State (*shūrā-yi dewlet*) which retained its form till 1918 and a High Court of Justice (*divān-i aḥkām-i adliye*). Immediately after 1839, Rashīd Pasha had introduced a new system of administration in the provinces on the French model and abolished the *iltizam*. This proved to be too much centralised and in 1852 the powers of the governors had to be again extended; the

farming out of the taxes had again to be introduced because levying them directly did not bring enough into the treasury. The law relating to the wilāyets of 1864, completed in 1871 by another law, completed the system of provincial administration which lasted till 1918. This law of 1864 was further remarkable because it provided for each province new tribunals, different from the courts of the *kādis*, although the judges were very often '*ulamā*'.

Even before 1864 there had been created at Constantinople and several large provincial towns a commercial court and a mixed court (for law-suits between Ottomans and strangers); these two courts were amalgamated in 1860, but it was not till the legislation of 1875 and 1879 that all the non-religious tribunals were put under the Ministry of Justice. The first common law was the Commercial Code of 1850, based for the most part on French law, as were the Penal Code of 1858, the Code of Maritime Commercial Law of 1863, and the Code of Commercial Procedure of 1861. The Civil Code or *Medjelle* of 1869 on the other hand is an attempt at codification of the law of property and the law of guarantees according to the *Ḥanafī Madhhab*. This codification carried out by a council under the presidency of Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha is not to be considered however as being obligatory in use; it is rather a manual for judges who have not studied Muslim law. The law regarding the execution of judgments and the Code of Civil Procedure, both of 1879, were not recognised by the foreign missions, so that they were never applied in mixed suits.

Legislation for the different non-Muslim communities was an extremely complicated task. The "Organic regulations" which in 1860 were published for the large communities had the tendency to give more power to the lay element in the administration, to the detriment of ecclesiastical authority. The communities in general kept their judicial autonomy. The Porte had frequently to deal with disputes within the communities and differences between the Roman Catholics and the Eastern sects "united" with the Holy See. Here again the European Powers had every opportunity to intervene, especially Russia in the question of the primacy of the Gregorian Armenian Church in Turkey and in that of the schism of the orthodox Bulgars who were recognised as an autonomous community in 1870. The enrolment of non-Muslims in the army, decided upon in 1855, when the *kharādj* was officially abolished, remained a dead letter during the tanzimāt. It was replaced by an exemption tax (*bedel*).

In foreign relations all the attempts to obtain the abolition of the capitulations which had been begun at the Paris Congress remained fruitless. A slight change in principle was effected on the occasion of the law of 1873, which granted foreigners the right to possess real estate.

From 1845 a council had been instituted to elaborate reforms in education (*medjlis-i me'arif*). The President was Fu'ād Pasha and later Djewdet Pasha. In this field the tradition of religious instruction had to be combatted. The creation of a university, in 1845, could not at first have any direct consequences and the creation of the secondary (*rüşdiyye*) school and primary (*idādiyye*) presented considerable difficulties. Lastly the opening of the Lycée of Ghalata Sarāy in 1868 where

French was to be the language of instruction, meant the introduction of a foreign culture and was vigorously opposed. It was not till towards the end of the nineteenth century that these measures began to bear fruit.

The period of the tanzimāt was comparatively poor in measures of an economic nature. The finances of the state were all the time in a deplorable condition, aggravated more and more by the foreign loans (from 1854) and by Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Aziz's extravagance. The international control of the national debt which was the result was not, however, taken in hand till after the financial catastrophe of 1879. The decree of 28th Muḥarram 1299 (Dec. 20, 1881; cf. Young, v. 69) established the International Council of the Ottoman Debt.

The following table of the more important legislative measures of the tanzimāt gives the sources as far as possible. The references to the collection of laws, *Düstūr*, which contains the legislation down to 1886 are taken from Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman* (Oxford 1905—1906), which gives most of the texts in a French translation. Where the text is not given the reference has been put in brackets. Most of the other references have been taken from Engelhardt, *La Turquie et les tanzimat*, Paris 1884. Although the statements in this book are not very accurate, they may help to complete the general survey of the reforms especially in the first period.

The period of the tanzimāt also saw an intellectual effort in the Turkish Muslim element, which laid the foundations for the new Turkish culture. It was in this period that *Shināsi*, Nāmiḳ Kemāl and Aḥmad Wefīk worked, who created a new Turkish literary language. To it also belongs Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha, famous as an historian, man of letters and legislator (cf. Fāṭime 'Aliye, *Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha we-Zemānī*, Constantinople 1332). Ziyā Gök Alp, the theorist of the modern Turkish nationalism, also recognises the high importance which the period had for the development of Turkish thought (cf. *Türk-djüliyiñ Esāsları*, Angora 1339, p. 6; and Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, London 1926, p. 238 sq.).

Bibliography: The Turkish texts of the legislative measures are given in the *Düstūr*. French translations are given in Aristarchi Bey, *Législation Ottomane*, Constantinople 1873—1874, supplement in 1878; G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, vol. i.—vii., Oxford 1905—1906; A. Heidborn, *Droit public et administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, Leipzig 1908; a Greek translation, *Κώδικες Ὁθωμανικοί*, was utilised by Young. For foreign relations cf. Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, tome ii.—iv., Paris 1900—1903.

The Turkish historical sources on the tanzimāt are not abundant: Aḥmad Luṭfī, *Ta'rikh* (Constantinople 1290—1328), vol. vi.—viii., covering the years 1255—1265; 'Oḥmān Nūrī, *'Abd al-Ḥamid ṭhānī we-Deur-i Saltanāt*, vol. i., Constantinople 1327; there is no monograph on the tanzimāt. — European works: Ed. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et les tanzimat*, vol. i.—ii., Paris 1884; Chertier, *Les réformes en Turquie*, Paris 1868; A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris 1855; do., *La constitution ottoman*, Paris 1879; Millingen, *La Turquie sous le règne d'Abdul Aziz*, Paris 1868; Rosen, *Geschichte*

3 Nov. 1839	26 Sha'b. 1255	Khatt-i sherif of Gülkhāne.	D., i. 608; Y., i. 29; Lufti, vi. 61
8 March 1840	1 Muh. 1256	Reorganisation of the Grand Council (<i>medjlis-i aḥkām-i 'adliye</i>).	Lufti, vi. 92 (Engelhardt, i. 40)
1840	1256	Promulgation of a code of penal laws.	(Lufti, vi. 102)
1840	1256	Institution of a tribunal of commerce (<i>tidjāret medjlisi</i>) in the Ministry of Commerce.	(Lufti, vii. 74; Engelhardt, i. 71)
6 Sept. 1843	1259	Law relating to the formation of the contingents of the army.	(Engelhardt, i. 76)
1845	1261	Assembly of provincial delegates in the capital.	(Engelhardt, i. 77; ii. 7)
1845	1261	Creation of a university and of establishments for secondary education.	(Engelhardt, i. 82)
1846	1262	Publication of an administrative code.	(Engelhardt, i. 83)
1847	1263	Creation of civil and criminal mixed tribunals.	(Lufti, viii. 132)
1847	1263	Creation of a Ministry of Public Education (<i>me-zāret-i ma'arif-i 'umūmiye</i>).	Y., p. 108
24 May 1850	1266	Firman in favour of non-Muslims.	D., i. 375; Y., vii. 55
28 July 1850	18 Ram. 1266	Promulgation of a Code of Commerce.	(Engelhardt, p. 105)
28 Nov. 1852	1268	Firman on the administration of the provinces.	(Y., i. 2)
1854	1270	Division of the Grand Council into a Council for Reforms and a High Council of Justice.	Noradounghian, iii. 83
7 May 1855	1271	Abolition of <i>kharāj</i> for the rayas and decision to enroll them in the army.	(Y., v. 25)
18 Feb. 1856	11 Djam. II 1272	<i>khatt-i humāyūn</i> .	D., i. 165; Y., vi. 45
30 March 1856	23 Radj. 1272	Peace Treaty of Paris.	D., i. 527; Y., vii. 1
1856	1272	Foundation of an Ottoman Bank.	D., i. 445; Y., i. 226
21 April 1858	7 Ram. 1274	Promulgation of a Code of Lands.	D., ii. 938; Y., ii. 79
9 Aug. 1858	28 Dhu 'l-H. 1274	Promulgation of a Penal Code.	(Y., i. 2, 27; Engelhardt, ii. 18)
30 April 1860	9 Shaw. 1276	Appendix to the Code of Commerce, regulating the Tribunals of Commerce, which are amalgamated with the mixed tribunals.	(Y., i. 139)
24 May 1860	1276	Regulations regarding the Armenian Gregorian Community (ratified in 1863).	D., i. 780; Y., vii. 155
1861	1277	The two High Councils joined into one with three sections (administrative, legislative and financial).	D., ii. 922; Y., ii. 21
1 May 1861	1277	New regulations for Lebanon.	D., ii. 976; Y., v. 30
14 Nov. 1861	1277	Code of commercial procedure.	D., i. 466; Y., vii. 103
1862	1279	Organic regulation of the Oecumenical Patriarchate.	D., ii. 962; Y., ii. 148
4 Feb. 1863	16 Sha'b. 1279	Concession of the Imperial Ottoman Bank.	D., vi. 695; Y., ii. 140
20 Aug. 1863	6 Rab. I 1280	Code of maritime commerce.	D., i. 4; Y., i. 29
1 April 1864	1280	Regulations for the Jewish Community.	D., ii. 230; Y., i. 337
6 Sept. 1864	1281	Organic regulation for Lebanon.	D., i. 703; Y., i. 3, 159
8 Nov. 1864	7 Djam. I 1281	Law of the wilāyets.	(Engelhardt, ii. 10)
16 June 1867	13 Šafar 1284	Law granting foreigners the right to own property.	D., i. 16; Y., ii. 226
2 April 1868	18 Dhu 'l-H. 1284	Creation of a Council of State (<i>shūrā-yi dewlet</i>) and of a High Court of Justice (<i>dīwān-i aḥkām-i 'adliye</i>).	(Y., i. 197; Engelhardt, ii. 27)
1 Sept. 1868	1285	Opening of the Lycée of Ghalāṭa Serāy.	Y., p. 170; published with commentary in 1311 (1893)
19 Jan. 1869	1285	Law on the Ottoman nationality.	(Y., ii. 61)
4 April 1869	1285	Law on the competence of the <i>niẓāmīye</i> tribunals.	D., i. 625; Y., i. 47
1869	18 Dhu 'l-H. 1285	Elaboration of the Civil Code (<i>medjelle—ahkām-i 'adliye</i>); the 16 books of the code were promulgated between 1869 and 1876.	(Engelhardt, ii. 127)
10 March 1870	29 Shaw. 1286	Firman on the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate.	(Y., i. 159)
21 Jan. 1871	1287	Law on the administration of the wilāyets.	D., iv. 129; Y., i. 160
1873	1290	Law on the secularisation of the Ewḳāf (never put into execution).	D., iv. 235; Y., i. 166
1875	1292	Firman reorganising justice; the commercial tribunals transferred to the Ministry of Justice.	D., iv. 225; Y., i. 198
23 Dec. 1876	7 Dhu 'l-H. 1293	Promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution (<i>ḵānūn-i esāsī</i>).	D., iv. 257; Y., p. 171
20 May 1879	29 Djam. I 1296	Organic Regulation of the Ministry of Justice and Public Worship.	
17 June 1879	27 Djam. II 1296	Regulation of the <i>niẓāmīye</i> tribunals.	
17 June 1879	27 Djam. II 1296	Law on the execution of judgments.	
22 June 1879	2 Radjab 1296	Code of civil procedure.	

der Türkei, vol. ii., Leipzig 1867; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. v., Gotha 1913; Ali Haydar Midhat, *The Life of Midhat Pasha*, London 1903; Padel and Steeg, *La Législation foncière ottomane*, Paris 1904; G. Péliissié du Rausas, *Le régime des Capitulations dans l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i., Paris 1910; Savvas Pacha, *Le tribunal musulman*, Paris 1902; A. Mandelstam, *La justice ottomane dans ses rapports avec les puissances étrangères*, Paris 1911.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

ṬARAB. [See MÜSİKÎ.]

ṬARĀBULUS or AṬRĀBULUS, the Greek Tripolis, a town in Syria near the coast of the Mediterranean, north of Djubail. It lies partly on and partly beside a hill at the exit of a deep ravine through which flows a river, the Nahr Qadisha (Arabic Abū 'Alī). West of it stretches a very fertile plain covered with woods, which terminate in a peninsula on which lies the port of al-Minā. The harbour is protected by a series of rocky islets lying in front of it and by the remains of an old wall. The old Phoenician name of the town, which is first mentioned in the Persian period, is unknown; its Greek name came from its division into three quarters each separated by walls, the Tyrian, Sidonian and Aradian. The old town lay on the site of the present port. It was protected by its situation and the defences of the quarters and was very difficult to take, but was constantly threatened by the danger of being cut off on the land side from all connection with the outer world and even from supplies of drinking-water. This was shown when Mu'āwiya in the caliphate of 'Uthmān sent a body of troops under the leadership of an Azdī named Šufyān b. Muḍjib thither, who built a fort in order to cut off the town completely. The inhabitants were reduced to such straits that they sent to the Byzantine emperor and begged him to send ships with all speed to their assistance. The emperor did so and the Tripolitans succeeded in boarding the ships by night and thus escaped. To populate the empty town, Mu'āwiya made a considerable number of Jews (Balādhuri; Ya'qūbī says Persians) settle there. Mu'āwiya is said to have sent thither annually some troops under an 'amil, who, when navigation stopped, withdrew again except for the 'amil and a handful of men. The geographer Ya'qūbī (278 = 891) mentions the wonderful harbour which could hold one thousand ships. Fifty years later, Iṣṭakhri calls Ṭarābulus the harbour of Damascus and speaks of the extraordinary fertility of the district with its palms and sugar-cane fields and speaks approvingly of the high standards of the people. An excellent description is given by Nāṣir-i Khusrāw (438 = 1047) of the town under the Fātimids. The whole countryside, he says, consists of fields and gardens with sugar-cane, citrons, bananas, oranges, lemons and date-palms; the town was protected on three sides by the sea, on the land side by a wall with a broad ditch. In the centre stood a splendid mosque; the town had 20,000 inhabitants of whom the majority were Shī'is and many villages belonged to it. The garrison of the Sulṭān was maintained by the tolls paid by the many ships that arrived there while he himself had ships which used to go to the Mediterranean coasts from there.

In the Crusading period a county of Tripoli was created and given to Raymond of Toulouse

but the capital itself had still to be taken from the Muslims. Raymond began the siege in 493 (1101) and to isolate the town more effectively built a fort on a hill on the ravine of Qadisha, called Mons Peregrinus (by the Arabs Sandjil i.e. St. Giles), at the foot of which in course of time a little town arose. He died in 499 (1105) in this fortress without having attained his goal and it was not till July 12, 503 (1109) that the beleaguered town capitulated. Idrīsī, who wrote in 1154, mentions the fortress "built by the Frank Ibn Sindjil", and gives a list of towns and villages belonging to Ṭarābulus and of the rocky islets off the harbour. In 1170 the town suffered severely from a terrible earthquake. After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 Ṭarābulus held out for another century as an important base for the Christians until in 688 (1289) the army of the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn appeared before it and it had to surrender on April 26. This proved a turning point in its history for the Sulṭān, learning a lesson from the past, built a new Tripolis on the Pilgrims' Hill while the old town was destroyed and sank to be an insignificant little harbour known as al-Minā (from the Greek λιμὴν). Dimishkī who wrote about it c. 1300 A. D. describes the plentiful supply of water in the town — in addition to the running water on all sides, an aqueduct 200 ells long, 70 ells high was built — and the gardens with excellent fruit in plenty. He also mentions the various localities belonging to Ṭarābulus including Botrys, Buḳa'ia and the Nuṣairian hills. Among the kingdoms (*mamlakāt*) divided among the descendants of Saladin was a kingdom of Ṭarābulus but this division was soon replaced by a division into five provinces, and Ṭarābulus was put under Damascus as its port. The town is now in a comparatively prosperous condition owing to the remarkable fertility of the surrounding country, the not inconsiderable shipping and the silk industry. Of non-Muslim inhabitants the orthodox Greeks are the most numerous. A series of towers along the seashore recalls the warlike past of the town.

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(FR. BUHL)

ṬARABZUN, the Turkish form of the name of the town of Trebizond, in Greek Τραπεζούν. Situated at the southeast corner of the Black Sea on a very hilly coast which is separated from the rest of Asia Minor and Armenia by a high range of mountains, this town, like the population of the country immediately around it, has always led a more or less isolated existence, from which it only emerged in those periods when

its geographical position made it become an important point on the great trade-routes. Trebizond is mentioned for the first time by Xenophon (*Anabasis*, iv. 8) and is said to have been a very early colony of the town of Sinope. In the early centuries of our era it was a frontier town of considerable importance for the Roman Empire but from the time of Justinian it was the town of Neo-Caesarea (Niksār) that became the most important centre in this region. After the Arab conquests had deprived Byzantium of large parts of Armenia, Trebizond became the capital of a theme under military government (Thema Chaldia: Const. Porphy., *De Thematis*, i. 30) which it remained till the foundation of the empire of the Comneni of Trebizond in 1204. During these centuries the town again acquired great commercial importance and it is in this connection that it became so well known to the Arab authors of the period. They call it Aṭrābazund or Ṭarābazunda and they called the Black Sea Baḥr Ṭarābazunda (cf. e.g. Balādhūri, ed. de Goeje, p. 195). To the lands of Islām, Trebizond was an important seaport through which the products of the lands of the Rūm, especially rich cloths, were imported into the northern parts of the Muslim empire; this brought in an enormous revenue to the Byzantine governor of the town (Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G. A.*, i. 188; Ibn Ḥawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 132). Muslim merchants lived in Trebizond and dealt there with Armenians, Greeks and Caucasians (Ma'sūdī, *Murūdī al-Dhahab*, ii. 3, 46; Maqdisī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 148). Very probably the Muḥammadan trade-route went by Kālikalā, later Erzerūm, and then through Ādharbaidjān and Transoxania, because the natural ports of the Muḥammadan empire were the coast-towns of the Mediterranean. The conquest of the interior of Asia Minor by the Saldjūks again isolated Trebizond and its communications with Constantinople became more and more difficult, while the new masters of Anatolia had not for the moment any great interest in commerce; they had however possessed a part of the port of Şamşūn since 1194. But the foundation of the empire of the Comneni in 1204 by Alexius Comnenus secured for Trebizond as the capital of the new empire a predominant position. The empire stretched at first over almost all the south coast of the Black Sea but soon suffered considerable losses to the empire of Nicaea and by the capture of Sinope in 1214 by the Sultān 'Izz al-Dīn Kaiḳobād [cf. SINŪB]. Soon afterwards the Mongol conquests had their effect on Trebizond; Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh after founding his new empire at Tabriz was attacked by the other Muslim rulers and in 627 (1230) was fought the battle of Khilāt in which the Khwārizmians were completely defeated by the forces of Rūm and Syria. The remains of their army took refuge in the territory of Trebizond (Abu 'l-Faraj Barhebraeus, *Ta'rikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, Bairūt 1890, p. 429 and *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. Bedjan, p. 467); it appears doubtful whether there was actually an alliance between Djalāl al-Dīn and Trebizond as Fallmerayer (p. 108) says. In any case the emperor of Trebizond very soon afterwards had to recognise the suzerainty of the Sultān 'Alā al-Dīn Kaiḳobād, whom he had to assist with troops in his struggle against the Aiyūbids (Chalcocondylas Bk. ix.: Ibn Bibi, ed. Houtsma, *Recueil de Textes*, etc., iii. 134 sqq. alike reveal this state of dependence).

In 1240, the Mongols put an end to the hegemony of the Saldjūks. Trebizond was spared their invasion but the emperor Manuel had to declare himself a vassal of the Mongol empire (cf. e.g. William of Rubruck, ed. de Bacher, Paris 1877, p. 6; Hakluyt Society edition, London 1900, p. 46). In this period the Arabic sources change the orthography of the town to Ṭarābazūn or Aṭrābazūn (cf. especially Dimashki, ed. Mehren, p. 106, 145, 228 and Abu 'l-Faraj, *Mukhtaṣar* who writes Ṭarābizūn: Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, p. 392—393; Yākūt, i. 306 keeps the old orthography). After the Mongol conquest the city experienced a new commercial revival; the centre of political power having shifted to Tabriz, Trebizond became the corridor to Asia Minor, through which ran the great trade-route to the Far East which the Mongols had opened. The people of the town did not themselves take part directly in this traffic which was in the hands of Genoese and Venetians but they profited greatly by it, because it, for example, gave them an opportunity to export the products of the city itself (especially linen, silk and woollen goods and the minerals of the adjoining mountains). The Genoese colony in particular, with their own consul at the head, from the second half of the xiiith century occupied premier place among the foreigners and, supported by its mother city, was sufficiently powerful to obtain extraordinary concessions from the emperors. The centre of their activities was the quarter called Leontocastrum. In proportion as the Mongol power declined (after 1320) the territory of the emperor of Trebizond suffered more and more from the attacks of the Turkomans of Asia Minor, who took possession of the strongholds in the mountains; at the same time civil wars were weakening the empire, while the trade-routes became impracticable. Its neighbours were now the little Turkish states which had replaced the empire of the Saldjūks, Kaṣtamūni in the west [q.v.] with Sinope, to the south, the dynasty of the Dhu 'l-Qadr and the south-east the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Turkomans. The emperors of Trebizond in this period endeavoured to strengthen their position by marrying princesses of their house to Turkoman princes. This state of affairs lasted until the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazid I after the capture of Şamşūn in 1396 and his victory over the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu became a redoubtable neighbour. Timūr's advance saved Trebizond for the moment; in 1392 the emperor Manuel came to submit to the conqueror and a few years later had to assist him in his preparations against Bāyazid; the fleet demanded by Timūr was not however required, as, before it was equipped, the battle of Angora took place (1402); a body of soldiers from the city seems however to have taken part in the battle against Bāyazid (Fallmerayer, p. 229). Timūr's armies withdrew, going to the south of the mountains of Trebizond; this territory with the towns of Armenia and the Caucasus now passed to Khalil Sultān, nephew of Timūr. It was during the period of Timūr's invasion of Asia Minor that the Spanish envoy Clavijo passed through Trebizond. The revival of Ottoman power once more became dangerous and resulted in the decline of Genoese influence and the rise of that of Venice. Under Murād II, Turkish ships in vain tried to seize Trebizond but after the fall of Constantinople the town was doomed. The emperor Kalo-Johannes then concluded

an alliance with Uzun Hasan to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. David, the successor of Kalo-Johannes endeavoured to extend this alliance to the Christian rulers of the Caucasus and the Muhammadan lords of Kaşamūni and Karamān [q. v.]. But all these efforts were in vain. In 864 (1460) the Ottoman Sultān Muḥammad II set out on his great campaign in Asia Minor which gained him Kaşamūni and Sinope without a blow being struck. He then turned against Uzun Hasan, took from him the frontier fort of Koilu Hişār or Koyunlu Hişār and concluded a peace with him. He then marched on Trebizond in spite of the attempts of Sara Khā'un (Sara Khātūn in 'Ashīk Paşa Zāde), mother of Uzun Hasan, to persuade him to abandon his designs on the town. The Turkish fleet commanded by the grand vizier Maḥmūd Paşa had already gone to Sinope. The emperor David was quite ready to capitulate when Maḥmūd Paşa [q. v.] appeared with the vanguard of the Turkish army. The Sultān with some difficulty was persuaded to approve of the capitulation, by the terms of which David and all his family were taken to Adrianople; a few years later he was put to death by order of the Sultān. The Turks immediately installed themselves in the town and citadel and only allowed a third of the population to remain in the suburbs. The majority of the rest were carried off to Constantinople. The church of the citadel was converted into a mosque (Orta Djāmi') and also the church of St. Eugenius which was henceforth known as the Yeni Djāmi'; all the country conquered was granted as fiefs to Muslims. Trebizond never again became a town of great importance under the Ottoman empire; it became the capital of an eyālet to which also belonged the town of Bātum (Hādjdji Khalifa, *Djihan-nūma*, p. 429 sq.). For some time it was the residence of Selim I as crown prince; the mother of the Sultān is buried in the Khātūniye Djāmi'. Trade was conducted mainly by sea; Ewliya Celebi, for example, only visited it from the sea; the road to the interior, to Erzerūm, continued to exist but it had no longer the commercial importance it once had. In 1834 this road was improved by Rashid Paşa, after the route through the Caucasus had been closed by the Russians (Rosen, *Gesch. der Türkei*, i. 214). After the introduction of the wilāyets in the xixth century the wilāyet of Tarabzun included the sandjaks of Tarabzun, Şamsūn, Lazistān and Gümüş-Khāne (Cuinet, i. 41); the present wilāyet, as reorganised since the war, is much smaller in area, with 6 kādā's and 356,259 inhabitants (cf. *Türkiye Sālnāmesi*, 1926, p. 682). In the Great War, Trebizond was occupied by the Russians in April 1916, but as a result of the Russian revolution and the negotiations at Brest-Litowsk, the Turks had no difficulty in reoccupying the town on Feb. 24, 1918.

The centre of the town of Trebizond has been built on a plateau in the form of a table (hence the name) which runs down to the sea on the north side and terminates on the south in an elevation on which stands an acropolis (Orta Hişār). Above the acropolis again rises the citadel (Ka'fa). The latter, called by the Turks Boz Tepe, is bounded on the east and on the west by ditches which have to be crossed by bridges to reach the suburbs. The country all round is mountainous and covered with vegetation. The suburbs, lying along the coast to the west and east of the old

town, have a mainly Christian population while since the Turkish conquest the centre has been Muslim. The eastern suburb is the centre of trade and navigation; the ships moor in the roads and one can hardly speak of a harbour. The population put at 35,000 by Cuinet, has always been very mixed. The Lazēs (cf. LAZ), as the principal inhabitants of all the surrounding coast, form a considerable section of it and are mainly boatmen and fishermen. Ewliya Celebi found other aboriginal inhabitants there whom he declares to be the least agreeable section of the populace. The Turkish spoken there shows in its sounds considerable influence of local dialects. The Greeks (8,200 according to Cuinet) and Armenians (6000) form the Christian element. After the Turkish defeat in 1918 and in spite of the recent reoccupation, there arose in all the lands of the Pontus with Trebizond as centre, quite a strong movement, which aimed at reviving the old empire, but the victory of the Angora government put an end to these attempts at independence (cf. in particular, the government publication, *Pontos Mes'eleşi*, Angora, 1338 (1922)). A section of the converted Greek population has preserved to the present day certain customs and rites of Christianity (cf. F. W. Hasluck, *The Crypto-Christians of Trebizond*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xli. 199 ff.).

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TARAFa B. 'ABD AL-BAKRī is unanimously considered by Arab critics one of the foremost poets of the period before Islām and is the author of the longest of the poems known by the name of *Mu'allafāt*. He is at the same time one of the earliest poets of that period of whom poems are preserved. The editors of the *Mu'allafāt* and of his collected poems generally give a full genealogy from which however we can gain with certainty only that he belonged to the section of Bakr of the Wa'il tribes. His father's name is given as al-'Abd b. Sufyān, the name 'Abd being probably only an Islāmic abbreviation of some theophoric name like 'Abd Manāt. The

biographies given in Arabic authors are exceedingly unsatisfactory, and generally attempts are made to draw conclusions from his verses. This much seems certain, that he had relations with the court of the kings of al-Ḥīra, especially with king 'Amr b. Hind, who reigned approximately from 554 to 568 of the Christian era. The lands of the poet's tribe lay in South-eastern Arabia, in Baḥrain and the Yamāma, which appears also to have been the home of the earliest Arab poets of whom we have any reliable knowledge and it is possible that Arabic poetry, as we know it, spread from this part of the country.

Ṭarafa is, in a legendary account, brought into contact with the still earlier poet al-Musaiyab b. 'Alas, whom he is said to have corrected when he made a mistake in one of his poems. Generally Arab antiquarians describe Ṭarafa as extraordinarily precocious and argue from a poem (Ahlwardt, N^o. 1) that he was a mere boy, when he composed verses after the death of his father, when his uncles acted unjustly towards his mother Warda. He is also stated to have died very young. The latter is a conclusion arrived at from some verses of al-Khīrīnī, who is claimed to have been a sister and in the verses in question mentions the age of 26 years. As she is said to have been a daughter of a man named Hiffān it is more probable that her elegy, composed upon another unknown person, was assumed to refer to Ṭarafa, who may have died at a comparatively early age.

We obtain some light by comparing contemporary history. When 'Amr succeeded his father in 554 A. D. he gave to his brothers certain commands, but slighted his half-brother 'Amr b. Umāma. The latter went to South Arabia accompanied by Ṭarafa to obtain help from the Yamanite princes. Ṭarafa had left some camels belonging to (or inherited from) his father in the district where Kābūs, a brother of the king, and 'Amr b. Kaīs al-Shaibānī were in command. 'Amr b. Umāma received the support of the Yamanite tribe Murād, the troops being under the command of Hubaira b. 'Abd Yāghūth. When they reached the Yamāma, Hubaira fell ill through drinking from a well and 'Amr b. Umāma sent to him a doctor who applied hot irons clumsily to his stomach in the effort to cure him and almost killed him. Believing that the doctor had acted under instructions of 'Amr, Hubaira had him murdered at a place called Qaḍīb and he and his clansmen returned to the Yaman. The man who had slain 'Amr went with his family to al-Ḥīra expecting a suitable reward from king 'Amr, but instead of this he and his family were burned alive. This event is mentioned by Ṭarafa in the first poem of his *Diwān* in the recension of Ibn al-Sikkīt (not found in Ahlwardt's edition except for a few verses). The poet also claims in the same poem the return of the camels confiscated as being the property of his father who is here called Ma'bad. They were pastured near Tabāla (Ibn al-Sikkīt, N^o. 2). In this poem which must be considerably later, he gives full vent to his feelings because the property is not restored and accuses also a man named 'Abd 'Amr b. Bishr, who was not a relation of the king as is generally assumed by the biographers. The latter seems to have benefited from the confiscation. This poem had not the desired effect and Ṭarafa composed

a violent attack upon the king in which he says that it would be preferable to have a sheep to rule than king 'Amr (this poem has 17 verses in the recension of Ibn al-Sikkīt; only 9 verses are found in Ahlwardt, N^o. 7 and App. 17). This appears to have been the climax and from a poem by a sister of Ṭarafa, whose name Ibn al-Sikkīt does not give, it appears that 'Abd 'Amr was to a great extent responsible for Ṭarafa falling into the hands of the governor of Baḥrain (this poem is not in Ahlwardt nor Seligsohn). Ibn al-Sikkīt tells us further that the governor was not willing to kill him and the king sent an official who killed the unwilling governor as well as Ṭarafa.

Against this we must set the tale of the letter. King 'Amr in a celebrated legend is stated to have given to Ṭarafa and his kinsman al-Mutalammis, after a visit to his court where he treated them with honour, a letter each containing a recommendation for suitable reward by the governor of Baḥrain upon their arrival. Such a course of bestowing favours, though unusual, was plausible as the reward might consist of cattle, but al-Mutalammis, becoming suspicious, broke the seal and asked a youth at al-Ḥīra to read the contents. Reading that the letter contained a command for their execution and afraid of his life, he decided to go to Syria and advised Ṭarafa to open his letter also, but the latter refused to do so, thinking it impossible that the king would dare to have him murdered among his own people. While al-Mutalammis fled to Syria and from there sent his *Hidjā'*-poems to the king, Ṭarafa went to Baḥrain and met with a cruel death, being buried alive after having been maimed. I believe that this account has been invented by ancient antiquarians who knew from the poems of al-Mutalammis that he made mention of a letter in his poems, the contents of which are not even known and may have been of an entirely different nature.

Ibn al-Anbārī in the introduction to his commentary on the *Mu'allaka* claims an uninterrupted chain of authorities down to al-Mutalammis himself, a chain which has every semblance of being genuine, unless we cast suspicion upon Ḥammād al-Rāwīya (ed. Rescher, p. 1). From the same commentary we learn that Ṭarafa had already received discourtesy from king 'Amr and his brother Kābūs when he visited the court during the reign of their father (*loc. cit.*, p. 5). I am inclined in consequence to believe that Ṭarafa never visited the court of king 'Amr at all during his reign, but took sides with his half-brother, 'Amr b. Umāma, went with him to the Yaman, where they stayed for some years, because 'Amr b. Umāma married there and had several children, before he undertook his expedition to the Yamāma (Commentary of Ibn al-Sikkīt). This also makes it impossible that Ṭarafa died at a very early age; he had been at the court of al-Ḥīra before the accession of 'Amr, probably as one of the notables of his tribe and spent several years in South Arabia. Young he may have been in comparison with other Shaikhs, but it would be rash to make any definite statements. As regards his religious views we can only say that from his poems we can glean nothing that would point to anything else than the customary pagan fatalism.

As regards his value as a poet we can only repeat the opinion of native critics who are

only undecided whether he is one of the greatest poets of the time of paganism or the greatest of all. His description of the camel in his *Mu'allaka* is justly celebrated and hardly surpassed by any other Arab poet. As regards the genuineness of his poems I must refer the readers to the conclusions of Ahlwardt and Geiger, though I should like to suggest that perhaps more is genuine than these two authorities will admit. If al-Mutalammis, al-A'shā, 'Ubadī, the *rāwī* of the latter, Simāk b. Ḥarb, Ḥammād al-Rāwīya and al-Haiṭham b. 'Adī really handed down his poems we may expect that his poems did come down to the time when they were finally commented by grammarians and are preserved with a certain amount of accuracy. The best accounts we have of the poet are contained in the *Diwān* in the recension of Ibn al-Sikkīt, where unfortunately the editor has mixed the latter's notes with those of al-A'lam and in the introduction to the *Mu'allaka* by Ibn al-Anbārī.

Bibliography: *Diwāns of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. W. Ahlwardt, London 1870; *Diwān de Tarafa*, ed. M. Seligsohn with the commentary of al-A'lam, Paris 1901; *Sharḥ Diwān Tarafa*, ed. Aḥmad b. Amin al-Shīnkītī, Kazan 1909 (contains the recension of Ibn al-Sikkīt); L. Cheikhō, *Poètes chrétiens*, Bairūt 1890; Ibn al-Shadjārī, *Mukhtārāt*, Cairo 1888 (and new edition 1924); *Tharūphae Moallakah*, ed. Reiske, Leyden 1742; Jones, *The Moallakat*, London 1783; A. Th. Hartmann, *Die hellstrahlenden Pleyaden*, Münster 1802; J. Vullers, *Tarafa Moallaca cum Zusenii scholiis*, Bonn 1829; P. Wolff, *Die sieben Preisgedichte*, Rotweil 1857; F. A. Arnold, *Septem Moallacat*, Leipzig 1850; Abel, *Die sieben Mu'allakāt*, Berlin 1891; C. J. Lyall, *The ten ancient Arabic poems*, Calcutta 1894 (with the commentary of Tibrīzī); *Djāmarat Ash'ar al-'Arab*, Cairo 1890; O. Rescher, *Tarafa's Mo'allaga mit dem Kommentar des Abū Bakr* . . . *Ibn al-Anbārī*, Stambul 1329; B. Vandenhoff, *Nonnulla Tarafae poetae carmina*, etc., Berlin 1895; B. Geiger, *Die Mu'allaga des Tarafa übersetzt und erklärt*, W. Z. K. M., vol. xix. and xx.; W. Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Echtheit der alten arabischen Gedichte*, Greifswald 1872; G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, Berlin 1893. — Verses and fragments of Tarafa are cited in innumerable works; in the *Lisān al-'Arab* he is quoted 264 times according to my index to that work.

(F. KRENKOW)

TARANČI, Eastern Turkī word for agriculturists; as the name of a people, applied to the colonists transported by the Chinese government in the middle of the xviiith century from Kāshgharia to the Ili valley; cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv. 841. The Taranči are said however, even in the Ili valley, to have described themselves as the native population (*Yärlük*, cf. Radloff, ii. 343). They numbered 6,000 families of whom 4,100 were settled on the right and 1,900 on the left bank of the Ili; for further particulars see Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 331 sq. According to a census of the year 1834 the number of families had increased to 8,000. Down to the beginning of the rebellions of the Muslims in Kāshgharia the lot of the Taranči is said to have been quite tolerable; but their prosperity was henceforth undermined by frequent requisitions for military purposes. After 1863 the Ili valley also became involved in

the rebel movement; after hard fighting an independent principality of the Taranči arose under Sulṭān Abū 'l-'Alā or A'lā Khān [see article KULDJA]. In 1871 this was conquered by the Russians and remained under Russian rule till 1882. The Taranči then numbered 51,000 of whom 45,373 went over to Russian territory, when the Ili valley was returned to the Chinese (treaty of St. Petersburg, Feb. 24, 1881). They were settled in the district of Semiryečye (*Semiryečenskaya Oblast'*); the leader of these emigrants was a wealthy merchant, Walī Akhūn Yuldashev. The Taranči formed the majority of the population of the town of Djärkent which was founded at this time (in 1911: 16,000 of 25,000). Up to 1887 the lands allotted to the Taranči were several times taken from them for Russian Cossacks and the Taranči moved to other places. The Taranči are valued not only as agriculturists and gardeners but also as artisans and labourers; they are said to be unrivalled in building with clay. According to the census of 1897 they numbered 55,999; for a later date, larger numbers (up to 83,000) are given; the census of 1920 gave 62,303. The prosperity of the Taranči suffered severely with the rising of the Karā-Kirghīz in 1916 and the events of the revolution; in 1917 the number of Taranči living in towns in the administrative district of Djärkent was only 6,736 — compared with the previous figure of 16,000 in the town of Djärkent alone, a considerable reduction. In Soviet Russia, the Taranči do not form a political unit; they live in the autonomous republic of Kāzakistān; there is also a Taranči colony in Bairam-'Alī in Turkomēnistān. The Taranči along with the Turkomans (Kāshgharlik) who later immigrated from Kāshgharia claimed they were Uighurs by race. This is due to a misunderstanding as the historical Uighurs never came so far west.

The number of Taranči remaining on Chinese territory was about 8,200 at the beginning of the xxth century. Measures were taken at that time by the Chinese authorities, not without some success, to induce the Taranči who had emigrated to Russia to return to their original homes.

Bibliography: W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1893, ii. 331 sq.; W. Masal'skiy, *Turkestankiy Krai*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 403 sq.; *Aziatskaya Rossiya* (off. publication), St. Petersburg 1914, i. 174; *Material'i po obsledovaniyu tuzemnago i russkago zemlepol'zovaniya v Semiryečenskoi Oblasti* (off. publication); T. V. Taranči. *Cast' I. Tekst. Cast' II. Tablič.*, St. Petersburg 1914; cf. also the *Bibl.* to KULDJA. — On present conditions: *Spisok narodnostei Soyusa Sov. Soc. Respublik, Zpod redakciei I. I. Zarubina*, Leningrad 1927 (publ. by the Acad.), p. 34 — On language and literature: W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, vol. vi., *Dialect der Tarantschi*, St. Petersburg 1886; N. N. Pantusow, *Tarantschikiya piesni*, St. Petersburg 1890 (*Zap. Imp. R. Geogr. Obsch. no otdel. etnogr.*, t. xvii., vfp. 1). (W. BARTHOLD)

TARĀWĪH (A.), plural of the unusual sing. *tarwīha*, the ṣalāts which are performed in the nights of the month of Ramaḍān. Tradition says that Muḥammad held these ṣalāts in high esteem, with the precaution, however, that their performance should not become obligatory (*Bukhārī*, *Tarāwīh*, trad. 3). 'Umar is said to have

been the first to assemble behind one *ḥarī*, those who performed their prayers in the mosque of al-Madina singly or in groups (*loc. cit.*, trad. 2); he is also said to have preferred the first part of the night for these pious exercises.

Canon law recommends the performance of the *tarāwīḥ* shortly after the *ṣalāt al-ishā*. They consist of 10 *taslima*'s, each containing 2 *rak'a*'s; after every four *rak'a*'s a pause is held; hence the name *tarāwīḥ* "pauses". In the Mālikite rite they consist of 36 *rak'a*'s. They belong to the *ṣalāt*'s that are *sunna* and are as popular as any rite connected with Ramaḍān [q. v.]. *Shī'a fiqh* prefers a thousand supererogatory *rak'a*'s throughout the month of Ramaḍān.

In Mekka people assemble in groups varying from 10 to 150 persons, behind one *imām* [q. v.], who acts in this case unofficially, even if he should be an appointed official. The recitation of the *Kur'ān* has a prominent place in these *ṣalāt*'s. Very busy people may perform even this prayer within a short space of time; other groups abide behind their *imām*'s reciting the *Kur'ān* once or several times in the nights of Ramaḍān. Even after the *tarāwīḥ* many people stay for pious exercises.

In Atchin every night large crowds assemble in order to perform the *tarāwīḥ*. Usually, however, it is the *tönku* alone who takes the active part in them, the others limiting their part to a disrespectful joining in with the *āmin* and the eulogies on the Prophet. The *tönku* receives the *zakāt al-fitr* as a remuneration for his endurance. In his *Arabic New-Year* (*Verh. Ak. Amst.*, new ser., xxv., N^o. 2) Wensinck traces the rites of Ramaḍān back to pagan times.

Bibliography: Bukhārī, *Tarāwīḥ* with the commentaries; Mālik, *Muwatṭa'*, *Ṣalāt fī Ramaḍān* with Zurkānī's commentary; Abū Ishāk al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll, p. 27; al-Ramlī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1286, i. 503 sqq.; Ibn Hadjar al-Haitamī, *Tuhfa*, Cairo 1282, i. 205 sq.; Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Hillī, *Sharā'i' al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, p. 51; Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 14, § 229 sq.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, Leyden 1925, register; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 81 sqq.; do., *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, N^o. 49; do., *De Atjehers*, i. 247 sqq.; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1787, i. 214 sq. (to be used with caution); Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London and Paisley 1899, p. 481.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

TARĀZ, Arabic name for Talas, a river in Central Asia and the town on it probably near the modern Awliya Atā [q. v.]. The town was of pre-Muḥammadan, presumably Soghdian origin [cf. SOGHDI]; Soghdian and Turki were spoken in Tarāz and in Balasaghūn [q. v.] as late as the fifth (eleventh) century (Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Diwān Lughāt al-Turk*, i. 31). As a town (*khōron*) Talas is first mentioned in the report of the embassy of the Greek Zēmarkhos (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv. 228) in 568. About 630 Talas (Chin. Ta-lo-sse) was described by Hiuen-Tsang as an important commercial town (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, transl. by Stan. Julien, Paris 1857, i. 14: "les marchands des différents pays y habitent pélemêle"). Islām was first introduced there by the campaign of the Sāmānid Ismā'il b. Aḥmad [q. v.] in Muḥarram 280 (March—April 893); "the emir

and the dihkāns" had to submit; the principal church (*kilisā-i buzurg*) was turned into a mosque (Narshakhi, ed. Schefer, p. 84). This shows that Christianity had gained a footing in Tarāz earlier than Islām. In the account of the same campaign in Tabarī, iii. 2138, the name of the town is not given: Ismā'il captures the town of the "king of the Turks". In Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, viii. 97) a *dihkān* of the region of Tarāz is mentioned under the year 310 (922—923). Under the Sāmānids Tarāz was an important trading centre on the frontiers of the lands of Islām and of the Turks (*B. G. A.*, ii. 391, 9). Coins were first struck in Tarāz under the Īlek-Khāns [q. v.]. In the Mongol period we find alongside of Tarāz the name Yangī first in al-'Omārī (*N. E.*, xiii. 234), where Yangī appears as a distinct town from Tarāz or Talas. Under Timūr and his immediate successors (*Zafar-nāma*, Ind. edition, i. 229 where it is wrongly given as Nabki; ii. 633 where Tarāz is erroneously placed between Akhsikant and Kāshghar; *Hāfiz-i Abrū* [q. v.], Cod. Bodl. Elliot, N^o. 422, f. 155b; 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarḳandī, Cod. Univ. Petrop., N^o. 157, f. 190a) Yangī is frequently mentioned, sometimes in the combination Yangī-Tarāz (so Mirkhwand, in Barthold, *Ulugbeg i ego vremya*, St. Petersburg 1918, text, p. 8). According to Haidar Mirzā [q. v.] Yangī was the Mongol name for Tarāz. In Māwarā al-Nahr there were people who came from Yangī originally and were called "Yangilig". There was no longer a town of Yangī; there were many ruins in the same region but even then it was no longer possible to say with certainty what ruins corresponded to the town of Yangī (or Tarāz) (*Tā'rikh-i Rashīdī*, transl. E. D. Ross, p. 364). At the present day no traces of the town of Tarāz are known. (W. BARTHOLD)

TARI, a gold coin, a quarter-dīnār. When the Fātimids conquered Sicily in the second decade of the fourth (tenth) century they struck quarter-dīnārs (*rubā'*) there in large numbers. This denomination was new to Muḥammadan coinage and the fact that it was also introduced into Syria by the Fātimids suggests that it was intended to take the place of the Byzantine *tremissis*. The issue of this denomination was continued by the Norman Dukes who succeeded the Fātimids. For the history of the *tari* as an Italian denomination, which does not concern us here, see the article *tareno* in E. Martinori, *La Moneta, Vocabolario Generale*, Rome 1915. No satisfactory etymology of the word has yet been given; the one usually given connects it with *dirham*. (J. ALAN)

ṬARĪF, leader of the first Muslim forces to land in Spain in 91 (710). The Arab historians are not agreed as to the origin of this client of the famous general Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q. v.]; some say he was a Berber, others an Arab. Al-Rāzī calls him: Abū Zur'a Ṭarīf b. Mālik al-Ma'firī and Ibn Khaldūn: Ṭarīf b. Mālik al-Nakha'i. He has also occasionally been confused with the other client of Mūsā b. Nuṣair, Ṭarīk b. Ziyād [q. v.].

We know that when Mūsā b. Nuṣair was urged by Count Julian to cross to Spain with an army he consulted his master, the Caliph al-Walīd; the latter ordered him to explore before any expedition the south of the Iberian peninsula with a small contingent of light troops. Mūsā b. Nuṣair therefore sent Ṭarīf with 400 foot and 100 horsemen, all Berbers. Ṭarīf with this little force crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and landed on the penin-

sula which since has borne his name (*Djazīrat Ṭarīf*, now Tarifa [q.v.]). He raided the vicinity of Algeciras (*al-Djazīrat al-Khaḍrā'* [q.v.]) and returned to Africa with rich booty and captives. This first reconnaissance was made in Ramaḍān 91 (July 710). It was followed by the great expedition of Ṭārik b. Ziyād; and after this we hear no more of Ṭarīf.

Bibliography: The Arab historians of Muslim Spain, especially the anonymous chronicle called *Akhbār Maḍmū'a*, ed. Lafuente y Alcantara (*Ajbar machmu'a*), Madrid 1867, p. 6 of the Arabic text and 20 of the transl.; Ibn Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 5—6; transl. Fagnan, ii. 6—7; al-Maḥḥarī, *Analectes*, Index; R. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, ii. 32; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875, i. 240—241; E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, Madrid 1892.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ṬARĪF (A.), explanation, definition, description, from *ʿarafa*, to know; e.g. *ṭarīf Ayā Ṣūfiyā*, description of St. Sophia; *Kitāb al-Taṭarīfāt*, book of definitions, a well-known treatise of Saiyid Sharīf Djurdjāni on the explanation of Ṣūfī terms.

In administrative language, in the feminine form, *ṭaṭarīfa* or *ṭaṭarīfa* with a short *i*, the word has the meaning of tariff, tax, price of food, of transport, etc.; e.g. in Turkish: *gumruk ṭaṭarīfesi*, customs duties; *démir yol ṭarīfeli*, railway charges.

In grammar this word means the Arabic definite article *al*, which is called the particle of notification or *lām* of definition: *ḥarf al-ṭarīf*, *lām al-ṭarīf*.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TARIFA, in Arabic *Djazīrat Ṭarīf*, "island of Tarīf", from the name of the client of Mūsā b. Nuṣair, Abū Zurʿa Ṭarīf [q.v.] who landed there with the first Muslim force at the beginning of the conquest of Spain, a small town in Andalusia on the north shore of the Straits of Gibraltar, at the foot of a mountain range called the Sierra de la Luna, and almost the most southern part of the European continent. Tarifa, with Algeciras (*al-Djazīrat al-Khaḍrā'*; cf. i., p. 277^a) and Gibraltar (*Djabal Ṭārik*; cf. ii., p. 169 *sq.*) under Muslim rule had always considerable trade with the Moroccan ports on the other side of the Straits. Al-Idrisī says that it was surrounded by a dry stone wall. A tower (*burj*) was built in it by orders of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in 349 (960) as we know from an Arabic inscription above one of the gates of the *castello* of Tarifa. Tarifa was taken from the Muslims in 1292 by the King of Castile, Sancho IV, and it was in vain that they endeavoured to retake it two years later when it was admirably defended by Guzman el Bueno of Leon.

Bibliography: al-Idrisī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, p. 176—212; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyari, *al-Rawḍ al-miṭṭar fī ʿAdjāib al-aḳḳār* (Spain), edition in preparation, N^o. 77.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ṬĀRIK B. ZIYĀD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, a Berber chief and leader of the Muslim forces in the conquest of al-Andalus. Ibn Idhārī gives a complete genealogy of him and connects him with the tribe of the Nafza. Idrisī says he was a Berber of the Zanāta; Ibn Khaldūn calls him Ṭārik b. Ziyād al-Laithī. Others again say he was a Persian, a native of Hamadān.

After the reconnaissance undertaken by Ṭarīf

[q.v.] in the south of Spain in Ramaḍān 96 (July 710), Mūsā b. Nuṣair, emboldened by its success, entrusted the command of an expedition on a larger scale to his client Ṭārik b. Ziyād, then leader of his advance-guard. He sent him to the Peninsula at the head of 7,000 men, for the most part Berbers, who crossed the Straits in small contingents in ships supplied by Count Julian. The crossing was probably effected in Raġjab 92 (April—May 711). As his troops landed in Europe, Ṭārik concentrated them on a hill which took his name, the *Djabal Ṭārik* (Gibraltar, q.v.), the ancient *Calpe* on which the Almohad sovereign ʿAbd al-Muʿmin was later to build the town of *Djabal al-Fath* (555 = 1160). Almost all the Arab chroniclers repeat in connection with Ṭārik's crossing the story of a vision which he had during the passage which foretold victory. Ṭārik lost no time in taking Carteya and Algeciras. The Goth king Roderick collected a considerable army to face the invaders in view of the danger that threatened his country.

Ṭārik then asked Mūsā b. Nuṣair for reinforcements; he sent him 5,000 Berbers in addition to the 7,000 he already had. The references in the Muslim and Christian historians are brief but sufficiently precise regarding the course of the conquest after the decisive battle fought between the Muslims and the Goths at the mouth of the Wādī Bekka (*Rio Barbate*) on the shores of the lagoon of the Janda. Ṭārik's 12,000 Berbers would not have held out for very long if Mūsā b. Nuṣair, in spite of his reluctance to increase the scale of the conquest, for it was only intended at first to be a simple reconnaissance and razzia, jealous of the bold and triumphant progress of his lieutenant had not decided to go himself to Spain, but this time with a purely Arab force. Leaving the government of Africa in the hands of his eldest son ʿAbd Allāh, he crossed to Spain in the early summer of 97 (712). His army numbered over 10,000 men, and in it were many Arabs of note with their Yamani and Kaisī clients. This army after taking Madina Sidonia and Carmona laid siege to Seville and some months later to Merida, which did not fall for a year, but a part of the Arab forces had been sent to fight the Goth prince Theodomir in Orihuela. After the surrender of Merida, Mūsā b. Nuṣair advanced on Toledo and joined Ṭārik on the way. The latter after the defeat of the Goths had marched on Ecija, then on Toledo, at the same time sending three columns to take Cordova, Archidona and Elvira. At Toledo, Ṭārik, the Arab historians say, captured fabulous wealth and wrote to Mūsā b. Nuṣair to give him an account of his victory.

The meeting of Ṭārik and his master is a favourite subject with the historians who say that Mūsā inflicted the worst humiliations on his client. The conquest went on and soon the Muslim troops reached Saragossa and the highlands of Aragon, Leon, the Asturias and Galicia. When Mūsā b. Nuṣair with Ṭārik returned to Damascus to report their success to the caliph, Muslim Spain with its little nucleus of Berber and Arab soldiers had already practically attained its extreme geographical limits.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. Torrey, *Yale Oriental Series*, 1922-index; *Akhbār maḍmū'a*, ed. Lafuente y Alcantara (*Ajbar machmu'a*), Madrid 1867, text,

p. 4 sqq., transl., p. 18 sqq.; Ibn al-Kūṭīya, *Ta'rikh Ifṣṭāḥ al-Andalus*, Madrid 1926 (*Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcotía el Cordobes*, transl. J. Ribera), text, p. 3 sqq., transl., p. 1 sqq.; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, vol. iii., Madrid 1885, No. 864, p. 315; Ibn Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 6 sqq., transl. Fagnan, ii. 8 sqq. (cf. i. 28 of text); al-Idrisī, *Descr.*, p. 176; the geographers, s. v. *Djabal Tāriḳ*; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, Index; R. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, ii. 32 sqq.; do., *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, 3rd ed., i. 21 sqq.; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875, i. 236 sqq.; E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, Madrid 1892. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TĀRIḲA (pl. *ṭuruḳ*). This Arabic term, meaning "road, way, path", has acquired two successive technical meanings in Muslim mysticism:

1. In the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. it was a method of moral psychology for the practical guidance of individuals who had a mystic call; 2. after the xth century, it becomes the whole system of rites for spiritual training laid down for the common life in the various Muslim religious orders which began to be founded at this time.

Muslim mysticism itself in its origins, ideas and tendencies will be examined elsewhere [cf. the article TAṢAWWUF]; here we only deal with its results on society and the organisations which are the development of its practice by groups of devout Muslims.

In the first sense (cf. texts by Djunaid, Ḥallādj, Sarrādj, Kūshairī, Hudjwiri), the word *ṭarīḳa* is still vague and means rather a theoretical and ideal method (*rifāya*, *sulūk* are stronger) to guide each one who has had a call by tracing an *itinerarium mentis ad Deum* leading through various psychological stages (*maḳamāt*, *aḥwāl*) of the literal practice of the revealed law (*sharī'a*) to divine reality (*ḥaḳīqa*). This bold claim having provoked criticism and even persecution from the canonists, the teachers of mysticism devoted themselves to defining and restraining their activities on more orthodox lines, compiling rules calculated to avert suspicion (*adāb al-sūfiya*), from Sulamī and Makkī to Ibn Ṭāhir Maḳdisī (*ṣafwa*) and Ghazālī. In practice, while keeping as the goal direct access (*fath*) to reality, they gradually abandoned the freedom of musical assemblies (*samā'*) stimulating themselves with the ecstasy of theopathic utterances [cf. SHATH], often open to criticism, for regular recitations of litanies founded on the *Qur'ān* (*dhiḳr*): thus preparing the adept for a state of mental concentration (*tafakkur*) which he experiences in silence by himself, a state in which the successive perception of lights (*anwār*) differently coloured gradually denudes from its covering of words the "clarity" (of the recited litany) and "substantialises" it in the heart; which then participates in the divine essence of its prayer (*dhiḳr al-dhāt*, *bi-tadjawhur nūr al-dhiḳr fi 'l-ḳalb*, says Suhrawardī on chap. xxvii. of the *Awārif*, ii. 191).

Thus *ṭarīḳa* comes finally to mean a common life (*mu'āshara*), founded on a series of special rules in addition to the ordinary observances of Islām: to become an adept (*faḳīr*, Pers. *darwish*) the novice (*murid*, *gandūs*) receives initiation (*baī'a*, *talḳīn*, *shadd*) before a hierarchy of witnesses

(*shaiḳh al-saḍīdjāda* = Pers. *pīr* = Turk. *bābā*; *murshid*, *muḳaddam*, *naḳīb*, *ḫalīfa*, *turjdumān*, Pers. *rind*, *rāphar* etc.); even if he is of an order allowing a wandering life (*siyāha*), he has to make periodic retreats (*'usla*, *ḫalwa*, *arba'īniya* = Pers. *ḍihl*) with them in a monastery (*ribāṭ*, *zāwiya* = Pers. *ḫanka* = Turk. *tekkīye*) of the order, supported by expiatory alms (*hadya*), generally built near the tomb of a venerated saint whose anniversary (*mawlid*, *'urs*) is celebrated and whose blessing is invoked (*ziyāra*, *baraka*).

In the interior of the monastery the common life of the brethren (*ikhwān* = Turk. *ākhūlar*, an Anatolian term of the xiiith century; there were only attempts to found convents of sisters in Egypt and Syria in the xiiith and xivth centuries) is at the same time distinguished by supererogatory exercises, vigils (*sahr*), fasts (*ṣiām*), invocations (*wird*; e.g. *yā laṭīf*, repeated 100 or 1,000 times), litanies (*dhiḳr*, *ḥizb*) especially at certain festivals (a kind of liturgical office for the vigils, *barā'a*, *raghā'ib*, *ḫadr*), and by dispensations (*rukḥaṣ*), like the collections of alms (*ḫasama*, collected in the *kaṣḫūl*) and private assemblies (*ḥadra*, *waḳīfa*, *zerda*) in which in addition to litanies, platonic glances (*naḡar ila 'l-murd*), jesting (*mizāḥ*) even going as far as horseplay, dancing (*raḳṣ*) and the rending of garments are allowed.

The actual ritual initiation, identical to that of initiation into trade-guilds of Ḳarṁatīan origin, as Kahle has observed, was probably borrowed from them in the xith century (Taeschner, *Islām*, vi. 169—172, published a Turkish miniature of the xviith century representing the scene). The diploma of initiation (*idjāza*) in use since 1227 (cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, *Uyūn al-Inbā*, ii. 250) reproduces the *isnād* of the traditionists to give the new initiate his double chain of affiliation (*silsila*, *shadja*). At the same time he is given a double frock (*ḫirḳat al-wird*, *ḫirḳat al-tabarruk*) to show his twofold taking of an oath (*'ahd al-yad wa 'l-ikhtidā'* = *talḳīn* and *'ahd al-ḫirḳa*), his double adopted genealogy, instruction (oral transmission of the rule) and inspiration (individual illumination), to which his vow of obedience entitles him.

The orthodox canonists (*fukahā'*) have constantly attacked the innovations (*bid'a*) propagated by the *ṭarīḳa*'s: their supererogatory exercises and their dispensations, their special costumes (characteristic headdresses with strips of colour, *kuṭāh*, *tādī* etc.), their use of stimulants (coffee, *ḥashīsh*, opium), their jugglery, their belief in the supernatural efficacy of the *talḳīn* and the *baraka*. They have devoted special attention to the critical history of the *isnād* of initiation, exposing the lacunae and the improbability of their chains [cf. TAṢAWWUF] and they have protested against the *isnād ilhāmī* (spiritual) which bases the privileges of the order on the apparitions of a holy being, mysterious and immortal, al-*Ḳhaḍir* [q. v.], whom all the orders revere as the "master of the path" (*ṭarīḳa*), since having been the guide of Moses (*Qur'ān*, xviii. 64—81) he is superior to the law (*sharī'a*) and the prophets and capable of guiding the soul of the mystic to the supreme reality (*ḥaḳīqa*).

In Turkey the government has often persecuted the orders on account of their *Shī'a* associations; and after a brief truce during which the pan-Islām of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd endeavoured to make use of them, they were dissolved in 1925 for reactionary conspiracy. In the other Muslim coun-

tries in spite of some attempts at reform interesting from the moral (India) or intellectual (Algeria) point of view they are in a state of complete decline. The acrobatics and juggling practised by certain adepts of the lower classes, and the moral corruption of too many of their leaders has aroused against almost all of them the hostility and contempt of the élite of the modern Muslim world.

The *ṭarīka* however cannot be completely neglected: and although their average moral level is very far below that of the great examples of the first *Ṣūfiya*, the great part that they have never ceased to play in the everyday life, humble but profound, of the Muslim community, promises important results to those who will undertake a thorough study of their rules and writings. Ethnologists like Tremearne and Westermarck have already shown that several of their rites, incorporated in an Islāmic liturgic structure, in which they play an unexpected part, are in reality pre-Islāmic survivals (e.g. in the East Indies and in Java) or animistic infiltrations (e.g. *zār* of the *Gūlshaniya* of Cairo borrowed from the Azande; sacrifices of the *Ṭaswiya* of Meknes, modelled on the *bori* of the Hausa; cf. *R. M. M.*, xlv. 1—52). Comparative folklore and psychology will also have something to learn from the hagiographic history of the saints documentation of the great Muslim orders (cf. *Mél. R. Basset*, 1923, i. 259—270 and *Journal de Psychologie*, 1927, p. 163—168).

INTRODUCTION TO THE LIST OF THE ṬARĪKA OF ISLĀM.

To get the data in this list into their proper historical setting let us recall briefly that the isolated attempts at a common life in Islām [cf. *TAṢAWWUF*] only earned their adepts a generic name in 814 (Alexandria, Kūfa) that of *Ṣūfiya*. After 857 (*Muḥāsibī*) this name begins to be applied in a rather loose way to all who had received a mystic call in the *Ṭirāk* (where some denser nuclei were called *Salimiya*, *Hallādjiya*); this name was then contrasted for over two centuries with the name *Malāmātiya*, applied to the more active and more strict mystics of *Khurāsān*, who profess "indifference to censure" and reproach the *Ṣūfiya* with their aesthetic quietism and their fondness for the *samāʿ*.

For this primitive period, the list below only gives anachronistic names, artificially revived from the xiiith century by Muslim hagiographers with the names of authentic doctrinal schools, incorrectly described as religious orders and names of heresies imagined by the Imāmi theologians.

After the xiiith century on the other hand, the list reflects with sufficient accuracy the different foundations of orders the history of which may be briefly summed up as follows: birth among the *Ṣūfiya-Khafifiya* of a secondary order, the *Kāzarūniya* (1304) and among the *Ṣūfiya-Djunaidiya* of a larger order, directed by regular superiors (*Djurdjāni*, *Fārmadhī*, *Nassādī*, *Aḥmad Ghazālī*) an order finally divided in the xiiith century into three: *Khawādjagān* (*Yūsuf Hamadhāni*, d. 1140), the *Kubrāwiya* (*Kubrā*, d. 1221) and the *Qādiriya* (although their founder died in 1166, their rule was not organised till half a century later). To these two last orders, *Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāḍī* (*Kawāʿid Wafiya*, cf. Laleli, MS. 1478) adds: the *Rifāʿiya*, *Madaniya* (the future *Shādhihiya*) and *Čishīya* to form the group of "five primitive *khirkas*".

Others were soon added: in the xiiith century

Qalandariya, *Aḥmadiya*, *Mawlawiya*; in the xivth century *Bektāshīya*, *Naqshabandiya*, *Ṣafawiya*, *Khalwatiya* with their numerous later subdivisions; in the xvth century we have the reformation by *Djazūlī* in the *Maghrib* and rise of the *Shattāriya* in India and Sumatra; finally in the sixth century in the *Maghrib* we have with the reformation of the *Qādiriya* and of the *Shādhihiya*, the foundation of the *Tidjāniya*, *Darḳāwa* and *Sanūsīya*.

None of the great orders is at the present day centralised except the *Sanūsīya* and the *Mawlawiya*; the bond which binds the adepts, being neither perpetual nor exclusive, becomes often extremely loose. As a rule the number of persons affiliated to the brotherhoods in any particular Muslim country is not over 3% of the population, the most widely disseminated orders at present are: the *Qādiriya* (*Ṭirāk*, Turkey, India, Turkestan, China, Nubia, Sūdān, *Maghrib*); *Naqshabandiya* (Turkestan, China, Turkey, India, Malaya); *Shādhihiya* (*Maghrib*, Syria); *Bektāshīya* (Turkey, Albania); *Tidjāniya* (*Maghrib*, A. O. F.; Tchad); *Sanūsīya* (*Ṣaḥarā*, *Hidjaz*); *Shattāriya* (India, Malaya).

Several attempts at the federation of various brotherhoods were made in the *Ḥamīdī* period; they took the form of a curious syncretist hierarchy associating a permanent body of four universal intercessors: *Rifāʿī* (president), *Djilānī*, *Badawī* and *Dasūkī*, with the *abdāl* and the *ḥuṭḥ* of the present hour.

The Muslim orders not all having special articles in the *Encyclopaedia*, the list below gives in alphabetical order the names of the principal *ṭarīka* with a brief note on its origin and its subdivisions, its geographical position and the date (A. D.) of death of its founder. The principal orders are in small capitals and those that still exist are preceded by an asterisk. The capital letters in the list refer to the nine sources used, given below; the numbers given on the right give the number of classification of each *ṭarīka* according to each source: The symbolic figures of 32 and especially 40 (the number of the *abdāl* who watch over the safety of the world) are noted.

H = *Hudjwiri*, *Kashf al-Mahājūb*, ed. Shukovski, 1926, p. 218—340, and transl. Nicholson, 1911, p. 176—266 (11 names);

U = *ʿUdjaimi*, *Fahrassa*, MS. M. Fasi (40 names);
S = *Sanūsī*, *Salsabīl muʿīn*, MS. in my possession (40 names);

T = Maʿšūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾīk al-Ḥaḳāʾīk*, lith. Teheran 1319, ii. 136 sqq. (17 names);

O = d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1788, ii. 294—316 [in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 117; and Brown, *Darwishes*, ed. Rose, 1927, p. 267—271 (32 names)];

G = *Gümüşkhānī*, *Djāmīʿ uṣūl...*, Cairo 1319, p. 3 sqq. (40 names);

R = L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1885 (31 names);

P = Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 1815, ii. 271 (5 names);

M = Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 2nd ed., 1926 (the figures refer to the pages).

U and S, Arabic sources, still unfortunately unedited, are of fundamental importance. H, T, P are Persian. O, G, Turkish, have been compared with *R. M. M.*, ii. 513—517; *Isl.*, vi. 149—169; *M. W.*, 1922, p. 52—56. R, of Algerian origin, has been compared with le Châtelier (*Confréries*

musulmanes du Hedjaz, Paris 1887), Depont-Copolani (*Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897) and Montet (in *E. R. E.*, 1918, p. 719—726) who utilised it.

LIST

- Adhamiya. — O² — artificial Turco-Syrian isnād of the xvth century, referring to a saint († 776).
 AHMADIYA. — U¹⁴ S¹² G⁵ M¹¹⁷ — Egyptian order (Tantā — Badawī † 1276). Numerous branches: Shinnāwiya, Marāzika, Kannāsiya, Anbābiya, Hammūdiya, *Manāʿifiya, Sallāmiya, Halābiya, Zāhidiya, Shuʿābiya, Taskiyaniya, ʿArabiya, *Suṭūhiya, Bundāriya, Muslimiya (= Shurunbulāliya), *Baiyūmiya.
 ʿAidarūsiya. — U³¹ S³³ G³⁷ — Yemenite branch of the Kubrāwiya (xvth century).
 Akbariya. — G⁷ — = Ḥātīmiya.
 ʿAlawiya — G²⁵ — artificial isnād referring to the 4th khalifa¹).
 *ʿAllawiya. — Algerian branch of the Darḳāwa (Mostaganem — Ben Alioua, since 1919).
 *Amirghaniya. — Nubian branch of the Idrisiya — († 1853).
 *ʿAmmāriya. — M⁹⁰ — Algero-Tunisian branch of the Qādiriya (xixth century).
 *ʿArūsiya. — R⁸ — Tripolitan branch of the Qādiriya (Zliten, xixth century).
 ʿAshīkiya. — P² — heresy.
 Ashrafiya. — O¹⁹ — Turkish branch of the Qādiriya (Iznik) — († 1493) — = Wāhidiya.
 *ʿAwāmīriya. — M⁹⁷ — Tunisian branch of the ʿIsawiya (xixth century).
 *ʿAzzūziya. — M⁹⁷ — small Tunisian order (xixth century).
 Bābāʿiya. — O¹⁷ — Turkish order (Adrianople) — († 1465).
 Badawīya. — O¹¹ — = Ahmadiya.
 *Bairamiya. — O¹⁸ G²⁰ — Turkish branch of the Ṣafawiya (Angora) — († 1471). Sub-branches: Ḥamzāwiya, Shaikhīya, Khwādja-Himmatīya. Baiyūmiya. — G³⁵ — cf. Ahmadiya.
 *Bakkāʿiya. — R²² — Sudanese branch of the Qādiriya († 1505). Branches (Kunta): Fadliya, ʿĀl Sidiya.
 Bakriya. — G²² — cf. Siddīkiya.
 " . . . name sometimes given to the Bait al-Bakrī (Shuyūkh al-Ṣūfiya of Cairo since the xvth century).
 " . . . U²⁰ S¹⁶ U²⁰ R¹¹ — Syro-Egyptian branch of the Shādhiliya — († 1503).
 " . . . Egyptian reformed Khalwatiya († 1709).
 *Banāwa. — branch of the Qādiriya in the Dekkan (xixth century).
 *BEKTĀSHIYA. — T⁸ O¹⁴ G¹² — Anatolian (since before 1336) and Balkan order (Albanian branch autonomous since 1922; centre at Akçe Hişar).
 *Bibariya. — M³²⁴ — small Cilician order (in 1924).
 Bistāmīya. — O³ — artificial Turkish isnād of the xvth century (cf. Taifūriya).
 *Būʿaliya. — M⁹⁷ — Algero-Egyptian branch of the Qādiriya (xixth century).
 Buḥūriya. — G²⁰ — not identified.
 *Būnūhiya (= Būniyīn). — small order in Southern Morocco (cf. *R. M. M.*, lviii. 141).
 *BURHĀNIYA (or Burhamiya). — U¹³ S³⁰ — Egyptian order (Ibr. Dasūkī † 1277). Branches: Shāhāwiya, Shārāniba.

- Dardiriya. — Egyptian branch of the Khalwatiya († 1786).
 *DARḲĀWA. — M⁹⁰ — Algero-Moroccan branch of the Djazūliya. — († 1823). Various branches: Būzidiya, Kittāniya, Ḥarrāḳiya, ʿAllawiya.
 Dasūkiya. — G¹ — = Burhāniya.
 Dhahabiya. — T⁶ — Persian name of the Kubrāwiya.
 Djahriya. — U¹² S²⁹ — Yemenite order (xvth century).
 * " . . . M^{251, 267} — orders authorising the dhikr in public, in China and Turkestan (Qādiriya); cf. Khafiya. — (xixth century)²).
 *Djalāliya-Bukhāriya. — Hindu branch of the Suhrawardiya (Makhḍūm-i-djahāniyān, † 1383).
 DJALWATIYA. — O²⁵ G¹¹ — Turkish branch of the Ṣafawiya (Brussa, Pir Uftada † 1580). Branches: Ḥāshimiya, Rawshaniya, Fanāʿiya, *Hudāʿiya.
 Djāmāliya. — T¹¹ — Persian branch of the Suhrawardiya. — (Ardistāni † xvth century).
 " . . . O³² — Turkish order — Stambul. — († 1750).
 *Djarrāhiya. — Turkish branch of the Khalwatiya. — († 1733).
 DJAZULIYA. — R⁹ — Moroccan reformed Shādhiliya. — († 1465). Its branches are: Darḳāwa, Ḥamādisha, ʿIsawiya, Sharḳāwa, Ṭaiḳiya.
 Djibāwiya = Saʿdiya.
 Djilāla. — Moroccan name for the Qādiriya.
 Djumaidiya. — H⁴ U³⁹ S⁴ R³ — doctrinal Baghdād school († 909) which was evolved in the Ṣūfiya in the xth century —, and gave rise to the Khwādjaḡān, Kubrāwiya and Qādiriya — name revived in the xvth century for the artificial isnād of a dhikr.
 Firdawsīya. — Hindu name of the Kubrāwiya.
 *Ghawthīya. — U³⁷ S²⁶ — Hindu branch of the Shattāriya (Ghawth, † 1562 at Gwalior).
 Ghazāliya. — G¹³ — doctrinal school of Ghazālī († 1111).
 *Ghāziya. — R¹⁴ — branch of the Shādhiliya in South Morocco — († 1526).
 *Gūlshaniya. — O²² G¹⁸ — = Rawshaniya.
 *Gurzmar. — Hindu branch of the Qādiriya.
 *Ḥabibiya. — R¹³ — branch of Shādhiliya in Taflelt († 1752).
 Haddādiya. — G³¹ — not identified.
 *Haddāwa. — wandering Moroccan order: at Tagzirt. — (xixth century).
 *Ḥafnawiya. — R¹⁷ — Egyptian branch of the Khalwatiya. — († 1749).
 Ḥaidariya. — Persian branch of the Qalandariya (xiiith century).
 * " = Khāksār. — Persian artisan brotherhood (xixth).
 Ḥakīmiya. — H⁷ — doctrinal school of Ḥakīm Tirmidhī († 898).
 Ḥallādiya. — H¹² U³⁸ S⁵ — doctrinal school of Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr Ḥallādī († 922); name revived in the xiiith century for the artificial isnād of a dhikr.
 Hamadhāniya. — U⁷ S²¹ — Kashmir branch of the Kubrāwiya. — (ʿAlī Hamadhāni † 1385).

1) Cf. ʿUmāriya (G²³), ʿUthmāniya (G²⁴), ʿAbbāsīya (G²⁶), Zainabiya (G²⁷).

2) Cf. Ghaibiya (G³²), Ḥaḍariya (G³⁹).

***Hamādīsha**. — Moroccan branch of the **Djazūliya** in the Zerhoun (xviiith century) with sub-branches: **Daghūghīya**, **Ṣaddakīya**, **Riyāḥīya**, **Qasimiya**, — at Meknès and at Salé.

Hamzāwiya. — G¹⁹ — mixture of **Bairamiya** and **Malāmiya**.

***Hanṣaliya**. — R²⁶ — small Orano-Moroccan order. — († 1702).

— Chleuh branch of the **Nāṣiriya**. — (xixth century).

Harīriya. — Hauranian branch of the **Rifā'iya**. — († 1247).

Hātīmiya. — doctrinal school of Ibn 'Arabī († 1240).

Hudā'iya = **Djalwatiya**.

Hulmāniya. — H¹¹ — **Hulūliya** sect of the xth century.

Hulūliya. — H¹¹ — heresy.

Hurūfiya. — heresy.

Ibāhiya. — heresy.

***Idrisiya**. — M⁴⁴ — branch of the **Khādiriya** settled in 'Asir (xixth century).

Ighit-Bāshiya. — O²³ — Turkish branch of the **Khalwatiya** († 1544).

Ighitshāshiya. — T⁷ — **Khurāsān** branch of the **Kubrāwiya** (**Ishāk Khattalānī**, † xvth century).

***Isawiya**. — R²¹ G²⁸ (?) — Moroccan branch of the **Djazūliya** at Meknès († 1524).

Ishrakīya. — doctrinal school of **Suhrawardī Ḥalabī** († 1191).

***Ismā'iliya**. — Nubian order in **Kurdufān** (xixth century).

Ittiḥādiya. — heresy.

***Qādiriya**. — U²⁶ S⁶ T¹³ O⁵ G² R⁴ — **Baghdād** order developed from the school of the **Djunaidiya** ('Abd al-Qādir **Djilānī** † 1166). — Many branches: in Yemen and Somalia, **Yāfiya** (xvth century), **Mushārī'ya**, 'Urābiya; in India, **Banāwa** and **Gurzmar**; in Anatolia, **Ashrafiya**, **Hindiya**, **Khulūsiya**, **Nābulūsiya**, **Rūmiya** and **Waslatiya**; in Egypt, **Fāridiya** and **Qasimiya** (xixth century); in Maghrib, 'Ammāriya, 'Arūsiya, **Bū'aliya** and **Djilāla**; in western **Sūdān**, **Bakkā'iya**.

Qalandariya. — U³ S³⁹ — itinerant order founded in Persia (**Sāwidjī** † 1218), spread to Syria and India (xivth century—xvth century) now extinct.

***Karrā'iya**. — M⁹⁷ — small Tunisian order (xixth century).

***Karzāziya**. — R²³ — **Shādhiliya** branch in **Taflelt** (xixth century).

Qaṣṣāriya. — H² — doctrinal school of the ixth century: = **Malāmatiya**.

Kazarūniya. — Persian order descended from the doctrinal school of the **Khafīfiya**, at **Shīrāz**. — († 1304).

Khādiriya (= **Khidriya**). — R²⁷ — Moroccan order (**Ibn al-Dabbāgh** † 1717) whence are derived the **Amirghaniya**, **Idrisiya** and **Sanūsiya**.

Khafīfiya. — H⁹ U¹⁶ S³¹ — doctrinal school of **Ibn Khafif** († 982); name revived in the xivth century for an artificial isnād.

***Khafiya**. — surname of the **Naqshabandiya** in China and **Turkeṣtān** (xixth century); cf. **Djahriya**.

***Khaliliya**. — M⁹⁷ — small Tunisian order (xixth century).

***Khalwatiya**. — U¹⁰ S¹⁹ T¹⁷ O¹⁵ G¹⁰ R²⁰ — branch of the **Suhrawardiya** which arose in **Khurāsān**

(**Zahir al-Din** † 1397) and spread into Turkey. — Numerous branches: in Anatolia, **Djarrāhiya**, **Ighitbāshiya**, 'Ushshāhiya, **Niyāziya**, **Sūnbūliya**, **Shamsiya**, **Gülshaniya** and **Shudjā'iya**; in Egypt, **Ḍaifiya**, **Hafnawiya**, **Sabā'iya**, **Sāwiya**, **Dardiriya**, **Maghāziya**; in Nubia, in **Hidjāz** and in **Somaliland**, **Ṣālihiya**; in **Kabyliya**, **Raḥmāniya**.

***Khammūsiya**. — M⁹⁷ — Tunisian order (xixth century).

Kharrāziya. — H⁸ U²⁹ S³⁶ — doctrinal school of **Abū Sa'īd Kharrāz** († 899); then artificial Turkish isnād of the xvth century.

Khawāṭiriya. — U²⁴ S³² — **Hidjāzi** order of **Madanīya** (**Ibn 'Arrāk** † 1556).

Khwadjagān. — T¹⁵ — Persian order descended from the school of the **Djunaidiya** and spread in **Turkeṣtān** (= **Yasawiya**). — (**Yūsuf Hamadhānī** † 1140).

Kubrāwiya. — U⁶ S²⁰ T⁶ O⁸ — **Khurāsān** order descended from the school of the **Djunaidiya** (**Nadīm Kubrā** † 1221). Branches: 'Aidarūsiya, **Hamadhāniya**, **Ighitshāshiya**, **Nūrbakhshiya**, **Nūriya**, **Rukniya**.

Ḳūniyāwiya. — T¹² — doctrinal school of **Ṣadr Rūmī** († 1273), descended from the **Hātīmiya**.

Ḳushairiya. — U²³ S³⁵ — artificial isnād of the xvth century, referring to **Ḳushairī** († 1074).

Madaniya. — U²² S⁷ — first name of the **Shādhiliya**.

* — Tripolitan branch of the **Darkāwa** at **Misurata** († 1823).

***Madāriya**. — U³³ S³⁸ — wandering Hindu order (**Shāh Madār**, † 1438 at **Makanpur**).

Maghribiya. — G²⁹ — perhaps to be identified with the disciples of the Persian poet **Maghribī** († 1406).

Malāmatiya. — U⁵ S¹⁸ — doctrinal school of **Khurāsān** (ixth—xth century), opposed to the **Ṣūfiya** of the 'Irāk — name revived in the xvth century for an artificial isnād.

Malāmiya. — G³⁶ (= **Hamzāwiya**) — branch of the **Bairamiya** of Turkey († 1553).

Maṣūriya = **Ḥallādiya**.

Marāziḳa. — branch of the **Aḥmadiya** (xivth century).

Mashīhiya. — disciples of the Moroccan saint **Ibn Mashīsh** († 1226), at first confused with the **Shādhiliya**, then regrouped in the xvth century.

***Matbūliya**. — G³⁸ — small Egyptian order († 1475).

***Mawlāwiya**. — U¹¹ S²⁸ T² G⁸ O¹⁰ — Anatolian order (**Djalāl al-Din Rūmī**, † 1273 at **Koniya**). Branches: **Pūstniḥiniya**, **Irshādiya**.

Miṣriya = **Niyāziya**.

Muhammadiya. — U¹ S¹ — devotional artificial isnād referring to the Prophet without intermediary: utilised in the xvth century by 'Alī **Khawwāṣ** and **Shā'rānī**; also used in connection with the recitation of **Dalā'il** of **Djazūli**.

Muḥāsibiya. — H¹ — doctrinal school of **Ḥārith Muḥāsibī** († 859).

Murādiya. — O³⁰ — Turkish order in **Stambul**. — († 1719).

Mushārī'ya. — U³⁰ S³⁴ — Yemenite branch of the **Qādiriya** (xvth century).

Muṭāwi'a = **Aḥmadiya**.

***Naqshabandiya**. — U³⁸ S²⁴ T¹⁰ O¹² G¹ R¹⁹ — order in **Turkeṣtān**, claiming descent from the school of the

Taifūriya. — Branches in China, Turkestan, Kazan, Turkey, India and Java. — (Bahā' al-Dīn †1388).

NAKSHABANDIYA. = Khalidiya. — reformed Turkish (xixth century)

*Nāṣiriya. — R¹⁶ — South Moroccan branch of the Shādhiliya, at Tamghrūt (xviith century) with Tunisian sub-branch (Shabbiya).

*Nī¹MATALLĀHIYA. — T⁵ — the only order of the Persian Shī'a in Kirmān: descended from the Qādiriya-Yāfi'īya. — (†1430).

Niyāziya. — O²⁹ — Turkish branch of the Khalwatiya (†1693).

Nubuwiya. — artisan brotherhood in Syria (xiith century).

Nūr al-Dīniya. — O³¹ = Djarrahīya.

Nūrbakhshiya. — T³ — Khurāsān branch of the Kubrāwiya (Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh †1465).

Nūriya. — H⁵ — doctrinal school of Nūri (†907).

" — U⁹ S²³ — dissenting branch of the Rukniya (xivth century).

" — heresy.

Pir-Hādījāt. — T¹⁴ — Afghān order professing to be that of Anṣārī Harawī (†1088).

*Raḥḥāliya. — order of Moroccan jugglers (xvth century).

*RAḤMANIYA. — R³⁰ — branch of the Khalwatiya in Kabylia. — (1793).

*Rashidiya. — R¹³ — small Algerian order formed dissenting from the Yūsufiyya (xixth century).

*Rasūlshāhiya. — M²⁹³ — Hindu order of Guḍjarāt (xixth century).

Rawshaniya. — branch of the Khalwatiya, in Turkey and Cairo (Gülshani †1533).

. — Afghān branch of the Suhrawardiya (Bāyazīd Anṣārī, † end of the xvth century).

*RIFĀ'ĪYA. — U²⁸ S⁸ T⁹ O⁶ G⁴ — South¹ 'Irāk order — (†1175) — spread from its centre in Baṣra to Damascus and Sтамbul. — Syrian branches: Haririya, Sa'diyya, Saiyādiya; — Egyptian: Bāziya, Mālikiya, and Ḥabibiya (xixth century).

Rukniya. — U⁸ S²² — Baghdād branch of Kubrāwiya ('Alā al-Dawla Simnānī †1336).

Rūmiya. — G¹⁴ — = Ashrafiya.

Sab'īniya. — doctrinal school and wandering order of Ibn Sab'īn (†1268).

*Sa'diyya. — O¹³ G¹⁵ — Syrian branch of the Rifā'īya (Sa'd al-Dīn Djbāwī †1335). — Branches: 'Abd al-Salāmiya, Abu 'l-Wafā'īya.

Ṣafawiya. — T⁴ — Azēri branch of Suhrawardiya at Ardabil. — (†1334). It gave rise to the sect of the Kīzīlbāshiya, to the Persian dynasty of the Ṣafawids, and to several Turkish orders.

Sahliya. — H⁶ U⁴⁰ S⁴⁰ — doctrinal school (Sahl Tustarī †896); name revived in the xvth century for an artificial isnād.

Sakaṭiyya. — O⁴ — Turkish artificial isnād of the xvth century. — (Sakaṭī †867).

Salāmiya = 'Arūsīya.

Salimiya = Sahliya (in the first sense).

*Sammāniya. — Egyptian branch of Shādhiliya (xixth century).

*Sanāniya. — M⁹⁷ — minor Tunisian order (xixth century).

*SANDŪSIYA. — R³¹ — military order, descended from the Khādiriya, at Djabbug then Cufra, in the oriental Ṣaḥarā. — (†1859).

Sasāniya. — artisan brotherhood in Syria and Anatolia (xiith—xvth century).

Saiyāriya. — H¹⁰ — doctrinal school of the xth century.

*Sha'bāniya. — G¹⁷ — Turkish branch of the Khalwatiya at Kastamuni. — (†1569).

*SHĀDHILIYA. — U¹⁷ S¹³ T¹⁶ O⁹ G³ R⁶ — order founded by Abū Madyan of Tlemcen (†1197) and 'Alī Shādhili of Tunis (†1256). — Maghrib branches: Ghāziya, Ḥabibiya, Karzāziya, Nāsi-riya, Shaikhīya, Suhailiyya, Yūsufiyya, Zarrukiya and Ziyāniya; — Egyptian: Bakriya, Khawāṭiriya, Wafā'īya, Djawhariya, Makkiya, Hāshimiya, Sammāniya 'Afifiya, Kāsimiyya, 'Arūsīya, Handūshiya, Kawūkdjiya; — there are some at Sтамbul, in Rumania, in Nubia and in the Comores.

Shāhmadāriya = Malang = Madāriya.

*Shaikhīya. — R²⁴ — name given to the Shādhiliya Ulād Sidi Shaikh of Orania (xixth century).

Shamsiya. — O²⁷ — Turkish branch of Khalwatiya. — (†1601) = Nūriya-Siwāsiya.

*Sharḳāwa. — Moroccan branch of the Djazūliya at Bujād (1599).

Sharḳāwiya. — Egyptian order of the Khalwatiya (xviiith century).

*SHATTĀRIYA. — U³⁴ S²⁵ G³⁴ — Hindu, Sumatra and Javanese order ('Abdallāh Shattār †1415 or 1428)¹. — Branches: Ghawthiyya, 'Ushaikiya.

Shūdhiya. — wandering Spanish order of the xiith century based on the Sab'īniya.

Ṣiddiqiyya. — U⁴ S² R¹ — artificial isnād referring to the second khalifa (invented by 'Aṭā 'llāh, xiiith century).

Sinān-Ummiyya. — O²⁸ — Turkish order (†1668).

Suhailiyya. — R¹⁵ — Algerian branch of Shādhiliya (xixth century).

*SUHRAWARDIYA. — U¹⁵ S¹¹ T¹ O⁷ G⁹ R⁵ — Baghdād order founded by 'Abd al-Qāhir Suhrawardī (†1167) and 'Umar Suhrawardī (†1234) who were called "Ṣiddiqiyya" = descendants of the second khalifa; found in Afghānistān and in India. — Branches: Djalāliya, Djamāliya, Khalwatiya, Rawshaniya, Ṣafawiya and Zainiyya.

*Sulṭāniya. — M²⁵¹ — order of Turkestan (xixth century).

*Sūnbūliya. — O²¹ G³⁹ — Turkish branch of the Khalwatiya (†1529).

*Tabbā'īya. — M⁹⁷ — Tunisian order (xixth century).

*Ṭaibiya. — R²⁵ — Moroccan branch of the Djazūliya at Ouezzan (†1727).

Taifūriya. — H³ — doctrinal school of Dāsītānī and Khurkānī (xixth century), descended from Abū Yazid Ṭaifūr Bisṭāmī (†877).

*Ṭālibiyya. — small Moroccan order at Salé (xixth century; cf. R. M. M., lviii. 143).

Ṭalkīniya. — P³ — heresy.

*Ṭidjāniya. — R²⁹ — Algero-Moroccan order (†1815). From Temacin and 'Ain Mahdi, it has spread through Eastern and Western Sūdān.

*Tshishitiya. — U³² S³⁷ G¹⁶ — Indo-Afghān order: centre at Adjmir (†1236).

Tuhāmiya = Ṭaibiya.

'Ulwāniya. — O¹ — Turkish artificial isnād of the xvth century, referring to a saint of Djedda of the viiith century.

1) Cf. biogr. in Ghulām Sarwar, *Khasinat al-Afīyā*, Lith. Cawnpore 1893, ii. 306—308.

Ummi-Sināniya. — O²⁴ — Turkish order — (†1552).
 'Urābiya. — U²⁷ S⁹ — branch of the Ḳādiriya (xvth century).

'Ushaiḳiya. — U³⁵ S²⁷ — Hindu branch of the Shaṭṭariya (Abū Yazīd 'Ishkī †xvth century).

*'Ushshaiḳiya. — O²⁶ G²¹ — Turkish branch of the Ḳhalwatiya (†1592).

Uwaiṣiya. — U² S³ G⁴⁰ R² — Turkish artificial isnād of the xvth century, referring to a Ṣaḥābī.

*Wafa'iya. — R⁷ — reformed Syro-Egyptian of the Shādhiliya (†1358).

Wahdatiya. — P⁵ — heresy = Wudjūdiya.

*Wārith 'Alīshāhiya. — Hindu order (end of the xixth century).

Wuṣūliya. — P¹ — heresy.

Yasawiya. — branch of the Ḳh'wādjagān in Turkestan (Yasawī †1167).

Yūnusiya. — wandering Syrian order (Shāibānī †1222).

*Yūsufiya. — R¹² — Maghrib branch of Shādhiliya at Miliana (xvth century).

Zarrūkiya. — U¹⁹ S¹⁵ R¹⁰ — branch of the Shādhiliya of Fès (†1493).

Zainiya. — O¹⁶ — Turk branch of Suhrawardiya at Brussa (Ḳh'wāfi †1435).

*Ziyāniya. — R²⁸ — Maghrib branch of the Shādhiliya (xixth century).

Zuraikiya. — P¹ — heresy not identified (name perhaps wrongly transcribed).

Bibliography: The principal sources are enumerated at the head of the table given above. One may add those given by G. Pfannmüller, in *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur*, 1923, p. 292—315. — Cf. also in the Encyclopaedia the articles BEKṬĀSH, DERḲĀWA, DERWĪSH, DHIKR, FUTŪWA, GULSHANĪ, HALLĀDĪ, 'ISAWIYA, ḲALANDARIYA, ... SA'DIYA, SĀLIMIYA, SANŪSIYA, SHADD, SHĀDHILIYA, SHATH, SHATṬĀRIYA. ... (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

TA'RIKH (A.), 1. history in general, annals, chronicles. It is the title of a great many historical works, like the *Takmilat Ta'rikh al-Ṭabari*, supplement to the *Annals* of Ṭabari; *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, *Mekka* etc., history of Baghdād, of Mecca etc.; *Ta'rikh al-Andalus*, history of Andalusia. The word has also been applied to works of a very different kind, like that of al-Bīrūnī on India, *Ta'rikh al-Hind*, which is rather a study of the state of learning in India, or to special dictionaries like the *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'* of Ibn al-Ḳifī, a biographical and bibliographical dictionary of early scholars and Arab continuers of the Greek tradition.

2. Era, computation, date. Besides their own era of the Hidjra [q.v.], the Muslims have had several other eras: that of the Creation or of the world (*ta'rikh al-'ālam*), a very uncertain computation which shows great variation among Jews, Christians and Magi. Al-Bīrūnī and the Christian historian Abu 'l-Farāj (Bar-Hebraeus) reproach the Jews with having reduced the number of years since the Creation so that the date of the birth of Jesus is no longer in agreement with the prophecies relative to the Messiah; thus they placed the birth of Seth, son of Adam, 100 years too soon and have done the same with the other patriarchs down to Araham so that their computation gives 4,210 years from the Creation to the age of the Messiah instead of 5,586 approximately

given by the Torah. The Jews, according to al-Bīrūnī, expected the Messiah at the end of the year 1335 of Alexander, so that Christ was born, in the general opinion, in the year 311 of this era. — The Era of the Deluge, which also shows differences between Jews and Christians; the astronomer Abū Ma'shar used it in his *Canon*. — The era of Nebuchadnezzar (the first Bukhtnaṣṣar) used by Ptolemy in the *Almagesta* concurrently with the Cycles of Callipus. — That of Philip Arrhidaeus, father of Alexander, used by Theon of Alexandria in his *Canon*. — The era of Alexander, with Greek months, or era of the Seleucids, dates from the entry of Seleucus Nicator into Babylon, twelve years after the death of Alexander, in use among the Syrians and Jews (era of the Contracts); the Rūmīs also used it with a slight variation. Muḥammad was born in the year 812 of the era of Alexander. — An era of Augustus; one of Antonius used by Ptolemy for corrections in the position of the stars. — The era of Diocletian or era of the martyrs which dates from the first year of the reign of Diocletian, in 596 of Alexander; it is that which was used by the Copts. — In Persia and among the Zoroastrians, the two eras of Yazdedjird III are dated one from his accession and the other from his death.

Under Muslim rule in Persia an interesting reform of the calendar took place when the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid brought the *Nawrūz* or Persian New Year day, which the abolition of the intercalation had advanced too much, back to a date more in keeping with agricultural work. The *Khānīan*, the era of the *Ilkhāns*, was introduced into Persia by Ghāzān Maḥmūd on Rājab I, 701 A. D.; it is a solar era. Another reform is that of the Seldjūq Sultān Malik Shāh who instituted the *Djalālī* era. — On March 1, 1676 (old style) the Ottomans adopted a solar calendar based on the Julian, and called it "The Ottoman fiscal calendar". The Julian year began about 11 days before the lunar year, the dates of the calendar did not keep in agreement with those of the Hidjra. The *Ilāhī* era was established by Akbar in the 30th year of his reign. It dated from the 5th Rabi' I, 963 (Feb. 19, 1556), the date of his accession; the years are solar. In modern times, Mukhtār Pasha Ghāzī has prepared another solar calendar of remarkable accuracy, which would only show an error of 0.28 of a day in a 100 centuries. — In 1926 the Kemālist Turks abandoned the Muḥammadan lunar calendar and adopted the European system.

While talking of dates it may be worth mentioning the system of notation called *djummal* (chronogram) which is sometimes found in texts of a literary character: it consists in dating by forming words, the numeral value of the letters of which gives the date. Thus the sentence *Nadiāt al-khalk min al-kufr bi-Muḥammad*: "Muḥammad saves the world from unbelief" gives, when the total value of its letters is added up, the date 1335 (an example from al-Bīrūnī).

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of ancient nations*, ed. and transl. E. Sachau, London 1879, chap. iii, and *passim*; Abu 'l-Farāj, *Ta'rikh mukhtasar al-Duwal*, ed. Ṣalḥānī, Beyrouth 1890; E. Lacoine, *Table de concordance des dates des Calendriers arabe, copte, grégorien, israélite*, etc., Paris 1891.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TARIM, local (Turkish) pronunciation *Terim*, the principal river of modern Chinese Turkistān (length about 1,200 miles). It is probably the *Oikhardēs* of Ptolemy (vi. 16). In the first (seventh) century the river is mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Čuang (Hiouen-Thsang, *Mémoires*, transl. Stan Julien, ii. 220) under the name Si-to (Sanskrit Sītā). In the fifth (xith) century Maḥmūd Kāshghari (i. 116) mentions the river Usmi Tarim "which flows out of the land of Islām into the land of the Uighurs and loses itself in the sand there". According to the same source (*op. cit.*, p. 332), Usmi-Tarim was a place near Kučā on the frontier of the land of the Uighurs along which the river flowed. The name Tarim then as now was apparently applied to the lower course of the river; in its upper course, often also down to its mouth, it is called after the capital of Chinese Turkistān, Yārkand Daryā. The source of the Yārkand-Daryā is the Raskem-Daryā which lies in the mountains of Karaḳorum on the frontier of India. In the history of Timūr (*Zafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887—1888, ii. 219), a place called Tarim is mentioned not far from Bāi and Kūsan (Kučā). Tarim appears also in the *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* of Muḥammad Ḥaidar (transl. E. D. Ross, p. 67) as the name of a district, along with Turfān, Lob and Katak; the name of the river is not mentioned in these sources. According to the *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* (*op. cit.*, p. 11), the town of Lob-Katak (or the towns of Lob and Katak) was destroyed by a sandstorm in the viiith (xivth) century. As Sven Hedin (*Through Asia*, London 1898, p. 850) has ascertained, legends about the destroyed town of Katak ("Shahr-i Kōttek or else Shahr-i Katak") have survived to the present day, although no one has seen the ruins of this town. An arm of the Tarim in its lower course is called Ketek-Tarim (Kornilow, *Kashgariya*, Tashkent 1903, p. 164). In the time of Maḥmūd Kāshghari, Islām had apparently not yet spread on the lower course of the Tarim. The people of town and desert of Lob on the other hand are described as Muḥammadans by Marco Polo (Ch. 57).

The Yārkand-Daryā leaves the mountains and enters the plain at the village of Karačun and receives on the left bank the Kīlīl-Su or Kāshghar-Daryā, the Aḳsu or Aḳsu-Daryā, the Muzart or Shāh-Yār-Daryā and the Konče-Daryā, on the right the Tiznab, the Khatan-Daryā and the Kerya-Daryā. The right hand tributaries only reach the Tarim when they are flooded. Below the mouth of the Aḳsu the Tarim is about 400 yards broad; in this region it is divided into several arms; the principal arm, the Ugen-Daryā, is 170 yards wide at Terek where Sven Hedin crossed it (*Through Asia*, p. 847). The separate arms are lost in the basin of the Lob or Lob-nor (Mongol: Lake Lob) in which the Čerčen-Daryā also flows; the Su-li-ho also flows into it from the east. Lop (or Lob), according to Sven Hedin (*Through Asia*, p. 871), is now the name applied to the whole region from the mouth of the Ugen-Daryā and the Tarim in the north to the village of Čarkhlik (south or Čerčen-Daryā) in the south; as Pelliot (*Journ. As.*, Ser. xi., vol. vii. 119) suggests, the same word Lop is reproduced at the beginning of our era in Chinese by Leou-lan. As the terms Lop-nor and Tarim-gol (gol, Mongol: river; the latter on the map by J. Klapproth of 1829) show, the earliest accounts of the lake basin and lower course of the Tarim reached European scholars from

Mongol (or Kalmūk) sources. Quite recently the geographical conditions and the archaeological remains on the lower course of the Tarim have been investigated by numerous expeditions and many endeavours have been made to connect modern sites with references in the literary, especially Chinese, sources. According to Sir Aurel Stein's most recent explorations (1914; cf. *Geogr. Journ.*, Aug. and Sept. 1916), there has probably been a large delta in the now almost completely dried up bed of the Lob, but never a large lake within historic times.

On account of its continental climate, the Tarim in spite of southern situation is covered with ice about three months of the year. On the lower course of the Tarim the natives (*Lopñk*) catch fish in special boats. Sven Hedin explored the region of Lob-nor in one such boat; there has never been any navigation in the proper sense on the Tarim. As in the time of Maḥmūd Kāshghari, the river was swallowed up by the desert before it reached the bed of the lake; the fishing village of Kum-čapghan is described by Hedin (*op. cit.*, p. 884) as "the entrance to the tomb of the Tarim".

Bibliography: A particularly full account of the most important sources is given in Kornilow, *Kashgariya*, Tashkent 1903, p. 157 sqq., from his own researches and the narration of Przewalski, Hedin, Pievtzow, Kozlow etc.

(W. BARTHOLO)

TARĪM, i. an old town and still one of the most important in northern Ḥaḍramūt, on the left side of the main wādī which traverses the whole of Ḥaḍramūt and is called Wādī Masile east of Shibām or Wādī Ḥaḍramūt or simply al-Wādī; others distinguish Wādī Masile and Wādī Ḥaḍramūt, but are not agreed on the position of the confluence of the two (cf. Stieler's map 60 in his *Hundertlas*⁹ [Gotha 1905] and the *Map of Hadramut* [surveyed by Imam Sharif Khan Bahadur] in Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 70). The statements of the Arab geographers regarding Ḥaḍramūt, especially the interior (already in part utilised by Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. [Berlin 1846], passim and brought together in a critical survey based on all texts, so far accessible, by M. de Goeje, *Hadhramaut, Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii., 1886, p. 101 sqq.) are exceedingly scanty and do not give the impression of being based on the accounts of eye-witnesses, but contain the same matter as the isolated references in the travellers before Wrede and his own information about districts which he was not able himself to visit. The Arab geographers describe Shibām and Tarīm as two (principal) towns in Ḥaḍramūt, without further defining their situation, e.g. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 284; iii. 247; i. 746; al-Idrisī (see Jaubert, *Géographie d'Édrisi* [Paris 1836], p. 149 sq. and 53) and others (see below). Al-Hamdānī, *Djazira*, p. 87, calls Tarīm a large town (as he does the Tarīs northeast of Shibām), Shibām the great capital (p. 86). Of no importance are the mere references as in al-Hamdānī, p. 177 (along with Tarīs) etc., or references in poets in al-Hamdānī, p. 182; al-Bakrī, p. 107, 184 etc. K. Niebuhr, as early as 1763 (see his *Beschreibung von Arabien* [Copenhagen 1772], p. 286 sqq.) received in Šan'a' and Maṣkaṭ from Arabs stories of the existence of Tarīm and Shibām (on p. 286 the mention of "these two most prominent towns of Ḥaḍramūt" is quoted from the *Geographia*

Nubiensis [the Latin synopsis of al-Idrisī, Paris 1619] and Abu 'l-Fidā'). Ritter and others have given mistaken accounts of the geographical position of Tarim; according to the best available map of Ḥaḍramūt (that of L. Hirsch) it is approximately in 49° 55' E. Long. and 16° 44' N. Lat.

L. W. C. van den Berg, from his official position in Batavia, was able to get very full particulars of their native land from Arabs from Ḥaḍramūt, who had migrated to the Dutch East Indies, as their countrymen still do; most of his informants came from the district of the principal Wādī between Shibām and Tarim. This information he worked up in his *Le Hadhrāmout et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien* (Batavia 1886) (cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Arabië en Oost-Indië* [Leyden 1907, p. 19 sqq., French translation in *Revue de l'Histoire des Rel.*, lvii., 1908, p. 74 sqq.]). Along with much other information we owe to van den Berg the first more accurate details of Tarim. According to him it was the old capital (Maltzan marks Tarim on the map in his *Reise* as "capital of Ḥaḍramaut proper"); Sai'ūn (p. 13), he says, is the modern capital. On p. 26 he describes the wādīs that come from the north from the al-Woṭī mountains. On p. 18 sqq. he gives distances for the various stations on the road from al-Shiḥr to Tarim. Tarim is surpassed by Sai'ūn in all respects in which it once had the supremacy in the land, number of inhabitants, trade, industry and it is more advanced generally. Several houses were already uninhabited, streets deserted, a large number of mosques no longer visited or fallen into disrepair. The decline of the town is said to have begun as early as the thirties of last century and to have been brought about by the constant feuds between the tribes of the district. According to a not very probable report in the Arabic newspaper *al-Djāwā'ib* of 18th Rabi' I 1299 (Feb. 8, 1882, Constantinople), Tarim had about 25,000 inhabitants (cf. Wrede's statement); according to the results of van den Berg's enquiries (p. 52) it had only 10,000 (which coincides with Wellsted's statement). Tarim was formerly the centre of the textile industry of Ḥaḍramūt, which however was only carried on in private houses and in his time (p. 78) was still of importance, although it had begun to decline as a result of European competition. So early a writer as Seetzen (*Zach's Monatl. Correspondenz*, 1811, xxviii., p. 240) knew that silk shawls embroidered with gold thread were made in Tarim. The town was at one time also the centre of higher education in the land (grammar, theology and law): Sai'ūn has now taken its place in this respect also (p. 88).

In the collection of Ḥaḍramiti stories collected by C. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i., Ḥaḍramūt, Leyden 1901) from the lips of natives, Tarim is mentioned (p. 175 [185], 432) (in the last passage there is a reference to the school there, *Rbāf Terim*; further particulars of it on p. 450 sq.).

The first European to visit Shibām, Sai'ūn and Tarim, (July 1893) and to be able to report on the town from his own experiences, was Leo Hirsch (*Reisen in Südarabien, Mahra-Land und Hadramūt*, Leyden 1897). His description of the journey from Shibām to Tarim (p. 209 sqq.) and his account of the latter town are full of information. Tarim, he says, lies on the left bank of the Wādī Masile (going from Shibām) on the side of a hill, according to his map on the southern slopes; v. d. Berg's state-

ment: "Terim (est situé sur le versant) de la chaîne des montagnes septentrionales" (p. 22) should therefore be corrected. On p. 227 sqq. Hirsch gives a fuller description of the town and its situation. Here we will only mention that whole quarters of the town, especially the southwestern part, present a desolate appearance and among the houses which are mostly in ruins — as v. d. Berg already mentioned — there are very few distinguished for size or good repair. The number of mosques, the well kept whitewashed minarets of which rise up among the houses, is not very large according to him (p. 229) (according to v. d. Berg over 300). With his statement "The medrese, where theology and law are taught, is joined to the Rubāf Mosque" we may compare the reference quoted above from Landberg and v. d. Berg's note (p. 88) that the high school, also a hostel for students, at Sai'ūn, an annexe of the great mosque there, is called *Robāf* (cf. *ribāf* in the meaning: "hostel for poor Muslim students"). According to Landberg's information, the school at Tarim was closed and its place taken by that at Sai'ūn (see also v. d. Berg). Hirsch learned from a sayid of the town, who was lamenting its increasing decline, that it had consisted from early times of five *bilād* (quarters) and its population was then 3,810. The Sultān of the town had only a nominal authority and was in reality in the hands of the great sayids (p. 231). Tarim like Sai'ūn belongs to the Kathiri tribes; it has its own coins of silver and copper (a collection in the Berlin and British Museum; some reproduced at the end of Hirsch's book; see also Sir John A. Bucknill, *A Note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia*, in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii., part i. [April 1925] with a plate). On account of the hostile attitude of the population, Hirsch had to leave Tarim after a few hours' stay only and return to Shibām next morning; he had no time for a thorough examination.

From a comparison of his statements with the second-hand information of earlier writers, it is evident that, apart from the points of difference already indicated from v. d. Berg, in the latter's map the places from Shibām to Tarim are put too far to the east and that he has also not given correctly the size and population of the three important towns. Shibām the largest town — as it was even in al-Ḥamdānī's time — which has about 6,000 inhabitants (Hirsch, p. 198 and Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 148; on the other hand v. d. Berg, p. 42 says only 2,000), is considered an important town and far surpasses Sai'ūn (with c. 4,500 inhabitants, according to v. d. Berg on the other hand 15,000) and Tarim as a centre of life and activity (Hirsch, p. 205), is put by him too far below Sai'ūn, whose Sultān is said to be recognised in Tarim also, and even below Tarim in importance. The opinion of D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia* (London 1905), p. 222, that "the rivalry of these towns is such, and the changes in them are so frequent, that it is not impossible that Van den Berg was right at the moment, in regarding Sai'ūn as the capital of Ḥaḍramawt, with Tarim for its only peer", is hardly plausible in view of the shortness of the interval. We may note here the reference to the "journey of Mu'allim 'Abūd from Gishin to Terim" in W. Hein (*Südarabische Itinerarien*, M. G. G. W.,

lvii. [1914], p. 37 *sqq.* published by his widow from his literary remains), according to which Sai'ūn is larger than Tarīm, and Shibām smaller than these two towns and larger than the others (p. 43), which would rather agree with v. d. Berg's estimate. Against this view however are the statements according to which Shibām is 7 to 8 days' journey from Tarīm (p. 42). Here again Hirsch's testimony seems to be preferable.

In January of the year after Hirsch (1894) Bent and his wife succeeded in reaching Shibām; they did not get to Tarīm. Bent also says (*l.c.*, p. 119), in contrast to v. d. Berg and others, that the Sultāns of Sai'ūn and Tarīm have no authority outside their towns (on the southern Arabian Sultānates, cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *L'interdit séculier* *en Hadhrāmūt, Revue Africaine*, 1905, p. 92).

Bibliography: the works quoted in the text, especially those of Hirsch, v. d. Berg, de Goeje, Hein, Sprenger, Wrede-Maltzan, Ritter, and the Arab geographers (al-Hamdānī, Yākūt, al-Idrisī, Bakrī). (J. TKATSCH)

TARİM. 2. According to Ḥādjdī Khalifa, *Djihan-numā*, p. 490 (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *Über die Geographie Arabiens, Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Vienna 1841, xciv., p. 93 and following him Ritter, xii. 727), a fortress on the road which runs from the coast-town of Djizān on the Red Sea eastwards via "Newidiye and the castle of Feleki" (according to v. Hammer's transcription, which seems not quite certain) to Ša'da; that is in the Upper Yemen. From the mention in the verse of Kuthaiyir referred to by al-Hamdānī, *Šifat*, p. 182 and quoted by al-Bakrī, p. 184 (cf. 107) and 196, the situation of the place cannot be more accurately deduced. Al-Hamdānī, immediately after mentioning Hunain lying between Mecca and Kārn, i.e. a place in the southern Ḥidjāz, mentions Bidaḥ and Tarīm only on the authority of Kuthaiyir without saying anything about its position. Al-Bakrī mentions (p. 195) Tiryam, for which he gives references from poets, and (p. 196) the Tarīm occurring in al-A'shā and Kuthaiyir, which either has this vocalisation on account of the metre or is another place, and only then proceeds to deal with the town of the same name in Ḥadramūt (cf. N^o. 1) under *Tarīmu*. Tarīm is certainly to be distinguished from Tiryam. The verse refers, in a purely poetical simile, to a "desert of Tarīm" without any geographical precision, a reference which like so many topographical references in the poets seems to be quite a conventional one, for the poet was not at all concerned with its geographical position. As regards Kuthaiyir it is certain that he is not thinking of either of the two places in Ḥadramūt of this name (N^o. 1 and 2). Al-Shu'aiba, mentioned by him in the same verse immediately after Tarīm, is said by al-Bakrī, p. 184 to be a coast-town on the Yemen road, which is in keeping with the order in al-Hamdānī. The verse of al-A'shā, which also mentions Tarīm without further precision, is quoted by Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 846, as referring to the town in Ḥadramūt, while al-Bakrī quotes it along with Kuthaiyir's verse without however giving his opinion of the localisation of the Tarīm mentioned by the two poets, p. 196, s. v. *Tiryamu*, and not when discussing the Tarīm in Ḥadramūt. — The *Tādī al-'Arūs* (viii. 211) which gives further places named Tarīm, gives as the first of them in almost the same words as the *Lisūn al-'Arab* (xiv. 332) the

form Tiryam (on the authority of al-Djawhari; the *Qāmūs*, s. v. knows only this form) and then, after others, Taryam (cf. al-Bakrī, p. 195 *sq.*), and records the statement that it is a wādī near al-Nakī' — which is disputed by many on the ground that al-Nakī' is a wādī near Madīna — according to the contrary view, a wādī near Yanbu' in the Ḥidjāz (cf. al-Hamdānī, p. 181 and Yākūt, i. 846; cf. thereon al-Bakrī, p. 195 and 548). In any case it is different from the Tiryam mentioned by Yākūt (*op. cit.*) which is in the north near Madyan (the Turiam of the Admiralty Chart; on it cf. Ritter, xiii. 282; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 23). According to the *Tādī*, Tiryam is also a place in the desert of Bašra. He then goes further than the *Lisūn* and, after mentioning the Tarīm in Ḥadramūt, says, that there is a Tarīm in Syria and then goes on to deal with the "Yemen town". — Wüstenfeld, *Yemen im XI. Jahrhundert* (*Abhandl. der Kön. Ges. d. Wissensch.*, xxxii), Göttingen 1885, p. 39, only mentions, in connection with the history of Hasan Pašha (from al-Muḥibbī) that Yarim should be read for Tarīm in the list of fortresses taken by the Emir Sinān in 1006 (1597—1598). This is correct, but the reason given that "Tarīm is in Ḥadhrāmūt" is not. There is certainly a Yemen Tarīm also, but the geographical situation of these fortresses, which are in the Šan'a' region, shows that it is not the one in question. Stieler's *Handatlas*, 9th ed., Gotha 1905, *Karte von Arabien* (ed. by Habenicht), marks Tarīm west of Ša'da in approx. 43° 20' East long. and 16° 57' N. Lat. which agrees with the statement of the *Djihan-numā*; the English (General Staff map of the coast (Sheet 3, *Sanaa*, 1916) does not mark it.

Bibliography: given in the text.

(J. TKATSCH)

TARKĪB BAND is a poem composed of stanzas of from five to eleven couplets. Each stanza, like a *ghazal*, has its own rhyme, the first two hemistichs and the second hemistich of each succeeding couplet rhyming with one another, but the rhyme of each stanza varies from that of the others, though the metre must be the same throughout the poem. After each stanza occurs a couplet in the same metre as the rest of the poem, but with its own rhyme, the two hemistichs rhyming with one another. When the same couplet is repeated after each stanza, as a refrain, the poem is called *Tardjī' Band*, but the older writers on prosody applied this name to all poems in this form, whether the couplet was repeated or varied.

Bibliography: *Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad* b. Kaīs al-Rāzī, *al-Mu'djam fi Ma'āyir Ash'ār al-'Aḥām*, edited by Mirzā Muḥammad and E. G. Browne, *G. M. S.*; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, *Mi'yār al-Ash'ār*, lithographed edition by Muftī Muḥammad Sa'd Allāh Murāṭabādī, Lucknow 1282; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie des Langues de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris 1873, 2nd edition. (T. W. HAIG)

TĀROM (TĀRUM), 1^o district on the Kīzīl-Uzān [cf. SAḤID-RUD].

The name. The Arabs call it Ṭarm, Ṭirm (Mutanabbī), Ṭirm (*B. G. A.*, vi. 404, 405). Yākūt mentions it on two occasions, under Ṭarm and Tāram. Mustawfī uses the Arabic dual Ṭarumain, the "two Ṭārooms". The modern Persian pronunciation is Tārōm. Although Tārōm is now the name of the district, there is also a little town

named Tārom on the right bank of the Kizil-Uzān (between Wenisarā and Kalladj); another village of Tārm (< Tārom) lies to the right of the direct road from Ardabil to Miyāna outside of the district of Tārom.

Tārom, like Khalkhāl, which adjoins it, is not yet sufficiently explored.

Below Miyāna [q. v.] the Kizil-Uzān reaches its most northerly point near the Pardalis bridge. From there to its junction with the great Shāh-rūd [q. v.], the Kizil-Uzān — for a distance of about 100 miles — follows the general direction of N.W. to S.E. Tārom roughly speaking lies on the middle section of the river.

To the south the mountains of Čilla-Khāna etc. separate Tārom from Zandjān [q. v.]. To the east the boundary of Tārom is the junction of the great Shāh-rūd with the Kizil-Uzān above the Mandjil bridge. To the N.E. the mountains of Gilān separate the basin of the Kizil-Uzān from Masūla (Gilān). To the north and northwest Tārom is contiguous with Khalkhāl. To the southwest it is bordered by the districts dependent on Zandjān (notably the old canton of Kāghadh-Kunān).

In its northern bend, the Kizil-Uzān cuts itself a passage through an impassable defile the depth of which is 2,200—2,700 feet. The villages and arable lands of Khalkhāl are on the high plateaus (5,200—6,000 feet high) above the sides of the defile. The ravine runs for a distance of 60 miles to Miyānsarā where on the left bank the Kizil-Uzān receives the waters of the little Shāh-rūd (to be distinguished from the great Shāh-rūd, which comes from Talakān and flows into the Kizil-Uzān on the right bank to the west of Mandjil). Below the ravine the valley of the Kizil-Uzān widens for a distance of 60 miles and there are quite a number of villages on both banks. Near Darband the cliffs contract the water-course but afterwards the valley broadens again till just before Mandjil (12—13 miles).

Tārom properly so-called begins where the Kizil-Uzān leaves its gorge and the gorge at Darband divides it into two parts, an upper and a lower. Details of districts of Tārom are given in the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* (1340) but the names of the villages are corrupted in the manuscripts.

a. The upper district includes the following cantons: 1. Dizābād-i Suflā with 25 villages; its position on either side of the Kizil-Uzān at the mouth of the defile is indicated by the villages Nimahil, Gul-čīn and Kalāsar (Kihār?). We may further note that the upper part of the same canton (*Dizābād-i 'Ulyā*, *Nuzhat*, p. 66) used to belong to the town of Kāghadh-Kunān (the old Khūnadj), the exact site of which has not been identified. 2. The canton of Tārom-i 'Ulyā in the strict sense (with 100 villages) lies on both banks of the Kizil-Uzān. Its position is indicated by the villages (still in existence) of Kalāt (cf. Yāqūt: Kīlāt), on the right bank of the Kizil-Uzān and to the right of the road from Zandjān via Akh-gāduk, and Darrām on the left bank. The position of the canton of 3. Nsbār(?) Brīdūn(?) is not clear, unless the first name corresponds to Pasbar(?) which the Russian map puts on the left bank near the Ōbar mentioned by Rawlinson. According to the latter, Upper Tārom (which should be called Tārom-i Khalkhāl?) consists only of the narrow strip on the right bank while the left bank bears the name of the Pusht-i Kūh

("the back mountain", with reference to Gilān!). The evidence of the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, as well as that of Fortescue however suggests that Tārom includes some villages on both banks of the Kizil-Uzān. On the other hand the strip on the right bank is not very narrow; many torrents descend from the mountains which separate Tārom from Zandjān and before reaching the Kizil-Uzān disappear in the irrigation canals.

b. The cantons of the lower district are 4. that which is commanded by the fortress of Shāmīrān (50 villages) and which is situated on both banks (on the right bank there is still the village of Kalladj mentioned in the *Nuzhat*; "A'wn" must be Altun-Kush on a little tributary on the right; cf. the *Mir'āt al-Buldān* and the Russian map); 5. the canton of the fortress of Firdaws (20 villages), the situation of which is indicated by the village of Sardān (on a right bank tributary above Altun-Kush). Another passage in the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 217, adds that the canton of 6. Bara, where the great Shāh-rūd rejoins the Kizil-Uzān also belongs to Tārom. A passage in the *Ālam-ārā*, p. 335, shows that in the Šafawid period, even Mandjil and Kharzawil to the east of the Shāh-rūd went with Tārom. At the present day the important town of Mandjil which may correspond to the old Harkām (Yāqūt, iv. 963) and which commands the entrance to Gilān by the valley of the Safid-rūd, belongs to Gilān (Rabino, *R. M. M.*, xxxii. 259). Lastly, according to the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 67, the revenues of the cantons of 7. Tīrak(?), Mrdjmān(?) and Andīdjan (cf. Yāqūt: Andīdjan) were divided between Tārom and Qazwīn. These cantons must be at the source of the Yüz-Başı-Čai (the gorge of Mollā 'Alī) the waters of which flow from the left bank into the Shāh-rūd [on the Russian map we find here the villages of Marčīn and Anda marked].

Khalkhāl. The frontiers of Tārom are little known on the Khalkhāl side. Tārom in general was included in the dependencies of 'Irāk-i 'Adjam (cf. Schwarz, p. 736 and *Nuzhat*, p. 65 sq.). As to Khalkhāl, it formed part of Ādharbāidjān (or more exactly of its *tuman* Ardabil, *Nuzhat*, p. 81). The name Khalkhāl is not found before Yāqūt, ii. 459.

The name Khalkhāl of Ādharbāidjān must be connected with that of the old town of Khalkhāl of the district of Lti in Transcaucasia [cf. ШЕХКІ] which Greek and Armenian authors mention between the second and fifth centuries as the winter-residence of the kings of Armenia and later of those of Albania (Arrian); cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 116. It is possible that in the early centuries of Islām, the whole country between Ardabil and the Kizil-Uzān was known as al-Babr (he reading is not quite certain; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, p. 481). This old term is frequently used alongside of Tailasan = Talish; cf. Balādhuri, p. 318, 322, 327; Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 57, 119; Kūlāma, p. 245, 261; Dinawari, p. 197; Mas'ūdi. *Murūdj*, i. 287. The Kizil-Uzān forms a serious barrier to communication and thus formed a convenient administrative boundary between Ādharbāidjān and 'Irāk-i 'Adjam. The name Khalkhāl comes from the town of this name which became the capital after the disappearance of the ancient centre Firūzān (now Kabakh). Khalkhāl practically coincides with the valley of the left bank tributary of the Kizil-Uzān. One of

the arms of this river comes from the north (from the pass of *Kīzl-Yokush*, on the Ardabil-Pardalis road) and runs past the village of Sandjawa (*Yākūt*, iii., p. 160: *Sindjabadh* or *Sindjābadh*; *Nuzhat*, ed. Le Strange, p. 180, 223: *Sandjida* etc.; *Olearius* [1663], p. 472: *Sengoa*). The source of the other arm is to the northeast on the western slopes of the mountains of *Tālish* (near the present capital of *Khalkhāl*: Herow < *Hirabād*). This arm is called after the village of *Kūi* (*Nuzhat*, ed. Le Strange, p. 223: *Gadiw*, *Kadpū*, but p. 84: *Kūi*). The two arms join near the village of *Kabakh*; finally the river receives on its left bank the stream from the old town of *Khalkhāl* (there are now several villages of this name in the valley) and flows into the *Kīzl-Uzān* a little below the bridge of *Pardalis* (cf. *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 81: *Bardalis*, p. 180: *Barūlāz*). The river *Kūi* describes a wide curve from east to west. To the south of the town of Herow is the high massif of *Akh-dagh*, the ramifications of which separate the valley of the *Kūi* from that of *Tārom*. From the south face of the *Maḍjara* (or *Barandak*) pass exactly south of Herow comes the little *Shāh-Rūd* (*Nuzhat*, p. 223: *Shāl-rūd*, from the name of the village of *Shāl* which still exist) which flows into the *Kīzl-Uzān* from the left side near the *Miyān-Sarā* (where the *Kīzl-Uzān* leaves the gorge). Among the dependencies of *Ardabil*, the *Nuzhat*, p. 82, mentions the valley of the little *Shāh-Rūd* (30 villages) as well as a considerable district of *Dārmazīn* (100 villages) which has not been identified. In any case *Khalkhāl*, *Dārmazīn* and *Shāh-Rūd* leave little room for dependencies of *Tārom* on the left bank of the *Kīzl-Uzān*.

Communications, Products. The principal route between *Ardabil* and *Zandjān* (by the old bridge of *Pardalis* in the middle of the gorge of the *Kīzl-Uzān*) passes via *Khalkhāl* to the west of *Tārom*. The caravans which take a shorter route through *Tārom* (*Ardabil*–*Herow*–*Barandak*–*Kalāt*–*Akh-gādūk*–*Zandjān*) have to cross the *Kīzl-Uzān* in boats (*kālāk*). The traffic between *Ardabil* and *Zandjān* is not important; under the *Pahlavī* regime the question has been raised of joining *Fūmen* (in *Gilān*) to *Zandjān* by a road through *Tārom*.

According to *Yākūt*, *Tārom* is very mountainous and in spite of that fertile (*ma'a dhālika mu'ṣibatun* "rich in herbs?"). The cotton of good quality, the name of which, according to *Yākūt*, was associated with *Tārom* must have come from the canton of *Dizābād* for the factories of *Kāghadh-kunān* (literally "place where paper is made") could not have existed without cotton. The high plateaus of *Khalkhāl* were still at the beginning of the 19th century regarded as the granary from which 'Abbās *Mirzā* drew his supplies of wheat. *Rawlinson* saw in *Tārom* many orchards but in 1921 the district made a very poor impression on *Fortescue*. According to the *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, *Tārom* has lead, copper and vitriol (*sāḍi*) mines.

Towns and Villages. According to the *Nuzhat*, p. 65, the capital of *Tārom* was at first *Firūzābād* (in the lower district and quite distinct from *Firūzābād* of *Khalkhāl*). In the Mongol period *Andar* (? in the upper district) took its place. According to *Rawlinson*, *Wenisard* (the Russian map: *Venisarā*) on the right bank was the centre of *Tārom*; according to *Fortescue*, this is *Banari* (left bank). The new centres seem to

be gravitating towards the *Ardabil*–*Herow*–*Zandjān* road.

The fortress of *Samirān* (*Shamirān*) was of much more importance: it was visited by *Mis'ar b. Muhalhil*, *Nāsir-i Khusrāw* and *Yākūt*. The site of *Shamirān* has not been discovered but the itinerary of *Nāsir-i Khusrāw* enables it to be fixed with sufficient accuracy. The traveller coming from *Kazwīn* arrived at *Kharzawil* (below *Mandjil*); from there after a descent of 3 farsakhs, he arrived at *Brzalkhyr* (?), a dependency of *Tārom*. He then came to a village of *Khandān* on the *Shāh-Rūd* near its mouth. At *Khandān* a toll for crossing (*bādī*) was levied by the *Amīr* (of *Tārom*). From here to *Shamirān*, *Nāsir-i Khusrāw* reckons it 3 farsakhs. In reality the distance from *Kharzawil* to the *Shāh-Rūd* in a direct line is not over 5 miles. In the more open country to the west of the *Shāh-Rūd*, 3 farsakhs would be the equivalent of a longer distance in miles. According to *Yākūt*, *Samirān* was "on a large river"; all these details enable us to locate *Shamirān* near *Darband*. Indeed *Rawlinson* mentions the ruins there of a "large and very strong fort" (3 miles below *Giliwān*) and the Russian map shows the "ruins of a fortress" on the cliff on the left bank (c. 7 miles above the mouth of the *Shāh-Rūd*). The strategic importance of *Shamirān* was that it guarded at its narrowest point the entrance to *Tārom* by the valley of the *Kīzl-Uzān* while the fort of *Kalāt* commanded the entrance from the *Zandjān* side.

History. We do not know who were the early inhabitants of the district of *Tārom*. *Rawlinson* located in this part of the *Kīzl-Uzān*, the ancient people of the *Cadusii* and relied for this on the authority of *Djāihānī* (*Ashkal al-'Alam*?) who still (11th century?) calls all this district *Kādūstān* (?). The wild and remote country of *Tārom*–*Khalkhāl* only played a part in history in the period of the *Musāfirid* dynasty [q. v.] which, with *Shamirān* as its capital, ruled *Adharbāidjān*, *Arrān*, *Gilān* and the country as far as *Kaiy*. As early as 316 (928) we find *Sallār b. Aswār* lord of *Shamirān*; cf. *Ibn al-Athīr*, viii. 142. *Mis'ar b. Muhalhil* (c. 330) quoted by *Yākūt* speaks of 2,850 large and small buildings in *Samirān*. From the interesting letter of the *Būyid* vizier *Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād Talakānī*, quoted by *Yākūt* (s.v. *Samirān*) it seems that *Tārom* was at first under *Kazwīn*, from which it was detached by *Muḥammad b. Musāfir*, who coveted the district for its fortress. *Ṣāhib* pays a high tribute to the importance of *Shamirān* by calling it "sister of the fortress of *Alamūt*" (*Muḥaddasī*, p. 360) and mentions the ornamentation of the fortress of *Samirūm* (sic!) in the form of lions in gold, the sun and the moon. In 379 the *Būyids* acquired *Shamirān* by a matrimonial alliance, but after the death of *Fakhr al-Dawla*, the *Musāfirid* *Ibrāhīm* seized *Zandjān*, *Abhar*, *Sardjīhān* (a district to the north of *Abhar* near *Sa'in-kal'a* = the old *Kuhūd*) and "*Shahrizūr*" (reading uncertain, but the place must be identified with "*Sharzūrlard*, *Sharūzlar*" which the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 65 mentions among the dependencies of Lower *Tārom*). *Shamirān* is not explicitly mentioned among these domains but in 438 (1046) *Nāsir-i Khusrāw* found at *Shamirān* (*Samirān*) a *Musāfirid* prince and a garrison of 1,000 men. The traveller says that the fortress on a cliff commanded the town (*kaṣaba*); it was surrounded by a triple wall; a subterranean passage (*kāriz*) going

down to the river enabled water to be procured. According to Yāqūt, the fortress was destroyed by the Ismā'īlis in circumstances which are still unknown. Kīlāt in the time of Yāqūt was occupied by the lord of Alamūt.

Under the Mongols, especially when the capital was transferred to Sultāniya [q. v.], Tārom gained in importance and the *Nuḥṣat al-Kulūb* (740 = 1340) gives evidence of the exact knowledge then possessed of this district. Under Ūldjāitū, Tārom was ruled by a certain *Shahna* Girāy (?) who is mentioned as sending the expedition into Gilān in 700 (1307) (Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 139). Under the Timūrids the khāns of Khalkhāl (cf. TABRIZ under the year 787 [1385]) and of Tārom (*Shaiḥ* Zāhid Tāromī; Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 229, 231, 234, 382) played a role of some importance. *Shamīrān* also must have been rebuilt for the historians of the Gilān tell how after the death of Yā'qūb, the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu (896), the *Kār-kiyā* Mirzā 'Alī seized the fortress by a stratagem. Later a certain Mir Zain al-'Abidin Tāromī rebelled against Mirzā 'Alī but without success. In the reign of Rustam-beg, the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu (897—902), his general Dādā-beg with 10,000 men recaptured the "fortress of Tārom" but later during the struggle between the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Alwand and Muḥammadī (905—906), the general of *Kār-kiyā* Mirzā 'Alī "freed Tārom from Turkish rule" (cf. *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, p. 236).

Under Ismā'il I, Tārom was on the most convenient route between the lands of the *Kār-kiyā*, where the young monarch was in hiding and Ardabil, the ancestral home of his family. The route followed in 905 by Ismā'il in his famous march was by Tārom—Barandak—Nasāz—Kū'i—Hifz-ābād—Abarūḳ—Ardai'il: cf. E. D. Ross, *The Early Years of Shah Ismā'il*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 332). Tārom is several times mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā* as the place where the Ṣafawid spent the winter of 921 and hunted (1002, 1003) and from where they sent expeditions against Gilān.

The Turkish elements gradually absorbed the Irānian (Dailamī and Gilānī) elements. Under Nādir, the Amarlu Kurds were settled in Mandjil and in the Puḥst-i Kūh of Tārom. According to Rawlinson, they were of the Lūlū tribe (Lōlō?), traces of which are still found in Upper Syria [i.e. Coq], near Ṭeherān [Brugsch] etc.), but in his time they had already become turkicised. Rabino however (*R. M. M.*, xxxii, p. 261) distinguishes between the Rishwand Kurds (of Sulaimāniya) settled near Mandjil by 'Abbās I and the 'Amarlu Turks (?) who came in the time of Nādir. In any case Tārom has now a Turkish population; according to Fortescue after Giliwān the peasants do not understand Persian. In the toponymy also a Turkish layer gradually obscures the old Irānian names (cf. Pardalis [from **prd*, bridge], Nimahil, Niyāb, Gultin etc.). A study of the old Irānian toponymy in Ādharbāidjān has still to be made, but it is evident that the local dialects belonged to the group called "Northwestern" [cf. TĀT].

According to the *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, p. 335, the Qādjārs made Tārom a separate domain and gave it as a fief (*ikṭā' wa-tiyyūl*) to Muḥammad Khān Dawalu, to his son Allah-yār Khān Aṣaf al-Dawla etc. After the accession of Riḍā Shāh a punitive expedition was sent to Khalkhāl and several local Khāns (Rashid al-Mamālik etc.) were hanged.

Bibliography: cf. the articles SAFID-RUD and SHĀH-RUD (in the latter the localisation of the

canton of Bara should be corrected); Hamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥṣat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 65, 81, 180, 223; Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 297; Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ṣanī' al-Dawla, *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, Tihirān 1294, i., p. 334—337; Olearius, *Moscovitische und persian. Reisebeschreibungen*, Schleswig 1663, Chap. 28, p. 471—475 (Buzun—Sengoa [= Sandjāwā]—Pardalis); Morier, *A Second Journey*, London 1818, p. 256—258 (Ardabil—Herow—Paras—Mamau—Aḳ-kānd—Zandjān); Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie*, Paris 1821, p. 195; Ardabil—Hiriz—"Ghendjia" (?)—Khalkhāl—Zandjān; Monteith, *Journal of a Tour through Azerdhanjan* (sic!), *J. R. G. S.*, 1883, iii., p. 10—12; Miyāna—Mandjil along the left bank of the Kizil-Uzān (somewhat confused); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii., p. 633—639; Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz*, *J. R. G. S.*, 1840, x. (Zandjān—Aḳ-dagh—Kishlak—Darrām—Kawand—Char—Darband—Mandjil); Sarre, *Reise v. Ardabil nach Zendschan*, *Pet. Mitt.*, 1899, xlv., p. 215—217 (Korāim—Sandjāwā-ḥai—Fo'adji—Afshar—Pardalis); de Morgan, *Etudes géographiques*, i., 1894, plates 194, lx. and lvii. ("pont de Leis", read: Pardalis!); Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Caliphate*, p. 170, 225—226 (with several mistakes); Fortescue, *The Western Elburz and Persian Azerbaijan*, *J. R. G. S.*, April 1924, p. 301—318 (Mandjil—Banari—Barandak—Nimahil—Kara-bulak—Kādjāl—Pardalis—Miyāna); Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* (vib, 1926), p. 736—739 (for which the Arabic sources have been utilised).—For details on Khalkhāl, cf. Khanikov, *Map of Azerbaijan*, in *Zeitschrift d. allgem. Geographie*, 1863, xiv.

20. A town of Fārs [Yāqūt: Tirm; *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange: Tār(um)] situated at the extreme east of the province of the Kirmān side. The town seems to correspond to Tāravā in the land of the Yautiyā (Behistan, iii. 7). Tārom is now a nāhiya of the bulūk Sab'a, cf. Ḥasan Fasā'i, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāzirī*, Tihirān 1314, p. 217—218. Cf. Dupré, *Voyage en Perse*, i. 372—376; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii., p. 743; Ṣanī' al-Dawla, *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, p. 338; Preece, *Journey from Shiraz to Jashk Supp. Papers, Proceed. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1885, i., part 3, p. 403—437; Le Strange, *The Lands...*, p. 292—295; Schwarz, *Iran*, ii. (1910), p. 107—108; Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, col. 648, 868, 908, 1854. (MINORSKY)

TARRAGONA (Arabic TARRĀKUNA), a little town in the north-east of Spain on the Mediterranean and capital of the province of the same name. This town, which now has a population of 23,300, occupies the site of the ancient acropolis of *Tarraco*, which became one of the centres of Roman domination in Spain and from the time of Augustus, the capital of the province of *Hispania Tarraconensis*. The Muslims when they occupied Tarragona retained its old name. They sacked it in 724, then occupied it for the whole of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova, not without having twice to retake it from the Christians, once from Louis of Aquitaine and the second time from the Catalan prince Ramon Béranger. It was taken from the Muslims definitely by Alfonso el Batallador in 1220.

The Arab geographers sometimes call Tarragona (as they do Granada) "the town of the Jews", which shows they formed a notable part of the population. In the cloisters of the Cathedral of Tarragona is preserved a blind arcade in the form

of a niche of marble with commemorative inscription in the name of 'Abd al-Rahmān III and the date 349 (960).

Bibliography: al-Idrisī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, p. 191—231; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Bulḍān*, ed. Reinaud, ii. 37 and 261; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Bulḍān*, s. v.; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, Index; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'fār fi 'Adjā'ib al-aḳḫār* (Spain), ed. in preparation, N^o. 76; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, i., p. 260. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TARSÜS, a town on the frontier between Asia Minor and Syria, the birthplace of the apostle Paul. It lies in a very fertile plain through which flows a river (Cydnos, later Nahr Baradin). Situated at the junction of several important roads and not far from the sea, even in ancient times it played an important part as a trading centre and was distinguished in the Hellenistic period for the activity of its intellectual life. Christianity spread early there and bishops and metropolitans of Tarsüs are mentioned in the *Acts* of the Councils. When the Arabs had conquered these regions, the Umayyads rebuilt the fortifications of Tarsüs and the other towns on the Byzantine frontier. These towns which formed a girdle were later called "the protectors" (*al-'Awāṣim*, q. v.). According to the Arab division, they belonged to the most northerly *djund* but were separated from it by Hārūn al-Rashid. Their situation was very exposed and dangerous and Tarsüs especially, being a rich commercial city, suffered a good deal. In the continual fighting between the Muslims and the Byzantines, marauding bodies of troops attacked and plundered it, sometimes from one side and sometimes from the other, and the inhabitants had frequently to save themselves by flight, whereupon the victors sometimes brought a population from other districts and settled them there. In 162 (779) the Taiyī Ḥassān b. Kahtaba brought the caliph a description of the ruined Tarsüs, which in his opinion could hold 100,000 inhabitants, and when Hārūn al-Rashid at a later date learned that the Byzantines intended to rebuild the town, he gave orders to anticipate them and Tarsüs was restored in 172 (788), populated by Arabs and given a mosque. It must have again been lost by the Muslims soon afterwards, but after a truce between Muslims and Byzantines for a period, the caliph al-Ma'mūn in 215 (830) undertook a campaign against the 'Awāṣim, which brought Tarsüs and Mopsuestia east of it into his power. The Caliph himself was buried in Tarsüs, where his tomb was to be seen in later days. There is a reference to Muslim judges in Tarsüs at this period (Ibn Sa'd, VII, 93, 3). In 269 (882) Ibn Ṭūlūn conquered the frontier country but Ṭūlūnid rule did not last long. In the middle of the ivth/xth century Tarsüs passed into the hands of the Ḥamdānids, when Saif al-Dawla conquered northern Syria, but shortly afterwards in 354 (965) the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus succeeded in taking Mopsuestia and Tarsüs with other towns of the 'Awāṣim and Tarsüs now remained for a considerable period in Christian hands. Nicephorus had the Ḳur'āns burned and mosques torn down and gave the Muḥammadan population the choice of adopting Christianity, migrating or remaining on payment of a *djizya* [q. v.]. The majority preferred to emigrate but not a few went over to Christianity.

In the period which ended in this way, Tarsüs was in a flourishing condition as a result of its industrious exploitation of the fertile country round. The population was continually being increased by immigrants from adjoining lands, who wished in their glowing enthusiasm for Islām to take part in the holy war till they met their death. Particulars of the town towards the end of the period are given by several Arab authors. Mas'ūdī says that it had originally a garrison of 8,000 men, and that one of the gates was called *Bāb al-Djihād* because those who set out to fight the infidels left the city by it. Iṣṭakhri in 340 (951) calls Tarsüs a large town with a double wall and a garrison of 100,000 men, infantry and cavalry. People came thither from all parts of the country and usually settled there. Ibn Hawḳal (367 = 978) repeats this description but with some additions: the well built city had a large population, several of whom were distinguished for their wisdom; pious men came thither from all the lands of western Asia, as every nation had there their *dār*, where they lived on the gifts sent thither from all parts until they fell in battle. As Ibn Hawḳal wrote after the taking of the town by Nicephorus, his description is not of the town of his time but is taken from an older source; on the other hand the well informed Mukaddasi says that he will not give a description of Tarsüs as the town was in the hands of the Byzantines.

The Crusaders combined the 'Awāṣim with the principality of Antioch. According to Idrisi's description Tarsüs was then a large town with a double wall in a very fertile region. Yāḳūt expressly remarks that in his time it was in the hands of the Byzantines (beginning of the viith = xiiith century). He also mentions the double wall, the broad ditch surrounding it and the six city gates. Before the Byzantine conquest the town was very prosperous and a series of highly gifted men came out of it. In 1275 the country of Tarsüs and Adhana was plundered by the Mamlūk Sulṭān Baibars and later it was conquered by Saif al-Dīn Kalā'ūn. In the middle of the ix/xvth century, Khalil al-Zāhiri mentions it as under the jurisdiction of Ḥalab; the town then had a wall and a fine castle and was surrounded by a number of villages.

At the present day Tarsüs is a wretched little ruined town without any memorial of its great past. The Baradin now flows at some distance from the town and the overflow has turned the immediate vicinity into a swamp.

Bibliography: H. Böhlisch, *Die Geistes-kultur von Tarsus im augustäischen Zeitalter*, 1913; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 163, 169, 171 f.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, Paris, viii. 72; de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, i. 64, 69; ii. 122; iii. 152; vi. 72; Tabari, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2; 1103 f., 1440, 1942, 2163; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 526—528; Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, p. 679, 934, 967. (FR. BUHL)

TARTÜS, earlier Antartūs, frequently Antarsūs (by analogy with Tarsüs), a town on the Syrian coast; the ancient Antarados opposite the island of Arados (Arabic Djazirat Arwād, also written Arwādh; now Ruwād). Under the Roman empire, Antarados was called Constantia but the old name remained alongside of this and in the end drove the latter out again.

The Muslims took the fortress of Tartūs under

‘Ubāda b. al-Šāmit in 17 (638). The town was destroyed and remained for a long time uninhabited. Mu‘āwiya rebuilt it, fortified it and settled there and in Maraḳiya and Bulunyas soldiers to whom he allotted lands. It was only after the conquest of Cyprus that Mu‘āwiya was able to take the island of Arwād also from the Greeks (Dimashḳī, transl. Mehren, p. 186; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. de Boor, p. 344). The Kur‘ān of the Caliph ‘Othmān is said to have been kept in Tartūs. Ibn Khurādādhbih includes the district (kūra) of Tartūs in the territory of Ḥimṣ; according to Ya‘qūbī (*B. G. A.*, vii. 325) the people of the town (here wrongly written *Anzarzūs*, cf. M. Hartmann, *Z. D. P. V.*, xxii. 163, N^o. 28) belonged to the tribe of Kinda.

When in 357—358 (968) the Byzantines under Nicephorus conquered Northern Syria, the strong defences of the town protected it from capture by the enemy according to the evidence of the contemporary Ibn Ḥawkal (*B. G. A.*, ii. 116). On the other hand about a generation later, Yahyā b. Sa‘īd of Antākiya reports that the Emperor took Tartūs, Maraḳiya and Ḥiṣn Djabala (Yahyā, ed. Kravkovskij and Vasiliev, *Patrol. Orient.*, xviii. 816). In 386 (995—996) the emperor Basil II took the town (Yahyā and Djamāl al-Dīn b. Zāfir in Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv. 32, 35 sq., 241; Schlumberger, *L’Épopée byzantine*, ii. 95 sq., who wrongly distinguishes Tartūs from Tortosa). At the beginning of the year 1099 the Crusaders took Tartūs but soon afterwards lost it. It was not till 495 (1102) that they finally attained possession of it under Raimund of Toulouse (Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 33; van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 322). After Raimund’s death Count William of Cerdaigne was given Tartūs and Djabala as a fief (Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalfen*, iii. 176). By the treaty of Devol (Sept. 1108), Arwād and Tartūs among other places were promised to the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus (Anna Comnena, *Ἀλεξιάς*, ed. Bonn, ii. 241: Ἀντάρδος μετὰ τῆς Ἀνταρπύου, the first of which refers to the island of Arwād, *insula Antharidis* in Antonin. Placent., ed. Geyer, p. 159; cf. Dussaud, *Topogr. hist. de la Syrie*, p. 124). The town later passed into the possession of the Count of Tripoli (references in van Berchem, *Voyage*, loc. cit.). From a poem dedicated to Usāma b. Munḳidh by the Egyptian vizier al-Malik al-Šālih Abu ‘l-Ghārāt Ṭalā‘ī b. Ruzzik, it is evident that the town must have already been in the hands of the Templars before 1158 (Derenbourg, *Ousāma*, p. 293). In July 1188 Saladin advanced on the town, and found it deserted by its defenders, as they had retired into two strong towers on the city walls. Saladin occupied the town in less than an hour; one of the towers was stormed by his vassal, the lord of Irbil, and Saladin had it destroyed and the ruins thrown into the sea. The other which was built of large hewn stones and surrounded by a well-watered garden was so bravely defended by the commander of the Templars that Saladin raised the siege and contented himself with destroying the walls and famous Church of the Virgin (van Berchem, *J. A.*, 1902, p. 424 sq.; *Voyage en Syrie*, i. 322 sq.). The earthquake in May 1202, which devastated the whole Syrian coast, is said also to have affected Tartūs but to have spared the Church of the Virgin, which had been rebuilt in 1188 (van Berchem, *Voyage*, i. 323, 332). This edifice,

celebrated for the miracles and cures wrought in it, which contained a valuable image of the Virgin, was considered her oldest sanctuary in Syria (Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, p. 208); Idrisi apparently already knew it (he wrote in 1154 or later?, cf. Pardi, *Rivista geogr. ital.*, xxiv., 1917, p. 308 sqq.) although he seems wrongly to transfer it to the island of Arwād (Dussaud, *Rev. Archéol.*, 1896, i. 317, note 3; van Berchem, p. 331 sq.). In the year 611 (1214—1215) Count Raimund of Tripoli, son of Bohemund IV of Antioch, was murdered by Ismā‘īlis; in revenge, the prince led an expedition against the fortress of Khawābi (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, v. 48; Ibn Furāt in Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 271, note 1; 715, note 4). The Church of the Virgin lay within the area of the sanctuary of the apostle Andrew, as appears from a letter from Pope Clement IV to Bishop William of Tortosa of April 26, 1265 (Sbaraglia, *Bullar. Francisc.*, iii., Rome 1759, p. 4, note 6).

In the treaty of 1229 between the Emperor Frederick and the Sultān, Tarābalus, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Šāfiṭhā, Marḳab, Tartūs and Antākiya were not included; the Emperor had to pledge himself to remain neutral in case of a war between these lands and the Muslims (Röhrich, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, i. 41, 77 sq.; do., *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 785).

When Baibars in 666 (1267/8) was advancing on Antioch via Tarābalus, envoys from the Templars of Šāfiṭhā and Antartūs appeared before him with presents and 300 Muslims, lately prisoners, and thus succeeded in having their territory spared (al-Makrizī in Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, i/ii. 52; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 953). An attack by the Sultān on Tartūs and other towns in 669 (1270/1) met with no success of note (Makrizī, *op. cit.*, i/ii. 84; Mufaḍḍal b. Abi ‘l-Faḍāl, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, ed. Blochet in *Patrol. Orient.*, xii. 528). Later however the Templars found themselves forced to conclude a treaty with him by which their territory and that of Marḳab and Bāniyas was divided between them and the Sultān (Makrizī, *op. cit.*, i/ii. 151; Mufaḍḍal, *op. cit.*, xii. 536; xiv. 445; Röhrich, p. 953). The Master of the Templars, William of Beaujeu (de Bellojoco), in 681 concluded a truce with al-Malik al-Manṣūr for Tartūs and the district around for ten years and ten months (from April 15, 1282) and the possessions of the two parties were accurately delimited. To Tartūs belonged 37 districts of the region round ‘Araima (now Ḳala‘t ‘Araime) and Mi‘ār (now Burdj Mi‘ār) (Makrizī, ii/i. 177 sq., 221—223; Röhrich, *Regesta regni Hierosolym.*, p. 377, No. 1447; do., *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 984). After the conquest of ‘Akkā, Tartūs was taken from the Franks by Sultān Ḳhalil, being one of the last towns to fall, on 5th Ša‘bān 690 (Aug. 3, 1291) (Makrizī, *Sult. Maml.*, ii/i. 126; Abu ‘l-Fidā, *Annales Muslem.*, ed. Reiske, v. 98; *Recueil des hist. or. d. Crois.*, i. 164; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalfen*, iv. 181, note 1; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 1026 sq.; van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 234).

The Templars temporarily succeeded in establishing themselves again in Tartūs in 1300—1302 from the island of Arwād (A. Trudon des Ormes, *Maisons du Temple en Orient.*, ..., *R. O. L.*, v. 1897, p. 426—428; van Berchem, *a. a. O.*). The island was not taken till 702 (1302/3) in the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the Christians there put to

death or carried into captivity and the defences razed to the ground (Maḳrizī, *Sult Maml.*, ii. 1195; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, v. 180; al-Idrīsī, cod. Bodl., No. 887, in *marg.*, in Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 400; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, iv. 256).

Henceforth Tartūs was a little district under the *nā'ib* of Tarābalus (Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā*, in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 116, 228; 'Umari, *Tarīf*, p. 182 in R. Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx., 1916, p. 36, note 14). The town declined more and more; the castle of the Crusading period serves the few inhabitants of the present Tartūs (Tortosa) as a dwelling place. The Church of the Virgin still survives in its later form (for further particulars see van Berchem, *Voyage*, i. 329—334; cf. also Enlart, in *Syria*, ii., 1921, p. 333 and M. Pillet, in *Syria*, vii., 1926, p. 420); also the fortifications (*Syria*, iii., 1922, p. 269 sq., for Jusserand's defences).

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TARŪDANT, the principal town in the district of Sūs, to the south of Morocco on the right bank of the Wādī Sūs, about 100 miles S. W. of Marrākush and 45 E. of Āgādīr on the Atlantic. These two towns may be reached from Tarūdant by tracks passable by vehicles. It is a little town with about 7,000 inhabitants. For further details and the history of the town see the article AL-SŪS AL-AḲṢĀ, especially p. 569b.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TARWIYA is the name for the 8th Dhū 'l-Hijja (*yawm al-tarwiya*). The Muslim Ḥajj begins on this day; on it the pilgrims go from Mecca to Minā and as a rule after a short stay there go on again to be able to pass the night in 'Arafā. In Muhammadan works the term *yawm al-tarwiya* is usually explained from the fact that the pilgrims on this day give their animals a plentiful supply of water in preparation for the ride through the waterless area or from their taking a supply of water with them themselves. But as *tarwiya* properly means rather "pouring" than "watering" animals or "taking water with one" it has been suggested that the expression goes back to some kind of sympathetic rain-charm with which the rite of the pilgrimage was introduced in the oldest period. With this one might compare the pouring and sprinkling with the sacred water of Zamzam as observed by Ibn Djbair in Sha'bān 579 (1183) among the Meccans and by al-Batānūnī among the B duins during the pilgrimage in 1909. See also ḤADJĪ.

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TAŞAWWUF. 1. Etymology — *maṣdar* of form V, formed from the root *ṣūf*, meaning "wool" to denote "the practice of wearing the woollen robe (*lab* al-*ṣūf*)" — hence the act of devoting oneself to the mystic life on becoming what is called in Islām a *ṣūfī*.

The other etymologies, ancient and modern, proposed for this name of *ṣūfī* may be rejected: such are *ahl al-ṣuffa* (devotees seated on the "bench" of the mosque at Madīna in the time of the Prophet), *ṣaff awwal* (first row of the faithful at prayer), *banū Ṣūfa* (a Beduin tribe), *ṣawfāna* (a kind of vegetable), *ṣafwat al-ḳifā* (a lock of hair on the nape of the neck), *ṣūfiya* (passive of form III, of the root *ṣafā*, to be purified; at a very early date — the eighth century A. D. —, this passive is found in puns on the word *ṣūfī* "mystic clothed in wool") and the Greek σοφός (the attempt has even been made to derive *taṣawwuf* from theosophia); Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, xlvi., p. 45) refuted this last etymology by showing that the Greek *sigma* regularly became *sin* (and not *ṣad*) in Arabic and that there is no Aramaic intermediary between σοφός and *ṣūfī*.

The individual surname *al-ṣūfī* first appeared in history in the second half of the eighth century with Djbair Ibn Haiyān, a Shi'ī alchemist of Kūfa, who professed an ascetic doctrine of his own (cf. *Ḳhashish Nasā'ī*, d. 253 [867], *Istikāma*, s. v.) and Abū Ḥāshim of Kūfa, a celebrated mystic. As to the plural *ṣūfiya* which appears in 199 (814) in connection with a minor rising in Alexandria (al-Kindi, *Ḳuḍāt Miṣr*, ed. Guest, p. 162, 440), it means about the same date, according to Muḥāsibī (*Makāshib*, Pers. MS., p. 87) and Djbair (*Baiyān*, i. 194), a semi-Shi'ī school of Muslim mysticism which originated in Kūfa, the last head of which, 'Abd al-Ṣūfī, a vegetarian legitimist, died in Baghdād about 210 (825). The name *ṣūfī* is then at first clearly confined to Kūfa.

It was destined to have a remarkable future. Within fifty years it denoted all the mystics of the 'Irāḳ (in contrast to the Malāmītiya mystics of Ḳhurāsān) and two centuries later, *ṣūfiya* was "applied to the whole body of Muslim mystics as

our terms *Sūfi*” and “*Sūfiism*” still are to-day. In the interval the wearing of the *sūf* or “cloak of white wool”, considered in 100 (719) as a foreign and reprehensible fashion of Christian origin (with which Farkād Sabakhi, a disciple of Ḥasan Baṣrī, is reproached), had become what it henceforth remained, an eminently orthodox Muslim fashion; numerous *ḥadīths* (handed down and probably invented by *Djāwbīyārī*) even make it Muḥammad’s favourite dress for a religious man.

2. Origins. The mystical *tafsīr*’s on the *Kurʾān* and the mystical *ḥadīths* of the inner life of Muḥammad, about which we know so very little, are comparatively late and therefore suspect. But the tendencies to mystical life, which are of all countries and of all nations, were not lacking in the *Islām* of Arabia of the first two centuries A.H. and when once the later legends are eliminated, *Djāḥiẓ* and Ibn al-*Djawzī* (*kuṣṣās*) have preserved for us the names of over forty authentic ascetics of this period, among whom the “interiorisation” of the rites of worship show distinct features of the mystic life. It cannot, however, be any longer asserted that Muḥammad *a priori* excluded mystics from the Muslim community, for it is now known that the famous *ḥadīth*: *Lā rahbāniyata fi ʾl-Islām*: “no monasticism in *Islām*” to which Sprenger had given this meaning, is apocryphal, and that it must have been invented at latest in the third century A.H. to encourage and strengthen a new, deprecatory and interdictive interpretation of a famous verse of the *Kurʾān* (lvii. 27) where *rahbāniya* (monastic life, vows of chastity and seclusion) is mentioned: a verse unanimously interpreted in a permissive and laudatory sense by the exegists of the first three centuries, like Muḍjahid and Abū Imāma Bāhili (cf. my *Essai*, p. 123—131) and by the more cautious of the old mystics (cf. *Djunaid*, *Dawā*) before the opposite interpretation became disseminated and Zamakhsharī made it predominant.

Muslim mysticism may claim among the *Sahābā* two real precursors in Abū Dharr and Ḥudhaifa (the cases of Uwais and Ṣuḥaib are not conclusively proved). After them came ascetics (*nussāk*, *zuhād*), penitents or “weepers” (*bakkāʾūn*) and popular preachers (*kuṣṣās*). At first isolated, they gradually tend to fall into two individual schools, like the adepts in other branches of Muslim thought, schools which had their headquarters on the Mesopotamian frontier of the Arabian desert, one at Baṣra and the other at Kūfa.

The Arab colony at Baṣra, of Tamīmī origin, realist and critical by nature, enamoured of logic in grammar, realism in poetry, criticism in *ḥadīth*, the sunna with Muʿtazilī and Qadārī tendencies in dogmatics, had as teachers of mysticism: Ḥasan Baṣrī (d. 110 = 728), Mālik b. Dīnār, Faḍl Raḳkashī, Rabāḥ b. ʿAmr Kaīsī, Ṣāliḥ Murri and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zaid (d. 177 = 793), founder of the famous caenobitic group of ʿAlībādān.

The Arab colony of Kūfa, of Yemenī origin, idealist and traditionalist by temperament, enamoured of *shawādh* in grammar, Platonism in poetry, Zāhirism in *Ḥadīth*, the *Shiʿa* with Murdjiʿī tendencies in dogmatics, had as teachers of mysticism: Rabīʿ b. *Khaitham* (d. 67 = 686), Abū Isrāʾīl Muḷāʿī (d. 140 = 757), *Djābir* b. Ḥaiyān, Kulaib Ṣaidāwī, Maṣṣūr b. ʿAmmār, Abū ʾl-Atāhiya and ʿAbdak. The three last-named spent the latter part of their lives in the capital of the empire, Baghdād,

which became the centre of the Muslim mystic movement after 250 (864): the date when the first meeting-places for religious discussions and sacred concerts (*ḥalka*) were opened, with the first public lectures on mysticism in the mosques.

This was also the period in which the mystics had their first open encounter with the theologians, the trial of *Dhu ʾl-Nūn Miṣrī* (240 = 854), Nūrī and Abū Ḥamza (between 262 = 875 and 269 = 882, according to Ibn al-*Djawzī*, *Tulbis*, p. 183) and Hallādj, before the *qādis* of Baghdād.

3. The part played by *Sūfiism* in the Muslim community. The early Muslim mystics had not foreseen that they would come into conflict with the administrative authorities of the Muslim community. If they lived rather retired lives in voluntary poverty (*fakr*) it was in order to be the better able to meditate on the *Kurʾān* (*taḥarruʿa* is the old synonym of *taṣawwufa*) by seeking to draw near to God in prayer. The mystic call is as a rule the result of an inner rebellion of the conscience against social injustices, not only those of others but primarily and particularly against one’s own faults: with a desire intensified by inner purification to find God at any price; this which is already clearly seen in the life, examples and sermons of Ḥasan Baṣrī (cf. Schaefer, *Isl.*, xiv. 1—72, and Massignon, *Essai*, p. 152—179), is magnificently expounded in the moving autobiographies of the two great mystics, Muḥāsibī in his *Waṣāyā* (transl. in Massignon, p. 216—218) and Ghazālī in his *Munqidh* (transl. Barbier de Meynard), but this does not yet threaten established order, however unrighteous may be the conduct of the ruler. But it was the canonists and professional theologians, *fukahāʾ* and *mutakallimūn*, who, very displeased at seeing people speak of searching their consciences and judging one another by this inner tribunal — since the *Kurʾānic* law had only legislated for an external tribunal and punished public sins and had no weapon against religious hypocrisy (*nifāq*) — tried to show that the ultimate results of the life led by the mystics were heterodox, since they held that the intention is more important than the act, that practical example (*sunna*) is better than strict letter of the law (*farḍ*) and that obedience is better than observance.

Among the Muslim schools, the *Khāridjīs* were the first to display their hostility to *Sūfiism*, in the case of Ḥasan Baṣrī; then the Imāmis (Zaidis, Twelvers and *Ghulāt*) in the third century A.D. condemned all calls to the mystic life as introducing among believers a kind of unusual life (*sūf*, *ḥanka*) finding expression in the search for a state of grace (*riḍāʾ*) dispensing with devotion to the twelve Imāms and an apostolate, contrary to their custom of *taḳīya*.

The Sunnis were slower in declaring their attitude and there was never unanimity among them in condemning mysticism. The attacks on mysticism came from two sections among them: on the one hand from conservative circles (*ḥashwiya*); Ibn Ḥanbal accuses mysticism of developing meditation at the expense of open prayer and of seeking for the soul a state of personal friendship with God (*khulla*), henceforth freeing it from the observances prescribed by law (*ibāḥa*); his immediate disciples, *Khashish* and Abū Zurʿa, put it in a special subsection (*rūḥāniya*) of the heresy of the *zanādika*.

On the other hand, the Mu'tazilis and Zāhiris denounce as absurd the idea of a common life (*ishk*) uniting the Creator to his creatures, for it implies in theory anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*) and in practice, contact and incarnation (*mulāmasa* and *hulūl*).

As a matter of fact, however, moderate Sūfism has never been excommunicated by Sunnī Islām, which has always borrowed its practical morality and its life of prayer, from the popular little books of Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 281 = 894) to masterpieces like the *Kūt al-Kulūb* of Abū Ṭalib Makki (d. 386 = 996) and especially the *Ihyā'* of Ghazālī; learned Sunnis, who were hostile to mysticism, like Ibn al-Djāwzi, Ibn Taimiya and Ibn al-Ḳaiyim, respected the great moral authority of Ghazālī and it was only against the monism of the disciples of Ibn 'Arabi that the fulminations of the late Sunnī canonists were thundered, without much success however. The founder of the Wahhābīs, prejudiced against mysticism as he was, himself wrote a commentary on the *Waṣīya* of the Ṣūfī Shaḳīk to Ḥatīm al-'Asamm.

4. The history of the evolution of the conception of mystic union. Primitive Sūfism was based on the two following postulates: *a.* the fervent practice of worship engenders in the soul graces (*fawā'id*), immaterial and intelligible realities (a postulate rejected by the Ḥashwīya); *b.* the "science of hearts" (*ilm al-ḳulūb*) will procure the soul an experimental wisdom (*ma'rifa*), which implies the assent of the will to the graces received (a postulate rejected by the Mu'tazilis, who are content with a theoretical psychology). The Sūfis assert that there is a dynamic character in the "science of hearts"; it traces their itinerary (*saḡar*) to God, marks it by a dozen stages (*maqāmāt*) and steps (*aḡwāl*), some virtues acquired, other graces received, as in the *Scala Sancta* of St. John Climacus; their double list varies with different authors (cf. Sarrāj, Ḳuṣḡairi, Ghazālī) but contains almost always well known terms like *tawba*, *ṣabr*, *tawakkul*, *riḡā'*. Without laying stress on the individual variants of this mystic itinerary the Sūfis aimed especially at defining the ultimate goal when, triumphing over its attachment to the flesh, the soul finds the true God to whom it is aspiring, the Real (*al-Ḥaḳḳ*, a word used as early as the third century A. H. and perhaps borrowed from the pseudo-theology of Aristotle). But how are we to define in orthodox terms this supreme state in which the soul enters with God into this ecstatic dialogue of which the first revelations are made by Rābī'a, Muḡsibī and Yahyā Rāzī, a state which raises the difficult question of theopathic conversation (*shaḡḡ* [q. v.]).

The mystics are obliged henceforth to have recourse to the theological vocabulary of their time; they borrow from it here and there technical terms of which they twist the sense a little, without giving a fixed meaning to them. Thus Shaḳīk introduces *tawakkul*. Miṣrī and Ibn Karrām *ma'rifa*, Miṣrī and Bisṭāmī *fanā'* (opp. *baḳā* = cf. Ḳur'ān lv. 26—27), Ḳharrāz *'ain al-djām*, Tirmidhī *wilāya*, etc. In doing this, primitive Muslim mysticism involved itself in the snares of the metaphysics of the first mutakallimūn, atomism, materialism and occasionalism in metaphysics, denying the spirituality and even the immortality of the soul, confounding ontological unity with arithmetical unity, which makes it necessary to classify the

attempts at explanation of the first Muslim mystic schools with the heresy of the Ḥulūliya. If we take the Karrāmiya who desire to emphasise the actual interest which God has in the souls, Ash'arism accuses them of inserting accidents into the being of the Eternal; or the Sālīmiya who wish to assert that ardent souls became capable of adhering to the divine presence, the Ḥanbalīs say that they introduce God into the tongue of the reciter; finally when the Ḥallādjīya conclude from the ecstatic dialogue, from the intermittent change in subject which is then produced in the depth of the soul, that God has made living testimonies (*shawāhid*) out of the saints, this view is accused of becoming blasphemous and impossible, of implying the usurpation of the divinity by the humanity of a perishable body, since two substances cannot occupy the same place at one and the same time.

In the fourth century A. H. infiltrations from Greek philosophy, which had been continually increasing since the early Ḳarmatian gnostics [q. v.] and the physician Rāzī down to Ibn Sīnā, brought into existence a more correct metaphysical vocabulary implying the immateriality of the spirit (*rūḡ*) and of the soul, the consideration of general ideas, the chain of secondary causes. But this vocabulary became amalgamated with the pseudo-theology of Aristotle, with Platonic idealism and the Plotinian doctrine of emanation, which influenced profoundly the further development of Sūfism. The learned mystics of this period hesitate between three explanations of mystic union: *a.* the *ittiḡādiyya*, from Ibn Masarra and the *Iḡhwān al-Ṣafā* to Fārābī and Ibn Ḳasī, explaining this union as the formation of concepts by an impression of the active intellect, a divine emanation (identified with the *nūr muḡammadi* of the Ḳarmatians and the Sālīmiya) on the passive soul; *b.* the *ishrāḳīya* from Suhrawardī, Ḥalabī and Djildakī to Dawwānī and Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, teaching the essentialisation (*iḡḡawhur*) of the soul, the divine spark reviving under the illuminations of active intellect; *c.* *wuṣūliya* from Ibn Sīnā to Ibn Ṭufail and Ibn Sab'īn confining itself to stating that the soul attains agreement with God, then taking on consciousness of a total indifferentiated existence in which there is no longer number nor discrimination of any sort. We may note in passing that Ghazālī (*Maḡṣad*, p. 74) refuted the thesis of the *ittiḡādiyya*, a thesis which Ibn Sīnā had admitted into his *Naḡḡāt* (Cairo, p. 402, 481) but rejected in his *Iṣḡārāt* (ch. ix., p. 118; cf. Ibn 'Arabi, *Taḡḡaliyāt*) and that Ibn Sab'īn, a convinced hylomorphist, sees in God only the form (*ṣūra*) or principle of individuation (*annīya*) of all created beings.

The third and last period in the development of Sūfī doctrine begins in the viith (xiith) century; its predominant school has been justly given by its adversaries the name of *Waḡḡatiya* (or *Wudḡūdiyya*) as professing the doctrines of existentialist monism (*waḡḡat al-wudḡūd*). The doctrine of the *Wudḡūdiyya* claims a long descent: it turns to its advantage the Ḳur'ān verses (ii. 109; xxviii. 88; l. 15), the primitive Ash'arī *kalām* regarding every spiritual happening as an immediate act of God and extravagances of language of the early mystics like Bisṭāmī and Ḥallādj (in those that 'Ain al-Ḳuḡāt Ḥamadḡānī collected in his *Tamḡidāt*, the word *wudḡūd*, derived from *waḡḡd*, ecstasy, still means the qualification by God of a creature

in opposition to *kawn*, his extension in space). It is however really derived from the identification, proposed as early as the third century A. H., of the *nūr muḥammadi* of Muslim gnosticism with the active intellect of the Hellenistic doctrine of emanation (from which Ibn Ruṣḥd himself is not free, since he asserts in the *Tahāfut* that divine prescience is the superior degree of the existence of things and that souls ought to unite in it like a single passive intellect in the active intellect). Ibn 'Arabi (d. 678 = 1240) was the first to formulate the doctrine of existentialist monism; for him at bottom "the existence of created things is nothing but the very essence of the existence of the Creator" (*wuḍūd al-makhlūqāt 'ain wuḍūd al-khāliq*, Ibn Taimiyya justly remarks). He teaches in fact that things necessarily emanate from divine prescience in which they pre-existed (*ṭhūbūt*) as ideas, by a flux evolving in five periods and that the souls by an inverse involution logically constructed re-integrate the divine essence. Farḡhānī and Dīlī only add a few touches of detail to this main theory, which to this day has remained that of all Muslim mystics. It is the one which the Persian poets have sung interminably in the simplified form which Ḳunīyawī, putting into order the ideas of 'Aṭṭār expresses thus: "God is existence in as much as it is general and unconditional"; it is that which flows, like the sea under its waves through the fleeting forms of individual beings; and at the end of the xviiith century of our era, Kawrānī and Nābulusī aroused the indignation of orthodox Sunnīs by concluding that this pantheistic monism is the only correct interpretation to give to the monotheistic profession of faith of Islām (cf. Massignon, *Hallāj*, p. 784—90); in their eyes, the *shadāda* by which Islām had thought to affirm the pure transcendence of the one God signifies the absolute immanence of God in his creation and that the totality of all beings in all their actions is divinely adorable. This quietism, which established the supremacy of the divine decree over legal precept, led the Ṣūfis among other paradoxes to the rehabilitation of Iblīs (supported by Dīlī) and of the Pharaoh of the Exodus (the celebrated thesis of Ibn 'Arabi).

5. The other characteristic features of Ṣūfism and the study of its sources: The other doctrinal peculiarities still to be noted are *a.* the *isnād* or spiritual genealogy imagined to link up, as is done in the case of ḥadīths, the chain of teachers of mysticism to the direct teaching of the Prophet. The earliest known *isnād* (*Fihrist*, p. 183) is that of Khuldi (d. 348 = 959) which claims to go back to the Prophet by the following links: Dīḡunaid (7), Saḳaṭī (6), Ma'rūf Karkhī (5), Farḳad (4), Ḥasan Baṣrī (3), and Anas b. Mālik (2). Twenty years later Daḳḳāk (d. 405 = 1014; cf. Ḳuṣḥairī, p. 158) goes back to the same names except that he only gives the name of Dāwūd Ṭā'ī (4), before Karkhī. Finally the classic *isnād* fixed in the xiiith century (Ibn Abī Uṣaib'a, *Uyūn*, ii. 250) and since adopted by all the great religious orders, gives after Dīḡunaid (7), Rūḏḥbārī (8), Abū 'Alī Kāṭib or Zaḏḏjādī (9), Maḡhribī (10) and Gurgānī (11), and, going back before Dāwūd Ṭā'ī (4), Ḥabīb 'Adjamī (3), Ḥasan Baṣrī (2), 'Alī (1). Ibn al-Djawzī and Dhahabī have shown that the four oldest links in this *isnād* are false, since these men never met one another. Some religious orders utilise an *isnād*

which goes back (before Ma'rūf Karkhī) to the nine first *Shī'ī* Imāms and is still more apocryphal. *b.* The invisible hierarchy of believing souls in the world (*ridjāl al-ghaib*); the world is supposed to endure, thanks to the intercessions of a concerted hierarchy of "averting" saints, fixed in number, the place of one who dies being immediately filled. These are the 300 *nukabā'*, the 40 *abdāl*, the 7 *umanā'*, the 4 *'amūd* and their *ḳuṭb* (pole or mystic axis of the world = *ghawṭh*).

c. The privileges and dispensations (*rukḥaṣ*) on which is founded the communal life of the Ṣūfis, [cf. *TARIQA*]: privileges frequently of an anarchical and unusual character from the distant days of Bīṣṭāmī, Shīblī and Abū Sa'īd down to the more or less irresponsible and scandalous *Madjdḥūbīm* of modern times. At their assemblies the Ṣūfis recite special poems; this literature, which is very characteristic of Islām, has developed everywhere in extreme profusion and as a rule has not escaped either monotony or dullness; it is intended to provoke among listeners a psychic excitement by aesthetic means so as to release a sort of artificial ecstasy.

This literature extols in mystical language wine (*ḳhmr*) interdicted by the law in this world and reserved for the Paradise of the elect, the loving-cup (*ka's al-maḥabba*) which the cup-bearer (*sāḳī* = *shammās al-dair* = *tersube'e*) sends round and gives them, detailed allegorical descriptions with an enthusiasm of a frequently dangerous kind which the majority of western translations prudently slur over. Among such poems the following are specially famous in Arabic, those of Ibn Fārīd and of Shuṣṭarī; in Persian, the quatrains of Abū Sa'īd, the long *methnewī's* of 'Aṭṭār and Rūmī (cf. his monistic apologue: "Who is there? — It is Thou" etc), the *ghazal* of Ḥāfiẓ and the various poems of Dīḡāmī, in Turkish the works of Nesīmī and Niyāzī. This kind of literature has become naturalised in Urdu and in Malay, where it still survives at the present day although it has now disappeared in the nearer East; the modern Muslim élite are more and more abandoning it.

The critical study of the sources of Ṣūfism is far from being completed. Surprised at the profound dogmatic difference which lies between its present monism and strict orthodoxy, the early students of Islām thought Ṣūfism could be explained as a doctrine of foreign origin, derived either from Syrian monachism (Merx) or Greek Neo-Platonism or Persian Zoroastrianism, or from the Vedānta of India (Jones). Nicholson has shown that in this simple form the hypothesis of borrowing is untenable; indeed from the very beginning of Islām, it can be observed that the formation of the theses peculiar to Muslim mystics went on from within in the course of assiduous recitations of and meditations on the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth*, under the influence of social and individual crises in the very centre of the Muslim community. But if the initial framework of Ṣūfism was specifically Muslim and Arab, it is not exactly useless to identify the foreign decorative elements which came to be added to this framework and flourished there; in this way it has been possible for recent students to discover several devotional elements derived from Christian monachism (Asin Palacios, Wensinck, T. Andrae) and several Greek philosophical terms translated from the Syriac; the Iranian analogies (suggested by Blochet) have hardly been examined;

as to the Indian elements (Horten's theory) few arguments have been added to the old similar conjectures of al-Birūnī and Dārā Shikūh on the parallels between the Upanishāds or the Yōga Sūtra and the ideology of primitive Sūfism. On the other hand, it is probable that the critical student of the material processes producing the *dhikr* of the modern congregations [cf. TARĪQA] would establish the infiltration of certain methods of Hindu asceticism.

Bibliography: The list of western sources to be consulted on Sūfism has been prepared with much care by G. Pfannmüller in his *Handbuch der Islam-Litteratur*, Leipzig 1923, p. 265–292. From this long list the best general works are those of R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914; *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921; and *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, Cambridge 1923. — On special points may be consulted: on the origins, acute articles by Goldziher (*R. H. R.*, xxxvii. 314; *W. Z. K. M.*, xiii. 35; *Z. A.*, xxii. 317; *Z. D. M. G.*, lxviii. 544; *Isl.*, ix. 144); Massignon, *Essai sur les Origines du Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922; and *La Passion d'al-Hallāj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922. On Ghazālī: Asin Palacios, *Algazel*, Saragossa 1901 and in *Cultura española*, 1906, p. 209, and *M. F. O.*, 1914, p. 67; Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazalis*, Vienna 1921. On Ibn al-Fāriḍ: Nallino (in reply to Di Matteo, in *R. S. O.*, 1919–1920). On Ibn 'Arabī: Asin Palacios, *El místico Murciano Abenarabi*, Madrid 1925–1926, 3 vols. On Hindu Sūfism of the xviith century, see von Kremer, *J. A.*, 1869, p. 105, and on the general psychological methods of Sūfism, the documents of Eṣlākī (translated by Huart in *Les Saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918) and the remarks by D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago 1908. — As to the original texts, we have the fine editions by Nicholson of Sarrādj, 'Aṭṭār, Ibn 'Arabī and Rūmī, the translations by Richard Hartmann (of Kūshairī) and Huart (Dārā Shikūh, in *J. A.*, 1926, p. 285), the commentaries of Gairdner on Ghazālī (*Al-Ghazzālīs mishkāt al-anwār*, London 1924), of Horten on Suhrawardī Ḥalabī (*Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardi*, Halle 1912), of Köprülüüzāde Mehmed Fūād on the early Turkish mystics (*Türk Edebiyatına ilkö mütaşawwıflar*, Sтамbul 1919), of Nyberg on Ibn 'Arabī (*Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi*, Leyden 1919) etc. The fundamental sources in Arabic are the works of Muḥāsibī, Makkī, Ghazālī and Ibn 'Arabī, favourable to Sūfism; and those of its two great opponents: Ibn al-Djawzī (*Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo 1340) and Ibn Taimiyya. (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

TASBĪH (A.), infinitive II from *s-b-h*, saying Subḥān Allāh [q. v.].

TASHBĪH, assimilating, comparing (God to man), anthropomorphism, and TAṬĪL, emptying, divesting (God of all attributes), are the names of two opposite views of the doctrine of the nature of God in Islām; both are regarded as heresies and grave sins in dogma. The fierce dispute over these conceptions, by which even the dogma of the Qur'ān is influenced, is explained by the central position of the doctrine of the nature of God in Islām. The formal cause is to

be found in the Qur'ān, which strongly emphasises the absolute uniqueness of God and yet at the same time naively describes him in the language of anthropomorphism, giving him a face, eyes and hands and talking of his speaking and sitting. The commentaries, such as, for example, Ṭabarī on the Throne-verse ii. 256 (cf. also Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*², Heidelberg 1925, p. 102 sqq.) enumerate the most diverse interpretations, most of which can no longer be verified; these vary from crude emphasis of the literal meaning to its explanation as allegorical. Instead of the name *tashbīh*, which came very early into use and means not merely referring to God in phraseology which is ambiguous because generally used of man, but which had, one might say, the sanction of the Prophet, we find *tamthīl* also used in connection with Sūra, xlii. 9 where the possibility of anything like God is excluded, while the verb *sh-b-h* II is found only in Sūra, iv. 156, applied to the docetic description of the death of Jesus. *Ta'wīl*, the rational interpretation of the anthropomorphic literal meaning, is also found, it is true, as a means and introduction to *ta'wīl* but not uniformly as the root *ʿ-w-l* II in the Qur'ān has not a censorious sense. Here again the Sunna plays its double part. There are ḥadīths which are devoted to the question, not only purely tendentious sayings, which originated in this dispute and were coined for the purpose, but also such as are quite free from dogmatic prejudice, just as in certain Sūfī circles the longing aroused in the mystic worship of youth may have found expression in the strongly anthropomorphic visions of God in the form of a noble-looking youth (Ritter in *Isl.*, xvii. [1928], p. 257; cf. also his references in earlier pages to manuscripts). Other ḥadīths again were cited as arguments in the dispute on the strength of a superficial interpretation, e.g. that of the nightly descent of God to earth, in itself really soteriological and edifying, in which the real point actually lies in the hearing of prayer.

It is exceedingly difficult for us to approach the question, since, so far as we can see, none of the Muslim theologians declares frankly for one of the two views of God, but rather every one asserts that he stands for *tanẓīh*, keeping (God) pure, against *tashbīh*, and *tathbīt*, positive determination on the basis of *tanẓīl*, the recognition of the revealed text, against *ta'wīl*. All the more eagerly however, do they accuse one another of one or even both transgressions. The use of these terms is quite relative and the grouping of their alleged representatives is equally relative. There are no definite *mu'aṭṭila* and *mushabbihā* sects; on the contrary, the differences in the teaching about God's nature and attributes do not run parallel with any other statements about God and still less do they coincide with other differences in dogma and religio-political theory. Little is known of Dja'd b. Dirham, said to have been the first *mu'aṭṭilī*, whom even Ibn Taimiyya, in *al-Furkān* (cf. *Maḍimū'at al-Rasā'il al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1323, i. 137, 14 sqq.) still makes responsible for the fall of the last Omayyad, who is definitely called a Dja'dī and in remarkable contrast also responsible for the Baṭīniyya of the Assassins and the Rāfiḍiyya of Syria. The exponent of *ta'wīl* most frequently mentioned, the somewhat younger Djaḥm b. Ṣafwān al-Rāsibī [q. v.], put to death in 128 (745), was described by the Shī'ī Ibn al-Rawandī as a Mu'tazilī Unitarian (*mu'aḥḥid*) and was re-

jected from the Mu'tazila (as "the *imām* of the *mushabbihā*") by the Mu'tazilī Abu 'l-Ḥusain al-Khayyāṭ in the *Kitāb al-Intiqāṣ* (*Le Livre du triomphe*, ed. Nyberg, Cairo 1925, p. 133 ult., 134, 4) on the authority of a poem cursing him by Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir and, on account of the one principle in common, — that God's knowledge of things only comes into existence at their creation — classed with the ultra-Shī'ī Ibn al-Hakam (see below) (p. 126, 10), the "Shaikh of anthropomorphism"; al-Khayyāṭ as a rule attributes anthropomorphic views particularly to the Nābita, i.e. the 'Uthmanic-Omayyad party (p. 145, 9 sq.); Ibn Ḥazm (*Faṣl*, Cairo 1320, iv. 205, 15) classes Ḍjāhm among the Murdji'is along with al-Ash'arī; Shihrazdānī (ed. Cureton, p. 61) and the Ibādī Abū Setta Muḥammad al-Kaṣbī (on the margin of *Ḍjanāwunī, Kitāb al-Waḍ'*, Cairo 1335, p. 70) put him with the Ḍjabbaris who believe in predestination. Although the description of Ḍjāhm as a *mu'aṭṭil* seems to be general, the writers on heresies can only be used as authorities with the greatest caution. While Kashīsh al-Nisā'ī (d. 253 = 867; see Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallāj*, Paris 1922, p. 635 and note 2) calls the dogmatics of Ḍjāhm *takhmīm* (purifying from any attributes of a created being), and Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmīyīn* (ed. Ritter, p. 267, 11 sq.) and similarly Baghdādī in *Farḥ bain al-Firaḳ* (Cairo 1328, p. 199, 11) only point out that Ḍjāhm from fear of *tashbīh* did not teach "God is a something", Ibn Ḥazm also quotes the negative denial: but also "not a not-anything", which reveals the same anxiety about *ta'ṭīl* or its intenser form *ibtāl*, destruction, annihilation, nihilism. Of the numerous pamphlets against Ḍjāhm that of Ibn Ḥanbal is accessible in *al-Radd 'ala 'l-Zanādika wa 'l-Ḍjāhmiya* (see *Ilāhiyyet Fekültesi Madjmū'asi*, 1917, p. 313—327). Ibn Ḥanbal allows his opponent to say very little and the latter's arguments must not be taken as authentic without further evidence; the subject of the dispute and arguments from Kūrān and Sunna are however clear. Ḍjāhm is said to have denied that God can be seen by the blessed in Paradise, that he talked with Moses and that he sits on a throne. Here however Ibn Ḥanbal interprets Ḍjāhm's fear of fixing God to a definite place in such a literal and anthropomorphic manner that he says the logical consequence for the Ḍjāhmīs is to believe that God is in their bodies, in the bellies of swine and in latrines. He himself has however to explain God's being among men in Sūra lviii. 8; xx. 48; ix. 40 etc. as metaphorical *ta'wīl*, which shows how little it is possible to draw a dividing line: on the one side Sunnīs with verbal exegesis and on the other Mu'tazilīs with *ta'wīl*! At the same time Ibn Ḥanbal earns from Ḍjāhm the grave reproach of hypostasizing after the fashion of the Christian Trinity for his dogma that God is eternal with all his eternal attributes, for which he unhesitatingly uses the metaphor of the palm-tree consisting of root, trunk, branch, twigs, leaves, and sap.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal has become the great orthodox authority against *tashbīh* and *ta'ṭīl*. Al-Ash'arī [q. v.] relies on him for his confession of faith in *Maḳālāt*, p. 277, 5. He gave his views on the subject in many special treatises especially on the possibility of seeing God. The happy mean which he struck by simply recognising the hands, the face and the sitting down of God "without a how" (*bi-lā Kaif*) is continually developed by his

followers, as every Muslim of himself states the problem. It has however been brought against him as "the entrance to the doctrine of the anthropomorphists" by Ibn Ḥazm, who at the same time regards Ibn Ḥanbal as an authority (ii. 166, 17—19); Ibn Ḥazm for his part attacks the Mu'tazila toning down of the conception with equally colourless *ta'wīl* (cf. ii. 166, 16 sq. to 167, 6 sqq.). That the Ash'arī doctrine of the nature of God was always considered *tashbīh* by the Ibaḍīs is shown quite recently by al-Kāsim b. Sa'īd al-Shammākhī in *al-Kawf al-matin fi 'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Mukhālīfin* (Cairo 1324, cf. esp. p. 67 sqq.). His verdict is no more lenient than that of the Almoḥad Ibn Tūmart (see *Le Livre de Mohammed Ibn Thumert*, i., ed. Goldziher, Algiers 1903, p. 261, 3, 232, 8) on the *tashbīh* of the Almoravids.

In the effort to keep as near to Ibn Ḥanbal as possible while averting the suspicion of *tashbīh* the Maturīds rather emphasised the negative: God is not bounded, not numbered, not divided, not compounded; e.g. Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (cf. D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, New York 1903, p. 309). This brought upon them, as it had on their fore-runner Bishr al-Mārisī from 'Uḥmān b. Sa'īd al-Dārimī, and on Ghazālī from strict Ḥanbalis like Ibn Taimiyya (*op. cit.*, i. 425, 16) the reproach of the "divesting" *ta'wīl*. But the Ḥanbali school of theologians did not remain at one. In *Daf' Shubḥat al-Tashbīh wa 'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Mudjassima* (ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Kuṣṣī, Damascus 1342, esp. p. 5 sqq.) Ibn al-Djawzī attacks three fellow Ḥanbalis for lack of purity of conception. On the other hand it is Ibn al-Djawzī's celebrated pupil Ibn Taimiyya who is regarded, along with men like Abū 'Āmir M. b. Sa'dūn al-Kurashī, as a bad anthropomorphist since the too much quoted note of Ibn Baṭṭūta that he said that "God comes down just as I am now coming down (from the pulpit)". More serious than the striking note on this by Ḥusām al-Dīn (in Ibn Ḍjawzī, *op. cit.*, p. 48, note) may be the attack in his own works on the idea "Look like my look, hand like my hand!" (*Furḳān*, i. 119, 13); also his explanation of God's being among men, which may with equal justice be called rationalistic *ta'wīl* (i. 456 sqq.); then the constant endeavour to transfer anthropomorphic expressions applied to God to a sphere *sui generis*, but particularly his opinion on all grossly material ḥadīths of God's coming down to earth as deliberate forgeries of the zindīqs, invented to make the Sunnīs appear ludicrous (i. 280, 2) and in general his continual attacks on *tashbīh*, and *ta'ṭīl* (i. 270, 14 sqq.; 395, 2 sqq. etc.) which at least reveal his aim and his personal conviction.

The case is worse with Abū Muḥammad Hishām b. al-Hakam (d. c. 199 = 814) since we possess none of his writings. Ash'arī however in *Maḳālāt*, p. 29, 3 sqq., reveals the lack of agreement among the notices of him when collected. Among them is a definite testimony that this Hishām was free from actual *tashbīh* and a concise positive indication of the view held, of an affinity and correspondence (*mutashābih*; in Ḍjurdjānī on Idjī, *Mawāḳif*, ed. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, p. 347 5, 5 and 11: *mushābaha*), which first of all makes possible the relation of God to what is created and only makes his knowledge possible by his emanating penetration, which is only to be conceived in this way. When then in spite of this, Ash'arī opens his section on

the anthropomorphists with this Hishām “who compared the object of his adoration to a man”, we have a glimpse of the origin of this careless labelling such as became common among the later historians of heresies. The very full special expositions of the Shi'is are themselves contradictory. Among them another Hishām, Ibn Sālim al-Djāwālīkī, seems to be the crudest because he talked of God's hair and sides, citing the ḥadīth “God created man in his own image” and referring the “his” to God (Kashshī, *Ma'rifat Akhbār al-Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, p. 183; Astarābādī, *Manḥadj al-Maḥāl fī Taḥkīk al-Ridjāl*, Teheran 1306, p. 367). Hishām b. al-Hakam on the other hand with all his care for *ihbāt* and anxiety about *ibḥāl*, which made him choose the term “body” (*djism*) beside the vague expression “a something” (*shai'*), yet tried much to keep his distance from anthropomorphism. Generally speaking *tuḍjīm*, i.e. attributing to God a body, should not without more ado be ranked with *tashbih* a sits crudest form, since the very phrase “not like our body” is expressly added, for example even by Hishām b. al-Hakam. In spite of the efforts of later Shi'is to clear their ancestors from the stain of heresy, Astarābādī still passes the damning verdict upon him as the pupil of the even more mythical “Daišāni” Abī Shākīr. Perhaps the most suggestive remark is that of Ash'ari who says that Hishām b. al-Hakam expressed five different opinions on the nature of God in the space of one year. This is quite possible in one who, as Shi'ī sources record, was a highly strung temperament, a member of the circle of the Imām Dja'far al-Šādik at a time when dogmatics were still in a very unsettled state, as is shown by the many polemics of the circle which include some of the two Hishāms against one other. The Shi'is themselves therefore have drifted widely apart. The Nusairis under Ibn Ḥamdān al-Khašībī are classed as Mushabbihis. The Baṭinis who differ considerably among themselves are usually branded as symbolising nihilists; but one of their leading exponents, Našīr-i Khusrāw, in his *Zād-i Musāfirin* (Berlin 1923, p. 250 sqq.) champions a doctrine of the Creator which with its emphasis on the body rather recalls the principles traditionally attributed to Hishām b. al-Hakam, although it cannot be brought into a class of the scheme, with its causal conditionality of God, His unlimitedness in space and its divesting Him of an independent will.

The Twelvers have waged a vigorous war on *ta'ṭīl* and *tashbih* with due emphasis, it is true, on *ihbāt*, but with especial Mu'tazila suspicion against degrading *tashbih*. Their views will be found under the rubrics (with reference to God) “denial of a body, of a form and of *tashbih*” and “denial of time, space, movement, change of place” in the encyclopaedia of Maḡilīsī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, book ii., Teherān 1306, p. 89—105. It is only in the later authors since Kulainī, Ibn Bābūya, and Tūṣī that we can verify the statements attributed to them.

The dangers, which Hishām b. al-Hakam sought to avoid in such varied ways, show the immanent dogmatic difficulty felt between “the two limits (*ḥadd*)”. The problem is not so simple that it could be clearly defined in general terms as a twofold struggle over the recognition of God as a purely spiritual being on the one hand and over His in some way personal reality on the other. For where in that case would be put Ash'ari, for

example? The one thing certain from the history of Muslim dogma is that every Ash'ari would object to the classification of his master in one of two so distinct classes. *Tashbih* is dreaded as a transition to idolatry and paganism, *ta'ṭīl* as a preliminary to atheism and pantheism, but both are felt to be originally related. It was because Djahm imagines God's speaking only as a stomach, coming from a tongue and two lips, i.e. anthropomorphically, that, according to Ibn Ḥanbal, he fell into his “divesting” interpretations of the passages in question in the Qur'ān; Ibn Taimiyya calls him a “divester of anthropomorphism” (*Mu'aṭṭil Mumaththil*, i. 127, 9).

Bibliography: The sections mentioned in the historians of heresies and anecdotes of theologians are, in view of the relativity of the points of view, not simply to be dismissed as malevolent inventions; at the same time they can only give indications of some value as to what views were considered to be particularly expounded on one side or the other. The value of the polemics also as authority for the doctrines of those they attacked is in the same way only preliminary. They can only be regarded as authentic sources for the views of the authors of the polemics, just as for any one the only criterion is his own exegesis of the Qur'ān and dogmatics, e.g. Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, book i. 2: *Kawā'id al-Aḳā'id* and book iv., 5 and 6: *al-Tawḥīd wa 'l-Tawakkul* and *al-Maḥabba*; cf. H. Bauer, *Die Dogmatik al-Ghazālīs*, Halle 1912, 48 sqq.; J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazālīs*, Vienna 1921, 197—200, 127; Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Stambul 1428, i. 73—130 (not so much a systematic treatise as an account of *ikhṭilāf* on the lines of his above mentioned *Farḡ bain al-Firaq*).

(R. STROTHMANN)

TĀSHFĪN B. 'ALĪ, one of the Almoravid [q. v.] Sovereigns.

TASHKENT, usually written *Tāshkend* in Arabic and Persian manuscripts, a large town in Central Asia, in the oasis of Čirčik, watered by one of the right bank tributaries of the Str-Daryā [q. v.].

Nothing is known of the origin of the settlement on the Čirčik. According to the Greek and Roman sources there were only nomads on the other side of the Yaxartes. In the earliest Chinese sources (from the second century B. C.) mention is made of a land of Yu-ni, later identified with the territory of Tashkent; this land is later called Čö-či or Čö-shi or simply Shi. The corresponding Chinese character is used with the meaning of “stone”, and this is connected by A. Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 140) with the later Turkish name (*tash*, “stone” and *kend*, “village” = “stone village”). The Chinese transcription must certainly correspond to the native name Čäč, known in the Muḥammadan period; the Arabs here as usual reproduce the sound č by *sh*. The Arabic form *Shāsh* gradually drove the original name out of use in the written as well as the spoken language. If and how the modern Turkish name, first found in the fifth (xith) century, is connected with Čäč or *Shāsh* is still doubtful. The etymology (Tāzkent = town of the Tāzik i. e. the Arabs) proposed by E. Polivanov (*Iqd al-Djāmān*, for W. Barthold,

Tashkent 1927, p. 395 *sqq.*) will hardly find favour.

Details of the land of Čāt and its capital, the circumference of which was about 10 *li* (less than 3 miles), are first found in Chinese sources of the third century A.D. In the time of Hsüan-Čuang (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, i., 1857, p. 16) there was no ruler in Čāt to whom the whole country was subject, as in other countries. The separate towns were under the suzerainty of the Turks. In the history of the wars of conquest of the Arabs in the second (eighth) century there is frequent reference to a "king (*malik*) of Shāsh"; his capital is given by al-Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 421) and al-Tabarī, (ii. 1517 and 1521) as the town of Tārband, not otherwise mentioned in the Arabic geographical literature; that we have here, as the editor (D. H. Müller) assumes a "forma contracta" for Tūrāband (*B. G. A.*, iii. 61 *infra*) is more than doubtful. The ruling family was presumably of Turkish origin. The suzerainty of the Turkish Khāns was at times replaced by that of the Chinese. In 751 the Chinese governor Kau Sién-Či (Chavannes, *Documents* etc., p. 297; F. Hirth, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, 1897, p. 70) executed the prince of Shāsh and his son appealed for assistance to the Arabs. Ziyād b. Šālih, sent by Abū Muslim [q. v.], inflicted a severe defeat on the Chinese in Dhu 'l-Hijja 133 = July 751 (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, v. 344) on the Talas [q. v.] and Kau Sién-Či was killed in the battle. This battle established the political supremacy of Islām in Central Asia. No further attempts were made by the Chinese to dispute it.

Under the Caliphs, the territory of Shāsh was regarded as the frontier of Islām against the Turks; the settled lands were protected from the raids of the nomads by a wall, remains of which still exist (*G. M. S.*, N. S., v., p. 172). Nevertheless the land was conquered by the Turks, probably for a short period only, in 191 (806–807). A "prince (*šāhib*) of Shāsh with his Turks" is mentioned as an ally of the rebel Rāfi' b. Laith (al-Tabarī, iii. 712). Under al-Ma'mūn, Shāsh again belonged to the Caliph's empire; when in 204 (819) the Sāmānids became governors of various districts in Mā warā al-Nahr, one of them, Yahyā b. Asad, was granted Shāsh [cf. SĀMĀNIDS]; in contradiction to what is there stated we know not only the year but also the very day of the death of this Yahyā: it was Thursday five days before the end of Rabī' II, 241 (Sept. 12, 855); cf. *G. M. S.*, xx. 286b]. In 225 (840) the eldest of the brothers, Nūh b. Asad, the senior governor of the lands entrusted to the Sāmānids, by conquering Isfīdjāb (the modern Sairām) succeeded in advancing the frontier further north. About the same time a canal in Shāsh was restored, which had become silted up in the early days of Islām. The Caliph al-Mu'tašim (833–842) contributed 2,000,000 dirhams towards the work on these canals (al-Tabarī, iii. 1326).

To the period of the Sāmānids belong almost all the surviving geographical descriptions of Shāsh (and indeed those of most Muslim lands). Shāsh appears in these only as the name of a country: the capital is called Binkāth: on coins the mint is always given as "Shāsh", rarely with the addition of "Binkāth". The territory was 1 farsakh (3½ miles) in length and breadth. The modern Tashkent is of much greater extent, but the position of Binkāth or the distance given by the Arabs geographers corresponded roughly to that of Tashkent (W.

Barthold, *Turkestan*, G. M. S., New Series, v. 711, not to the position of Iski-Tashkent as in Le Strange's *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 480); there is still shown in Tashkent the tomb of the Shāfi' scholar Abū Bakr al-Kaffāl al-Shāshī who died in 365 or 366 (975–977).

Whether the name Tashkent was in use before the Turkish conquest (before the final collapse of the Sāmānid dynasty, the whole Sīr Daryā territory had been ceded to the Turks in 386 [996]) is doubtful. So far as we know the name "Tāshkend" is first found in al-Bīrūnī (*Tārīkh al-Hind*, ed. Sachau, p. 149, translation, i. 298); from the etymology of the name al-Bīrūnī wrongly identifies it with the *λίθινος πύργος* of Ptolemy (J. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 155). Maḥmūd Ḳāshgharī (i. 369) mentions "Terken" (otherwise unknown) as a "name of Shāsh" in addition to Tāshkend. The name Tashkent first appears on coins in the Mongol period. In the second half of the fifth (xith) and in the sixth (xiith) century coins were struck in Banāket, Fanāket or Banākit, which lies quite close to it on the right bank of the Sīr Daryā; it is possible that this town at this time was of greater importance than Tashkent. In Djuwainī's account of the Mongol campaign (*G. M. S.*, xvi. 70 *sq.*) Tashkent is not mentioned; only the taking of Banāket is recorded. Under Mongol rule Tashkent, for reasons unknown to us, had a better fate than Banāket. Tashkent continued to exist as a town and was occasionally visited by the Khāns [cf. BURĀQ KHĀN]; on the other hand Banāket, although it had offered not resistance to the Mongols, was in ruins at this date, and it was not till 1392 that Timūr rebuilt it under the new name of Shāhrukhiya.

After the decline of the Mongol empire of Čaghatai [q. v.] Tashkent belonged to the empire of Timūr and the Timūrids; in 890 (1485) the town with the lands belonging to it was ceded to the Mongol Khān Yünus who died there in 892 (1487) (*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. Ross, p. 114 *sq.*). His tomb is in the mosque of Shukh Khāwendī Tuhūr (popularly Shaikhantaur), a local saint; on his period (viiiith = xivth century) cf. A. Semenov in *Protokoll Turk. Kučka Ljub. Arkh.*, xx., 1915, p. 29. Khān Yünus was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd Khān; after 1503 Tashkent belonged to the kingdom of the Özbegs who had, however, to give it up only a short time after the death of the founder of this kingdom, Shaibānī Khān [q. v. and cf. SHĀIBĀNIDS]. During the centuries following, Tashkent was sometimes under the rule of the Özbegs, sometimes under the Kazak [q. v. KIRGIZ] and in 1723 it was conquered by the Kalmūcks, but not at once occupied by them; the town continued to be governed by a prince of Kazak descent who was now a vassal of the rulers of the Kalmūcks. Sometimes its rule passed into the hands of the Khodjas, the descendants of the local saint (e. g. *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxviii. 311).

During these centuries, the possession of Tashkent was frequently the cause of heavy fighting. Some of the accounts of these battles are of importance for the understanding of the topographical conditions of the period. The records of the battles of Tashkent in the time of 'Abd Allāh Khān b. Iskandar [q. v.] clearly show that the town of Tashkent had not yet assumed its present form. It is not till the xiith (xviiith) century that the

division of the town into four quarters (Kukča, *Shaikhantaur*, Sibzar and Besh-Aghaç) with a common bazaar is mentioned. Occasionally each quarter has a chief (*hākim*) of its own; each quarter formed an entity by itself and was very often at war with the others.

About 1780 Yūnus *Khodja*, the chief of the *Shaikhantaur* quarter, succeeded in combining the whole town under his rule. Yūnus *Khodja* fought successfully against the Kazak but suffered a severe reverse at the hands of the Özbegs of *Khoḳand* under 'Alim-*Khān*; after his death, in the time of his son and successor Sulṭān-*Khodja*, shortly before 1810, Tashkent had to submit to the rule of the *Khāns* of *Khoḳand*. For its history in this period cf. *KHOḲAND*.

On June 15/27 1865, Tashkent was taken by the Russians under Černyaiev. As capital of the Sīr-Daryā territory and of the governor-generalship of Turkeṣtān, Tashkent attained great prosperity. Alongside of the old "Asiatic" town, a new Russian city arose as the residence of the officials, and the two parts together formed one town from 1877 with joint municipal institutions, but the Russian town, although its population was nothing like the size of that of the "Asiatic" town, enjoyed special privileges; little attention was therefore paid to the old town. The Russian part alone had a civic life in the European sense; in it were the government offices, the schools, the scientific and learned societies and associations. The number of the population (of the old and new Russian town together) amounted to 155,673 according to the census of 1897.

As a result of the revolution Russian Tashkent has lost all the privileges it had over the old town. Since the recognition of the principle of nationality in Central Asia and the foundation of national republics, Tashkent has lost all political importance. The town belongs to Özbekistān while its northern suburbs are in Kazakistān; the seat of government of Özbekistān is in Samarḳand [q. v.]. As the largest town in Central Asia, Tashkent has however retained its importance as a commercial and educational centre. It is the meeting-place of the "Economic Council" (*ekonomičeskij soviet*) for the whole of Central Asia, has a University founded in 1920, a very large "Central Asiatic" library, the "principal Museum" (*glavnyj muzej*) of Central Asia, the Central Asiatic section of the Russian Geographical Society etc. Commerce is declining, as elsewhere, but the number of inhabitants is larger than formerly.

Bibliography: A. J. Dobrosmišlov, *Tashkent v prošlom i nastoyashčem*, Tashkent 1912; Fr. v. Schwartz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. Br. 1900, p. 140 sqq. (refers to the Tashkent of 1874—1890 and should be used with caution); V. Masal'skiy, *Turkestankiy Krai*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 607 sqq.; *Tashkent 1877—1912. K tridcatipyätiletiyu gorodskogo obščestvennogo upravleniya*; W. Barthold, *Istoriya kulturnoi žizni Turkestana*, Leningrad 1927, p. 163 sqq.; *Sredne-aziatskiy gosudarstvennyj universitet. K desyatiletnemu yubileyu oktyabrskoi revoliucii*, Tashkent 1927. — On the principle of Nationality: J. Vareikis i S. Zelenskiy, *Nacional'no-gosudarstvennoe razmeževaniie Srednei Azii*, Tashkent 1924. (W. BARTHOLD) **TASHKÖPRÜZADE**, the name of a family of Turkish scholars, taken from the village

of Tashköprü near Kaṣtamūni [q. v.] in Anatolia (cf. *Köprülüzaḍe*, called after the adjacent village of [Wezir]-Köprü).

1. Muṣṭafā b. *Khalil al-Dīn*, born at Tashköprü in 857 (1453), studied at the high schools of Brussa and Sтамbul, became professor in Brussa, afterwards (901) in Angora, Üsküb and Adrianople, was for a time tutor to the prince, afterwards Sulṭān, Salīm I, then again professor in Amasia and Brussa. He never took up the office of judge in Aleppo, which was given to him. He died in 935 (1528) as professor in Brussa. Muṣṭafā b. *Khalil* was the author of a number of commentaries on books on law but, as a result of his busy life, he was never able to put them into final shape.

2. Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā b. *Khalil*, son of 1, a distinguished Ottoman encyclopaedist and biographer, born on 14th Rabi' I 901 (3rd Dec. 1495) at Brussa, studied under his father at Angora and Brussa and later in Sтамbul and Amasia. At the end of Radjab 931 (May 1525) he became professor in Dimotika, in the beginning of 933 (Oct. 1526) in Sтамbul, at the beginning of *Dhu 'l-Hiǧdja* 936 (July 1531) he went to Üsküb. Five years later he again became professor in Sтамbul, was transferred on the 4th *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da* 945 (March 25, 1539) to Adrianople, but went back to the capital in the same year in the capacity of "guardian". He again held a teaching post in Adrianople, then reluctantly became *ḳaḍi* in Brussa, but soon returned to his chair. On Shawwāl 27, 958 (29th Oct. 1551) he became judge of Sтамbul. Three years later his eyes became affected and ultimately he went quite blind. He died on the last day of Radjab 968 (April 16, 1561) in Sтамbul, and was buried there in the 'Ashīḳ Pasha quarter in the mosque of the 'Ashīḳ Pasha monastery. Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā had an encyclopaedic mind of astonishing versatility. He compiled an encyclopaedia of arts and sciences in Arabic, which was afterwards translated by his son (see 3) into Turkish and in this form it has been printed under the title *Meǧmū'at al-'Ulūm* (Sтамbul 1313, 844 and 712 pp.). The number of his other works is considerable. The most important is the *Shakā'ih al-Nu'māniya* written in Arabic in which he gives biographies of 522 'Ulamā' and *shāikhs* of orders divided into ten classes (*ṭabaḳāt*) according to the reigns of the ten Ottoman Sulṭāns, 'Oṭmān to Sulaimān. At the end he gives his own autobiography. The work, which was finished on Ramaḍān 30, 965 (July 16, 1558) is our main source for the intellectual history of the period. It was several times translated into Turkish and has been brought down almost to the present day (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 86 under *Fortsetzungen*). While the original work has been printed in the Arabic version, and in the expanded Turkish translation of Meḥmed called Meǧdī of Adrianople, and also in the first continuation by 'Aṭā'i, the important continuations to the present day still exist in manuscript only, an almost incredible neglect of the most important sources for the history of Ottoman scholarship. On the printed editions cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 86 sq.; a German translation of the basic work was published in Constantinople in 1927 by O. Rescher (iv. 361 pp., 4^o).

Bibliography: Autobiography at the end of *Shakā'ih*; German translation in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, p. 241 sqq.;

Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 425 sq. (with Bibliography); further references in F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 84 sqq.

3. Kemāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, son of 2, Turkish historian. Kemāl al-Dīn Muḥammad was born in Stambul in 959 (1552), became professor and *kādi* successively in Salonica, Scutari, Aleppo, Damascus, Brussa, Cairo and Galata. Later he was *kādi* in Stambul and repeatedly held the post of *kādi* 'asker of Anatolia or Rumelia. In this capacity he took part in the Wallachian campaign, fell ill and died on his way back to Stambul in Işhākçe (Isaqui, in Rumania). His body was taken to the capital and buried beside that of his father. As a poet he wrote under the *makhlaṣ* of Kemālī. He was a translator (see under 2) and also an historian. Under the title *Ta'rikh-i ṣāf* or *Tuḥfat al-Aṣḥāb* he composed a history of the Ottoman empire down to Aḥmad I (1603/17), to whom he dedicated the book. He is also said to have composed a poetical *Shāhnāme*, but no trace of the work seems to have survived; cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 149. His *Ta'rikh-i ṣāf* was printed in three fascicules in Stambul in 1287.

Bibliography: 'Aṭā'ī, p. 641 sq.; Riyāḍī, *Tedhkir*; *Sidḡill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 80; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iii. 602, 693 sq.; *M. O. G.*, i. 164 (F. Babinger); Brūsali Muḥammad Tāhir, *'Othmānī Müellifleri*, i. 347; F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 149, where further references are given. (FRANZ BABINGER)

TASHRÎH (A.), general sense: opening, exposition. It has two special meanings: 1. exposition of a science, commentary on a book, like *sharḥ* [q. v.]; 2. the science of anatomy which is the "opening" and exposition of the structure of the body. The two meanings are found in one sentence in Ibn al-Klīfī: "Galen was the key of medicine, its *bāsīf* and its *shārīḥ*, that is to say, it was he who expounded it and commented upon it... No one ever surpassed him in the science of *tashrīḥ* and he wrote 17 books upon it." The reference here is to anatomy.

Anatomy was not a very popular science in Islām; the reproduction of the human figure was forbidden and on religious and moral grounds dissection objected to. This was not practised among the Muslims any more than among the ancients, except at Alexandria. Galen took advantage of the opportunities he had to study the anatomy of man, but in general he worked on the monkey. Muslim observers also took advantage of any chance opportunities of advancing this science; we have an example of this in the travels of 'Abd al-Laṭīf: the author, with his friends, having learned that there was at Maks in Egypt a hill formed of human remains went to examine the skeletons and made notes.

In spite of the disadvantages under which they laboured, several Arab scholars studied anatomy, in which they followed the Greeks, notably Galen, Oribases and Aetius. A number of works of Galen were known to the Arabs and translated into their language, for example the *De Anatomia*, the *De Venae Sectione*, the *De Musculorum Dissectione*, the *De Ossibus*, as well as the treatise on the pulse. Books x—xv. of the great work of this scholar, the *De Anatomicis Administrationibus*, were preserved only in Arabic. A German translation has been published by Max Simon.

P. de Koning has published three long extracts from works on anatomy as known to the Arabs, one from Avicenna, another from 'Alī b. 'Abbās, a Zoroastrian physician born in Persia (d. 384), and the last from the famous Razes (Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī, d. 320). The chapters from Razes, which are the least advanced, come from his book *al-Manṣūrī*; those of 'Alī b. 'Abbās from his "Royal Book" (*al-Malikī*) and those of Avicenna from his *Qānūn*. These three works have practically the same arrangement, which is clear and logical and is found already in the classical writers. They begin with osteology: first generalities about the bones, then a detailed study from head to foot of the human frame: bones of the head, the belly, the vertebral column, the thorax, bones of the upper limbs and of the hands, the lower limbs and of the feet. The subject of dentistry was not then a separate one. — Next came the study of the muscles, myology: they are enumerated and analysed in the same order; — next the nervous system and the arteries: nerves, brain, spinal fluid, arteries and veins; — then the description of the external organs, organs of sight, taste, hearing, the tongue, larynx, lungs, heart, stomach, intestines, liver, spleen, kidneys, bladder and organs of generation.

Opposite the same chapters of Avicenna, de Koning has placed the corresponding passages from Galen and Oribases: they deal among other subjects with the trapezius muscle, the flexor muscles of the fingers, the pulmonary artery, the valves of the heart, the iris of the eye and the bone of the heart.

All this anatomy is already quite advanced, and very analytic; it is also quite final: every bone, every organ, every muscle is described from the point of view of its function and object. We may note that Arab anatomy has a vocabulary of its own. Unlike medicine and botany, it does not use Persian and Greek words, and on the other hand, unlike mathematics, astronomy and alchemy, it has not given us any technical terms. We do find a few in the Latin translations of the middle ages, like "meri" which is Arabic *marī*?, oesophagus; "myrach" which is Arabic *mayrākḥ*, "abdomen"; "siphac" which is *ṣifāk*, peritoneum; but these terms have not come down to our time.

In surgery "Abulcasis" who is Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī, physician to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III of Cordova (ivth = xth century), and Avenzoar (Ibn Zohr, d. 595) of Seville are the greatest representatives of science and experiment among the Arabs. The former wrote a book entitled *al-Taṣrīf*, the anatomical and surgical part of which is taken mainly from Paul of Aegina. The latter is a late Byzantine author, a contemporary of the beginnings of Islām, who travelled in Arab lands and was much admired by the Arabs for his skill as an operator. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim deals with operations, describes and gives drawings of instruments. We have a number of his works illustrated in this way. This work was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the xiith century and published in 1497 at Venice, and at Basle in 1778. Adapted by Guy de Chauliac (1300—1368) it had a great influence on western science. — As to Avenzoar, a progressive and practical mind of great skill, he cast off to a large extent the authority of Galen and substituted his own experience. He is the main source for Arnaud de Villeneuve. — We may

conclude with a mention of the earliest western translator, Constantine Africanus (1020—1087) who translated ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās.

The Arabs also knew ophthalmics as a special subject. To them also we owe observations on the anatomy of animals, on hybrids and on monsters.

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(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TASHRĪK is a special name for the last three days of the Muḥammadan Ḥaǧǧdj (11th—13th *Dhu* 'l-Ḥiǧǧja: *Ayyām al-Tashrīk*), during which the pilgrims, having finished their regular rites, stay in Miṇā and have to throw seven stones daily on each of the three piles of stones there. In the early period of Islām the name *tashrīk* was also given to the solemn *ḡalāt* on the morning of the 10th *Dhu* 'l-Ḥiǧǧja. The term is probably a survival from the pre-Islāmic period and therefore could no longer be explained by the Muslims with certainty. For example the obvious explanation which derives the term from "cutting into strips and drying" the sacrificial meat left over on the *Dhu* 'l-Ḥiǧǧja is doubtful. An isolated tradition derives *tashrīk* from the recitation of the words *ʿashrīk ṭhābir kaimā nuḡḡir* (cf. *tahlīl, talbiya takbīr*). One would therefore have to assume that this formula was originally used not only, as we are told, on the 10th *Dhu* 'l-Ḥiǧǧja before sunrise but also at the lapidation on the following days and that as an essential element it later became the name for the whole ceremony. In Islām this lapidation is accompanied by *takbīr* (pronouncing "*Allāhu akbar*") among other exclamations. This is perhaps why Abū Ḥanīfa explains *tashrīk* as *takbīr* (*Taǧǧ al-ʿArūs*, vi. 393). Cf. also the article ḤAǧǧDĪ.

Bibliography: *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xii. 42 sq.; *Taǧǧ al-ʿArūs*, vi. 393 sq.; Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1541; R. Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, Leipzig-Haarlem 1864, p. 118—126 (the proposed explanation from the Hebrew is now rejected); Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leyden 1880 (*Verspreide Geschriften*, i. 1 sqq.), p. 171—174; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* 2, p. 80, 190, note 1; Th. W. Juynboll, *Über die Bedeutung des Wortes Tashrīk* (*Z. A.*, xxvii, 1912, p. 1—7); Gaudenfroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, p. 273, 291, 299, 302 note.

(R. PARET)

TASM B. LÜDH B. SĀM B. NÜḤ, a legendary tribe of the prehistoric period of the Arabs, closely connected by descent, dwelling-place (in al-Yamāma), conditions of life (agriculturists and cattle-breeders) and history with the *Djadīs* [q. v.] (with whom they are always numbered) b. Ḥāthīr b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ. The story, frequently mentioned in Arabic literature, of the

fall of the two sister-tribes is in its main outlines as follows: They were at one time under the tyranny of a *Tasmī* named ʿAmlīk (or ʿAmlūk). Appealed to in a matrimonial dispute of a *Djadīs* woman named Huzaila he gave an arbitrary verdict. Enraged at the opposition of the woman, he claimed the *jus primae noctis* over all the brides of the *Djadīs*. After exercising this tyranny for 40 (!) years, a highborn *Djadīs* woman named ʿAfīra bint ʿIfār who had fallen a victim to it roused her tribe to vengeance and open rebellion. Her brother al-Aswad, however, advised cunning and carried his plan through against her proposal. He invited ʿAmlīk and his tribe to his sister's wedding. During the feast the *Djadīs* fell upon and killed the *Tasm* with weapons which had been hidden in the sand. Only one escaped, Riyāḥ b. Murr, who fled to the Ḥimyarite prince Ḥassān b. Tubba^c and persuaded him to undertake a campaign of vengeance against the *Djadīs*. When the army had come within three days' journey of *Djaww*, the settlement of the *Djadīs*, Riyāḥ advised branches to be cut and carried by each rider to conceal him. For in *Djadīs* there was a wise woman named Yamāma (or *Zarkā*) who could see anyone approaching at three days' journey distant. She, however, was able to recognise the enemy force in spite of their covering and advised her fellow tribesmen to get ready to defend themselves. They paid no heed to her and were surprised and the men killed and the women, including Yamāma, taken prisoner. Ḥassān had her eyes torn out and crucified her dead body on the gate of *Djaww*, which was henceforth called Yamāma. This is the legend. In many of its features it is quite mythical but it may in part relate to a historical event [cf. *DJADIS*]. The fragments preserved in the sources of old couplets in the style of a folksong are probably the remains of a ballad form of the legendary material.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i. 771 sqq.; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, x. 48 sqq.; commentary of Nashwān on the Ḥimyar *Qaṣīda*, extracts from which are given in D. H. Müller's *Südarab. Studien*, p. 67 sqq.; also very fully in the commentary on the 17th verse of the 13th poem of Aʿshā Maimūn, ed. by R. Geyer; *ibid.* (p. 74, note 12) an exhaustive list of Arabic sources for the *Tasm-Djadīs*-saga. (H. H. BRÄU)

TASMIYA. [See BASMALA].

TASNĪM, i. name of a fountain in Paradise, occurring in the *Qurʾān*, *Sūra* lxxxiii. 27, where it is said, that its water will be drunk by the *muḥarrabūn*, "those who are admitted to the divine presence", and that it will be mixed with the drink of the mass of the inhabitants of Paradise. The commentaries are uncertain, whether *tasnīm* is a proper name — which, according to the *Lisān* is inconsistent with its being a diptote — or a derivative from the root *s-n-m*, a root conveying the meaning of "being high". In the latter case the meaning of the verse would be: "and it (viz. the drink of the inhabitants of Paradise) will be mixed with water which is conducted to them from a high place".

Al-Ṭabarī mentions a third explanation, viz. "hidden things gladdening the inhabitants of Paradise".

Bibliography: al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, *Sūra* lxxiii.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 59; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, vi. 502 and the other

commentaries on the *Qurʾān*; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xvi. 199.

2. Infinitive II of *s-n-m*: "raising graves above the level of the earth". It is said that Muḥammad's grave was *musannam* (Bukhārī, *Ḍjanāʾiz*, b. 96). On the other hand it is said that Muḥammad ordered that graves should be levelled (Muslim, *Ḍjanāʾiz*, trad. 92, 93; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi. 18 bis, 21). Al-Shāfiʿi's opinion was that graves should be raised only so much that they could be recognised as such, lest people should sit or walk on them (al-Tirmidhī, *Ḍjanāʾiz*, b. 56). The Mālikites, however, preferred *tasnīm* (al-Nawawī's Commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1283, ii. 344).

(A. J. WENSINCK)

TASŪDĪ (and **TASSŪDĪ**), i. Arabised forms of the Persian word *tasū* (Phl. **tasūk*, cf. Phl. *tasum* "fourth" < **tabruma*; cf. Salemann, *Manich. Studien*, i. 128; Tedesco, *Dialectologie der west-iranischen Turfantexte*, p. 209) which means the 24th part of certain measures (Vullers, i. 445). According to the *Farhang-i Shuʿurī*, two *djaw* = a *ḥabba*; two *ḥabba* = a *tasūdj*; four *tasūdj* = a *dāng*; six *dāng* = a *dīnār*. In the *Diwān* of Kāsim al-Anwār (Bib. Nat. de Paris, Sup. Pers. 717, fol. 174) is a verse giving to *tasu* some mystic sense. The word is found in Armenien *thasu* and in Aramaic *ṯyswga*; cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gram.*, I/i., p. 266.

2. A territorial division. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 16, contrasts the term *tasūk*, *tassūdj* ("office") meaning a district in the ʿIrāk with that of *rustāk* ("parish") a division of a *kūra* (from *χώρα*) in Fārs. The province of the ʿIrāk, according to Ibn Khurdādhbih and Kūdāma, was divided into 12 *astān* (*ostān*?) each of which contained a certain number of *tassūdj*; the total number of the latter was usually put at 60 (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 79). The term *tassūdj* however (the phonetical form of which actually belongs to the S. W. dialect) is known throughout Persia. The province of Abarghahr in the strict sense (Nishāpūr) was divided into 13 *rustāk* and 4 *tasū* (Ibn Rusta, p. 171: *arbaʿat arbāʿ*) namely Ziwand, Takāb, Bushta Furūshin(?) and Māzul. Ibn Rusta, p. 155, mentions a *tassūdj* of Rūdh among the dependencies of Isfahān. There is also a district of *Tassūdj* in the province of Fārs (Iṣṭakhri, p. 102) on the right bank of the Kurr near Lake Bakhtigān; its capital is Khurrama (cf. also Stolze, *Persepolis*, 1888, preface). The division into *tassūdj* must have been based on irrigation. The water of a river in theory forms 6 *dāng*; thus the two watercourses into which the Kārūn divides at Shushtar (the *Shutait* and Gargar) are called in the *Zafarnāma*, i. 591 and 599, "the river of 4 *dāngs*" and "the river of two *dāngs*". A *tassūdj* seems to represent the area irrigated by a quarter *dāng*.

3. *Tasūdj* is more particularly the name of a small town in Ādharbāidjān, on the north bank of Lake Urmiya to the south of the Mishow range. It is the capital of the district of Güney (in Turkish "exposed to the sun") including the north shore of Lake Urmiya. The old name of the district still used in government documents is Arwanak-wa-Anzāb. Since Arwanak means particularly the eastern part of the district (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 79) *Tasūdj* seems to be in Anzāb. The town of *Tasūḥ* (*Taswīḥ*) lies about 3 miles from the lake; it is watered by a stream from the Kizil-dagh. Near the town which is surrounded by

gardens are quarries of rocksalt, gypsum and limestone. The population is not more than 1,000 but the fact that it is divided into 12 quarters and has 50 mosques (?) shows its former importance. The town must date from before Islām. The Armenian historian of the eighth century, Levond, p. 134, mentions it among the places in Ādharbāidjān which king Gagik passed through coming from Thoṛnavan (in Vaspurakan): Zarevand, Zid-roy (?), Tasuk, Gaznak, Ormi, Surenapat. The importance of *Tasūdj* in the Mongol period is seen from the fact that in the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* Lake Urmiya is regularly called *daryā-yi shūr-i Tasūdj*. The revenues of the district however were not over 5,000 *dīnārs*: this sum was ear-marked for the maintenance of the pious foundations of the Khān Abū Saʿīd.

Clavijo in 1404 who had to pass through *Tasūdj* on his way from Khoi to Tabriz seems to call it as Caza ("a populous fine township which lies in a plain and is surrounded by many orchards that are irrigated by numerous streams"; transl. Le Strange, London 1928, p. 150 and note on the form Caza-Taza on p. 352).

Ewliyā Čelebi (ii. 242; iv. 319) calls the town *Tasūy* and its river *Iriz* (?). According to him, it was a *sultānlik* of some importance with about 3,000 soldiers and artillery. The town had 3,000 houses, 7 mosques etc. The people were Shiʿis; Ewliyā says it was founded by Yezdedjird in honour of his wife *Tasūbān* (?). It is said to have been destroyed by Timūr (? cf. Clavijo) and rebuilt by Djihānshāh (of the Kara-Koyunlu). To the east of *Tasūdj* is the village of Kumla (Khumla) known from the fortifications erected there in 998 by Farhād Pasha at the time of the conquest of Tabriz [q. v.] in the reign of Murād III; cf. Ewliyā, *ibid*.

European travellers have rarely visited *Tasūdj*; cf. E. G. Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, p. 56.

(V. MINORSKY)

TAŞWİR (A.), fashioning, forming; an image, a picture; for the prohibition of images and pictures of living beings by the Muslim jurists, see ŞURA; here an account will be given of the artistic activity in the Muslim world that has produced sculptures and pictures, despite the condemnation of the theologians. Examples of the former are rare e.g. in Egypt, Khumārāwaih [q. v.] had statues of himself, his wives and singing-girls made, and in Spain, ʿAbd al-Rahmān III [q. v.] set up a statue of his favourite wife al-Zahrāʾ, in the palace he called after her name, while the marble lions supporting the fountain constructed in the Alhambra for Muḥammad V, in the latter part of the xivth century, still exist. The Seldjūk princes of Asia Minor employed sculptors to decorate their capital, Konya [q. v.], and several stone figures, both human and animal, of this period are preserved in the museum of that city. The first statues of Muḥammadan potentates known to have been erected in public places, are those set up in the city of Cairo by Ismāʿīl Pasha [q. v.]. Under the Fātimids in Egypt a large number of bronze ewers and perfume-burners, in the form of birds and animals, were made, and rock crystals of the same period often have animal forms cut upon them. The metal-workers of Mawṣil and their fellow craftsmen who carried the same art into Persia, Syria and Egypt, made lively representations of court life, the monarch drinking among his servants and musicians, hunting, playing polo, or engaged in battle; some of these metal-

workers were certainly Christians, but their patrons were Muslim princes who paid no heed to theological opinion on the matter. A similar disregard of the prescriptions of the *shari'a* is found on the pottery of Raiy (xith and xiiith centuries), with its brilliantly coloured representations of princes, musicians, singing-girls, dancers and knights, as well as animals of various kinds, both real and imaginary. Figures are also found on the pottery from other towns, but not with the same wealth of imagery. Carvings in wood, particularly under the Fātimids and Mamlūks in Egypt, often represent figures, human or animal; figures also form part of the decoration of carpets, ivories and glass. Such objects, of these various classes, as have survived the many cataclysms that have swept over the Muḥammadan world, or have escaped destruction at the hands of fanatical iconoclasts, probably form only a small part of the total number that once existed.

More abundant evidence of the existence of representational art and the use of figure-forms, in the Muḥammadan world, is found in paintings, especially in Persia, India and Turkey. The existence of fresco-painting as a decoration of the palaces of Muslim princes is testified, for the Umayyad period, by the pictures of royal personages, dancers, musicians, gymnasts etc. in Kuṣair 'Amra (see 'AMRA, i. 338), and for the early 'Abbāsīd period, by the pictures of dancing-girls, animals, birds etc. at Sāmarrā (see E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin 1927). There is ample literary evidence for the practice in the palaces of later Muslim monarchs, and remains of frescoes executed in the xviiith and early xixth centuries for Persian Shāhs still exist.

But the majority of Muslim paintings are to be found as illustrations in MSS. and to some extent also on separate sheets of paper. Hardly any examples of paintings on paper have survived, of a date earlier than the xiiith century. Among the earliest books of Arabic literature so illustrated were the *Maḥāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, works on astronomy, medicine and mechanical science, etc. Persian literature has much more abundantly received the attention of the painter, and writings of many different kinds contain pictures. Poetical works are most commonly illustrated, e.g. the *Shah-nāma* of Firdawsi, the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, the *Kulliyāt* of Sa'dī and a large number of other poets. Illustrated MSS. of historical contents are less common, but there are MSS. of the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn, the *Rawḍat al-Shafā* of Mirkhwānd, the *Zafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, and various works on Indian history, with pictures. The illustrations in MSS. of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* by more than one author, and of the *Madjālīs al-Ushshāḳ* by Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā (himself a generous patron of painters) are of special interest as providing Muslim representations of the history of the holy personages of Islāmic history. Later, illustrated prose romances became common. Besides Arabic and Persian, MSS. in Čaghataī Turki (especially those produced in Harāt in the latter part of the xvth century), Hindūstānī, Pashṭū and Ottoman Turkish have been illustrated by Muslim painters.

In addition to the illustrations in manuscripts prepared for royal personages and men of wealth, mention must be made of instances of popular disregard of the prohibition of representations of

living beings; most noticeable among these are the figures used in the shadow-plays, popular in Java, Egypt and Turkey. The houses of the poor are often decorated with crude drawings of animals, especially in Egypt, painted to celebrate the return of a pilgrim from Mecca, and cheap pictures of Burāk [q. v.] are common.

The sources of Muslim pictorial art are obscure, but influences are traceable from Christian (Jacobite and Nestorian), Manichaean, Sāsānian and Chinese paintings. In Persia, the pre-Muslim artistic traditions re-appear in the later art, and in India Hindu painters worked for Muḥammadan princes and contributed elements characteristic of the country.

Some attempt has been made to distinguish different schools of Muḥammadan painting, but there is little agreement in the suggested divisions. The Primitives of the xiiith century form a group apart; and there are special characteristics that mark the work of the painters in the service of the Mongol rulers of Persia at the beginning of the xivth century, the Timūrid princes of the xvth century, the Šafawids of the xvth and the Mughals in India during the xvth and xvith centuries.

Of the personality of the painters very little is known; the greater part of their work is anonymous, and it often happens that no biographical material is available in cases where paintings bear a signature. Even of the greatest of Persian painters, Bihzād [q. v.], little is known, except the names of the princely patrons for whom he worked, and critics are not agreed as to which of the pictures that bear his signature, are authentic. Historical material regarding the Persian painters begins to be available in the xvth century, and for Indian and Turkish painters a little later; but the details provided are very meagre and in no instance are they sufficient to render identification of any particular picture possible.

Finally, mention may be made of coins bearing the effigy of a Muslim monarch. The earliest of these are obviously imitations of Byzantine coins, and cease after 'Abd al-Malik's [q. v.] reform of the coinage about 77 A. H. There are isolated examples of coins bearing the portraits of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs Mutawakkil, Muḥtadir and Muṭīf. But coins with human figures become more common under the Seldjūks of Asia Minor, the Urtūkids of Diyārbakr and Zangids of Aleppo; but they are generally imitations of some foreign coinage, and in no instance appear to be portraits of the monarchs whose names and titles they bear. In India, however, Djahāngir [q. v.] struck coins bearing his own effigy, and even ventured to outrage Muslim sentiment so far as to represent himself as holding a wine-cup in his hand.

Bibliography: The chief sources of information are given in K. A. Inostrantsev and J. I. Smirnov, *Materiali dlia bibliographie musulmanskoie archeologie*, St. Petersburg 1904; A. Creswell, *A Provisional bibliography of painting in Muḥammadan art*, London 1921; W. Björkman and E. Kühnel, *Kritische Bibliographie, Islamische Kunst 1914—1927*, (Isl., xvii.), Berlin 1928. — Later publications are T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928; A. Grohmann and T. W. Arnold, *Denkmäler islamischer Buchkunst*, Munich 1929. — The most comprehensive works are E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Berlin 1925, and E. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 2nd ed., Paris 1927. (T. W. ARNOLD)

AL-TASYİR (in the west: atazir, ataçir, athacir, directio, prorogatio, *ἄφεσις*, théorie aphétique) is a process used in astrology of artificial continuation of a planet or of an astrological house or any other definite part of the heavens to another star or its aspects, or other houses with the object of ascertaining the equatorial degree situated between these two places, the figure of which is used, by converting it into a definite period of time, to prognosticate the date of a future happening, either good or evil.

The astrological magnitude ascertained by this process played a very prominent part among the ancients as well as among the Arabs and in the west, for on the one hand it made possible a *judicium speciale* (i.e. definitely laid down the time of fulfilment of statements made in the *judicium generale* of a nativity about future good or ill fortune and in particular enabled the length of life to be calculated or the choice of particularly auspicious days [*al-ikhtiyār*] for beginning a journey, for holding weddings, for founding a city, for beginning a reign, etc.), and on the other was distinguished by special complexity in the method of its calculation.

The astronomical calculation of the arc of special importance for our task (we call it briefly the *tasyir* arc) is not particularly difficult if once the limits of the places in the heavens defining the arc, the "advancing" planet or place (*al-mutaqaddim*, *al-hailādī*, significator) and the "succeeding" or second (*al-thānī*, promissor) are ascertained. In fig. 1 (and 2) A is the significator, B the promissor, P the visible pole of the celestial sphere, NBS (NAS) the circle of the promissor (significator), C the intersection of the circle parallel to the circle of position drawn through A (B). The circles of declination drawn through A (B) and C cut out the *tasyir* arc ac (bc). The *tasyir* arc is thus the curve of the equator, which in general does not exceed 90°, which crosses over the circle of position during the period in which the significator (promissor) is transferred by the apparent daily revolution of the celestial sphere on its parallel circle to the circle of position of the promissor (significator) assumed to be fixed within this period (for further information on the conceptions that occur, see the article ASTROLOGY).

According to the respective positions of the significator and promissor, two kinds of *tasyir* are distinguished:

a. Direct *tasyir* (*directio directa*) when the significator precedes the promissor in the order of the signs of the zodiac. Here the significator is the place to be "directed", the promissor regarded as fixed (fig. 1).

b. Indirect *tasyir* (*directio conversa*) when the significator precedes the promissor in the order of the daily motion of the celestial sphere. In this case the promissor is moved to the circle of position of the significator which is assumed to be fixed.

A special form for application of the calculation of the *tasyir* (a kind of inversion of the process) was developed in choosing days in this way that the position of only one star was given and also a definite time or what is the same thing on account of the conversion of periods of time into degrees of the equator, a definite number of *tasyir* degrees. The problem is to find the degree which corresponds to the end point (the "goal") of the

tasyir arc. *Judicia* could then be deduced from the conjunction of planets occurring at this degree.

The mathematical calculation is a problem in spherical trigonometry and goes back to simple formulae with equinoctial time as the basis. In the equation $tasyir\ arc\ c = b\ a - b\ B' - B' c$ (fig. 1), the right side is known, for $b\ a =$ right ascension $B -$ right asc. A and the magnitudes $b\ B'$ and $B' c$ are found from the formulae:

$$I. \cos B' = \sin (\angle DSB') \cos SD.$$

$$II. \sin b\ B' = \tan B\ b \cotg B'.$$

$$III. \sin B' c = \tan c\ C \cotg B'.$$

The Arabs however used other approximative methods of calculation based on hours of mean time (*zamānīya*) which are given in the following formulae:

I. (According to al-Battānī, al-Birūnī etc.):

number of *tasyir* degrees:

$$= |\alpha \pm (\alpha - \beta)|.$$

$$\frac{\text{dist. } B \text{ from upper [lower] culm. point}}{\text{half day [night] arc } B},$$

where

$\alpha =$ right asc. $A -$ right asc. B ,

$\beta =$ obl. asc. $A -$ obl. asc. B .

The signs \pm before the round bracket depend on whether α is greater or less than β , the expression in the square brackets are used when B is below the horizon.

Special cases:

a. B in the meridian: *tasyir* =

|right asc. $A -$ right asc. B |.

b. B in the horizon: *tasyir* =

|obl. asc. $A -$ obl. asc. B |.

II. (Second rule of al-Battānī):

Number of *tasyir* degrees =

$$= |\text{dist. } B \text{ from upper [lower] culmin. point} \times \text{half day [night] arc } A \pm \text{(right asc. } A - \text{right asc. of the upper [lower] culm. point)}|,$$

where the — before the round bracket is for the case when A and B belong to the same hemisphere, the + when A and B belong to different hemispheres. The expressions in the square brackets are used for the western hemisphere or for the case when the lower meridian lies between A and B .

In both cases the total result is positive in direct and negative in indirect *tasyir*. For indirect *tasyir* B and A in the above formulae are to be interchanged. The number of degrees in the *tasyir* arc thus obtained was converted into a period of time in this way: if it was a question of length of life for example, 1° was equated to a solar year, 5' = 1 month, 1' = 6 days, in other cases 1° = 1 day.

The difficulty, continually emphasised by the Arabs, of calculating a *tasyir* is on the one hand due to the regard paid to astrological demands and on the other particularly to the amount of separate necessary astronomical calculations and measurements, which it would take too much time to detail here fully. The necessary knowledge of the different methods for accurately calculating the time of birth and the astronomical significance of the different times of being born, of the different houses of the heavens of the signs of the zodiac, of the seven planets and their aspects, of the most important fixed stars, first in themselves,

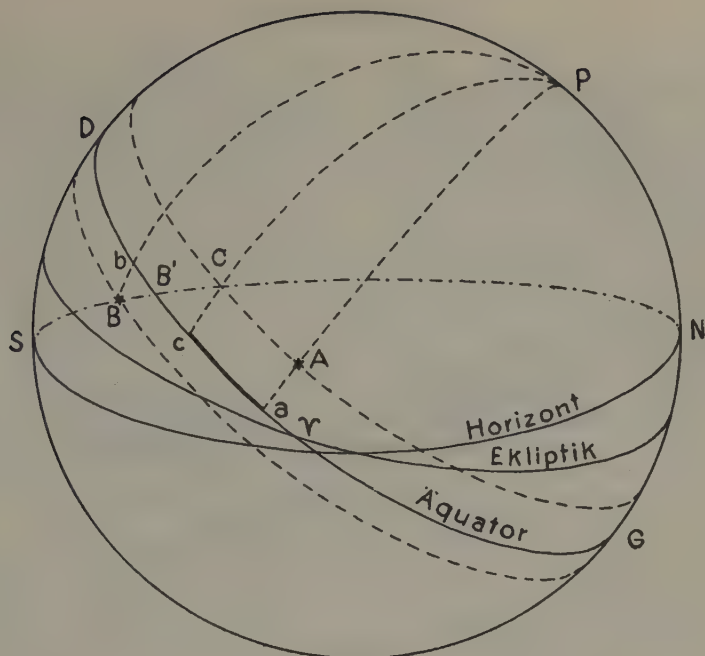


Fig. 1

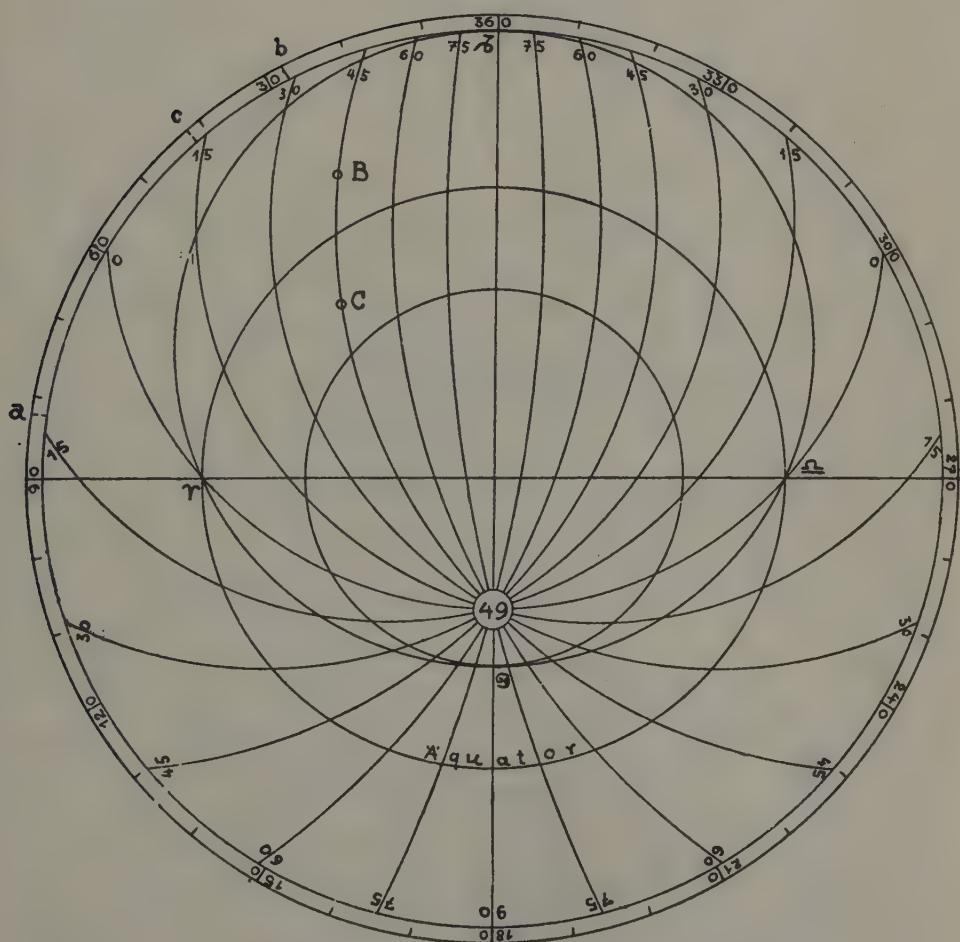


Fig. 3

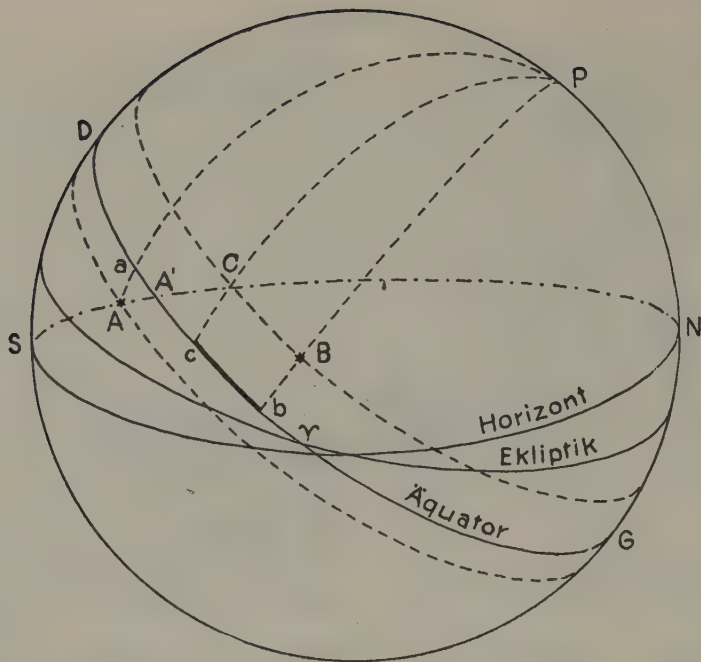


Fig. 2

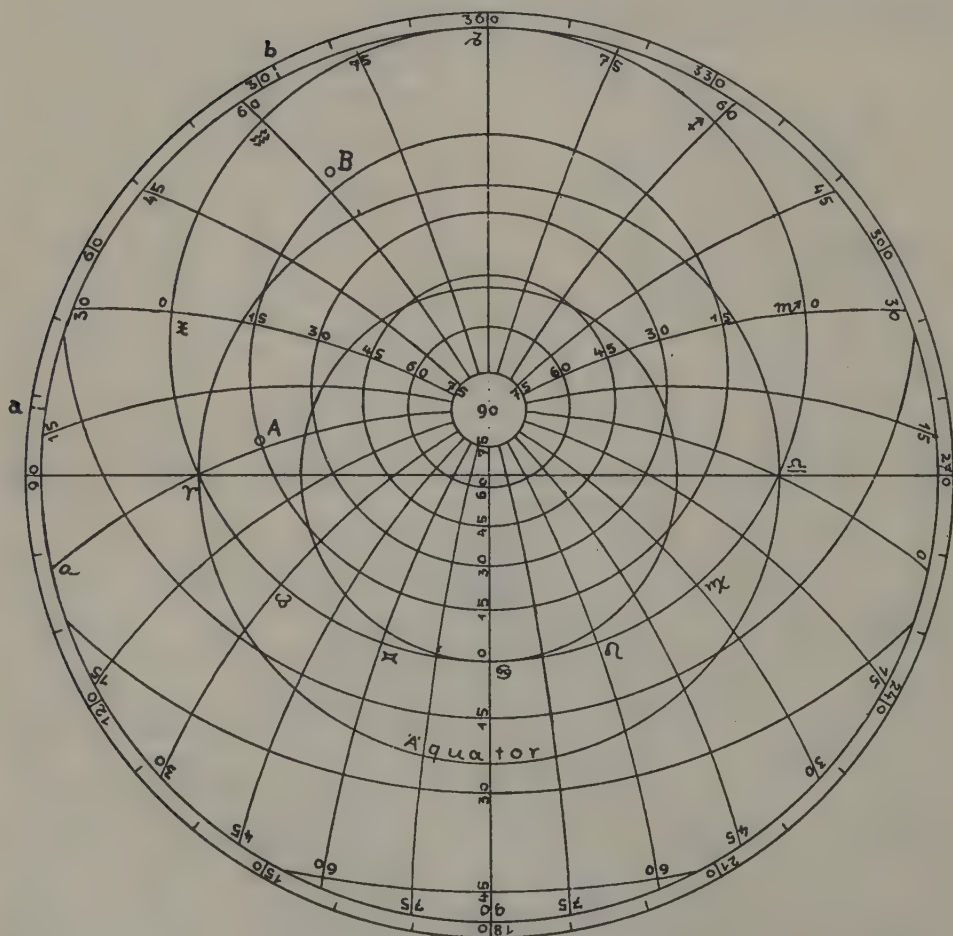


Fig. 4

then with respect to one another and with regard to their special positions (house, degree of elevation, triplicity, injury, fall) taking into consideration the very many rules for the strength, weakness or moderation, the beneficial or dangerous influence of the various planets and their aspects, of the houses and the arrow of fortune (*sahm al-sa'ada*), the calculation of larger, smaller or medium numbers of years for length of life according to the position of the influential planets, the choice of a lord of birth and of the horoscope after definite rules (ascendant, *al-fāl*), of an interpreter of life (significator), of a foreteller of death or misfortune (promissor), of a giver of years (*al-kadhudā*), the knowledge of the great, little or medium effect of definite direction, of auspicious or inauspicious directions and other things, demanded a perfect command of the astrological knowledge of the period. In addition, considerable skill in the carrying out of the necessary astronomical calculations was necessary, the reduction of the time to the meridian on which the Ephemerid tables were based; the longitude, latitude and declination of the most important fixed stars, the planets and their aspects and the application of their values to the time of birth, the astrological houses in the heavens and the signs of the zodiac and planets in them; the arrow of fortune, the circles of position of significator and promissor etc. Simply for the calculation of the curve of the tasyir after ascertaining its termini there are necessary: right asc. of *A* and *B*, their distance from the meridian, their declination and half-day or half-night curve, the elevation of the pole over the circle of position (distance of the intersection of circle of position and equator from the meridian).

To simplify the long and tiresome process and to carry out an observation without calculation the Arabs used mechanical (nomographic) aids either single planes ("plane of the tasyir" in al-Birūnī) which were placed in the astrolabe or a special instrument ("estruento del leuamamiento" in Alfonso X of Castile) which was mainly used to obtain the tasyir but also facilitated other calculations. The essential part of this instrument was a plane which contained on the front the projections of as many circles of position as possible or of hours for the latitude of the point of observation concerned (it is the same plane as the plane of the tasyir in al-Birūnī; cf. fig. 3) and on the back the projections of the circles of longitude and latitude according to the system of the ecliptic (fig. 4). On the axis of the instrument, common to the two sides, was an undivided alhidade with two movable pointers placed as required on the front or back and kept in position by a fastener ("cavallo", *al-faras*). On the back could also be put the net ("spider") with the projections of different positions of fixed stars which is made exactly as in the astrolabe.

The mechanical calculation of the tasyir curve was carried out as follows when latitude and longitude of the places in the heavens *A* and *B* (cf. fig. 1, 3 and 4) were known:

1. Place the moveable pointer of the alhidade on the place *B* on the back, read the degree of the equator δ to which the alhidade now points.
2. Move the alhidade to the front, place it on the degree of the equator δ , ascertain the circle of position (from *B*) on which the moveable pointer falls.

3. Place the moveable pointer at the place *A* on the back, read the degree of the equator α .

4. Move the alhidade to the front, place it on the degree of the equator α , turn the alhidade until the pointer running through the parallel circle from *A* points to the circle of position of *B* (in *C*).

5. Read the degree of the equator *C* through which the alhidade now points: the curve *ac* is the tasyir curve desired.

Works in Arabic on the *tasyir* or the plane of the tasyir were composed by Muḥammad b. 'Omar b. Farrūkhān (H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber* etc., *Abhdlg. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, xlv., Heft 10, 1900, N^o. 34); al-Battānī (Suter, N^o. 89); Abū Dja'far al-Khāzin (Suter, N^o. 124); al-Birūnī (Suter, N^o. 218). But the complete astrological works of the former have not survived. The "Book of the Ataḡir" in the astronomical works of Alfonso X is by Rabi Ḥag de Toledo (Isaak ibn Sid), the editor of the Alfonsine Tables, but seems to be merely a translation of an Arabic original.

In the "History of Scholars" by Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭī the following astronomers are honorably mentioned for their particular ability in calculating the *tasyir*: al-Ḥasan b. Miṣbāḥ (p. 163); al-Marwazī (p. 170, Suter, N^o. 22); al-Khāḳānī, (p. 181, Suter, N^o. 206); Sind b. 'Alī (p. 206, Suter, N^o. 24); al-'Abbās b. Sa'īd al-Djāwharī (p. 219, Suter, N^o. 21); Ibn Yūnus (p. 203, Suter, N^o. 178); Ibn al-A'lam (S. 235, Suter, N^o. 137); Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī (p. 270, Suter, N^o. 1); Muḥ. b. Khālid al-Marwālrūdī (p. 281, Suter, N^o. 46); Yahyā b. Abī Maṣṣūr (p. 357, Suter, N^o. 14); Yahyā b. Sahl al-Sadīd Abū Bishr al-Takrītī (p. 365); Abū 'l-Faḍl b. Yāmin (p. 426).

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(O. SCHIRMER)

TĀT (TAT), a Turkish word, meaning "the foreign elements included in the lands of the Turks" (Thomsen).

1. The term has a rather complicated history. Its occurrence in the Orkhon inscriptions (viiith century) was first noticed by Vambéry (*Noten zu d. alttürk. Inschriften Mém. Soc. Finno-Ougr.*, xii., Helsingfors 1899, p. 88—89). Thomsen (*Turcica, ibid.*, xxxvii., 1916, p. 15) proposed to translate the words on *ok oghliṇa tatina tūgi*, "up to the sons of the Ten Arrows (= The Western Turks) and their *tāt* (= their subjects of foreign origin)". Thomsen passes over the question of the origin of the name in which (**tāt*) Korsch thought he could recognise a contraction of the name *Tangut*

(*Slovo "baldak" i dolgota v turetskikh yazykakh*, *Zivaya Starina*, 1909, fasc. ii—iii., p. 156—161). For the history of the name Tāt there may be some importance in the name *Tagat*, *Tangat*, *Taut*, which the Woguls and the Ostiaks give to the river Irtysh; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 499.

According to the *Diwān Lughat al-Turk* (466 = 1075), ii. 224, the word *tat* (sic!) means the Persians (*al-Fārisiyyu*) among all the Turks; more particularly among the Yaghma and Tukhsi tribes the term refers to the Uighur. In both cases *tat* has a contemptuous sense as is evident from the proverbs: "grasp the thorn by the root and strike the Tat in the eye", "but for the Tat there would be no Turk, just as but for the head there would be no hat (to cover it)".

Later in the language of the conquering Turks the word Tat became especially associated with the conquered Persians. Even Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in his Turkish poems (Gibb, *A. Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 150 and especially Martinović, *Zap.*, xxiv. 1917, p. 221) uses the terms *taṭ* (sic!), *taṭ-dja* for the Persians and their language. In a curious passage, (already noticed by Khanykov), Pietro della Valle, French transl. 1663, ii. 468—469 who uses the current phraseology of the Ṣafawid period contrasts the Kizil-bash [q. v.] "a certain race of men who were introduced... with the King Ismā'īl Sofi" with the Tat "the dregs of the populace but descended in a direct line from the true old stock of the Persians". The Turkish tribe of *Kashka'i* (in Fārs) also uses the word Tat in the sense of "non-Turk"; cf. Romaskevič, *Pesni kashkaitsev*, *Sborn. muzeya Anthropol. pri Akademii nauk*, v. ii., p. 587. The Turkish speaking followers of the religion of the Ahl-i Hakḳ in Aḥḥarbaīdjan also seem to use the word Tat with the meaning which it must have had in the mouths of their presumed ancestors, the Kara-Ḳoyunlu Turcomans; cf. Minorsky, *R. M.*, XLV., p. 242; cf. the article MĀKŪ.

The Turcomans of the Transcaspiian territory give the name Tat to the Iranian Tādjiks; formerly, according to Samoilovič, they gave the name to the people of Khiwa. [Is this a memory of the old Iranian population of *Khvārizm*? Cf. now A. Z. Walidi, *Hwarezmische Sätze*, *Islamica*, iii/ii. 1927, p. 190—213].

The term Tat has however been applied to other ethnic elements. Schildberger (1394—1427) tells us that the "infidels" give the name "That" to the inhabitants of Karckeri (probably Kırk-yer = Čifut-ka'fa in the mountains S. W. of the Crimea). In another passage he says that one of the languages spoken in the Crimea is called Kuthia and that the "infidels" call it Tat ("die siebent sprauch heisst Kuthia sprauch und he haiden haissen That"). From this it is evident that the name That in the language of the Muḥammadans of the Kıpčak of the xvth century was applied to the Goths of the Taurus (whose kingdom was destroyed by the Ottomans in 1475).

Later, beginning with the yarllık of Djani-beg Girāy, dated 1037 (1628) (cf. Veliāminov-Zernov, *Material' dlia istorii Krim. khantsva*, St. Petersburg 1864, p. 26), we find in the title of the Khāns of the Crimea, the official reference *tāt bila Ṭawgādji-niñ uluḡh pādshāhī*. Budagov, *Slovar*, i. 329, explains *tāt* here as the Genoese without giving reasons (the meaning of *Ṭawgādji* in the title is still quite obscure). At the present day the Noghai Tatars of the northern Crimea give the name Tat to all

the Muḥammadans of the southern coast of the Peninsula, who represent a mixture of nationalities that have become turkicised (personal information from Samoilovič); cf. also Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, iii., col. 899, sub 5^b.

It may be also mentioned here that a section of the "Greeks" (i. e. Orthodox) settled at Marioupol in 1778 is called Tat. These Tat migrated from the south coast of the Crimea and speak a Greek dialect. The name Tat is, however, not applied to the other section of the "Greeks of Marioupol" who speak Turkish (which they write in Greek characters) and who seem to be the true descendants of the Goths of Tauris. Cf. Grigorowitsch-Blau, *Über die griechisch-türkische Mischbevölkerung in Mariupol*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxviii., 1874, p. 576—583 and *ibid.*, p. 562—576; Tomaschek, *Die Gothen in Taurien*, Vienna 1881, p. 5, 48; Th. Braun, *Mariupolskiye Greki*, *Zivaya Starina*, St. Petersburg, 1/ii. 1890, p. 78—92.

According to Tomaschek, *o. c.*, p. 45, the Magyars call the Slovaks Tót (<*Tat?).

The primary meaning of the word Tat (= "non-Turk, foreigner") is given in the Ćaghatai-Ottoman dictionary of Shaikh Sulaimān Efendi (ed. Kunos, p. 184): "nations that have passed under the rule of the Turks, e. g. the Tāčik". [On p. 179 however, the author says that the people of foreign origin who speak Turkish are called Tat and those who speak Persian are called Tādjik. In this connection may be noted the statement of Zakī Walidī, according to which the term Tat was applied in Turkeṣtān (in the xivth century?) to all the settled elements of the population, including the Turks settled in the country before the coming of the Mongols]. Aḥmed Wefik, *Lehçe-yi 'Othmāni*, Stambul 1306, p. 286, whose interpretation of the word seems to be influenced by local Ottoman conditions says, "the former Kurd (sic!) and Persian inhabitants of the provinces subjected to Turkish rule". Barbier de Meynard in his *Dictionary* adopted Aḥmed Wefik's explanation, but thought it applied to Turkeṣtān.

The Ćaghatai dictionaries also give the secondary meanings of the word *tat*: "the class of subjected people living outside the town" (cf. above Zakī Walidī), "vagabond" etc. Cf. Veliāminov-Zernov, *Slovar' djaġhatai-turetskii* ["Abushka"], St. Petersburg 1868; Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turc oriental*, 1870, p. 194; Radloff, *Versuch*, iii., col. 899, sub 5c and d. Melioransky, however, who has specially studied the word Tat, *Zap.*, xii., 1899, p. 0154—0158, has shown that the examples of these meanings taken from the works of Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i are very doubtful.

2. In a special and evidently secondary sense the term Tat is applied to certain Iranian peoples whom the Persians themselves regarded as distinct from them. These Tāt groups are found in Persia and in Transcaucasia.

A. In northern Persia, there are little islands of people speaking their own dialects. The "southern" dialects of Fārs are called Tādjiki among the Persians [only the *Kashka'i* Turks use the term Tāt in Fārs, cf. above]. Even as applied to people speaking northern dialects the term Tāt is only used in Persian for certain dialects of the Northwest. It has not yet been found for example in the region of Kāshān.

The most important group of the Tāt is found to the west and south-west of Ḳazwīn; the Tāt

live in the villages of Ishtihard, Cāl, Ispīawarin Isfārwārin, Shādman, Sāgzi-ābād, Ibrāhīm-ābād, Khiyārak, Danesfān, Siyādāhūn. This last-named town at the bifurcation of the roads from Qazwin to Hamadān and Zandjān has 2,000 houses. The Tāt population is not distinguished externally from the other peasants of the country round Qazwin. The "Tāti" dialects spoken in Persia are very little known. The dialect of Siyādāhūn is, like those of the region of Kāshān and Isfahān, studied by Žukovsky and O. Mann. Here are a few characteristic words: *āspā*, "dog", *bār*, "gate", *sō* "three", *āz mizānā*, "I know", *āmā mizānū*, "we know", *au ādamīn hāmā mizānīndū*, "these men all know", *bishkas* "look"! *tā mugo kū shī*, "where do you want to go?". Žukovsky, *Materialia izu. pers. narčii*, i., p. 9, gives also a few glossaries in the language of Ashtehārd (= Ishtihard). Cf. also the notes by Brugsch, *Reise*, i. 337, on the dialect of Kūshkā (on the Tīhrān-Hamadān road). It is possible that this group of dialects may be connected with the so-called "pure Pahlavi" which, according to the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 62, was spoken in the xivth century in Zandjān.

According to Rabino, *Le Guilan*, R. M. M., xxxii., p. 210, Tāti is spoken in the district of Rustamābād on the left bank of the Safid-rūd where Tālīshi and Kurd are also spoken. The same author, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, G. M. S., 1928, p. 63 and 70, mentions the existence of Tāt at Ashraf and Sadan-Rustāk. Nothing is known of their language. In Ādharbāidjān, there is the little island of Tāt of Hārzan (between Marand and Djulfā). Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i., p. 186-187 gives the following words from the dialect of Gālin-kaya: *dē*, two; *hārū*, three; *isba*, dog; *ospa bindor*, the horses are yoked. In the dialect of the village of Hārzan, (information supplied by Muḥammad Khān Qazwīnī) they say *izī*, "here", *emrū*, "to-day", *zīr*, "yesterday", *āndjōmānūy*, "the Andjūmans". The forms *āmērē*, *bērēnd*, *shērīndū*, which correspond in Persian to *āmādū*, *būdānd* and *shudānd* are particularly interesting on account of the regular change of intervocalic *d* (*dh*) to *r* (cf. below). The dialect of Hārzan is quite different from the Tāti of Siyādāhūn. The existence of still undiscovered islands of Tāti in Ādharbāidjān is possible. In his article on the gipsies [cf. LÜLI] Father Anastase mentions vaguely a tribe of Tāt in the "Uski" mountains (read Uskū, Uskūya south of Tabriz). The dialect of Kilid (on the left bank of the Araxes, near Ordubād), which has now disappeared, may also have belonged to the Tāti group of Ādharbāidjān. Cf. Paskhalov, *Kilit*, in *Sborn. mater. dlia opisaniya Kawkaza*, Tiflis, xiii., 1892, p. 334-343).

B. In the Caucasus the term Tāt is applied to the Iranian Muslim peoples speaking the Tāti dialect. This peculiar dialect is also spoken by several other communities, Jewish and Armenian. Besides these three principal divisions, the dialect has several varieties not yet clearly distinguished.

The Tāti of the Caucasus is mainly known from the works of Vsevolod F. Miller. Its most characteristic feature is its rhotacism (*bīrān* = Pers. *būdān*; *yār* = Pers. *yād*) on which cf. above. The following table gives an idea of some other peculiarities of Tāti:

Tāti	Persian	Northern Dialects
<i>dan-</i> (to know)	<i>dan-</i>	Kurd <i>zan</i>
<i>gūl</i> (flower)	<i>gul</i>	Simnani <i>vāl</i>
<i>vārř/vühr</i> (snow)	<i>bārř</i>	Kurd <i>wařr</i> .

Tāti very rarely has *idāfat*: its place is taken by an original construction: *khuba khuna* = Pers. *khāna-yi khūb* etc. The dialect is rich in postpositions (*-rāvāz*, "with") and in gerundives: (*ēnin bū-birāni*, "things being so"). The vocabulary is full of Turkish loan-words. Like most Persian dialects, Tāti is not very regular in its characteristic features. Broadly speaking, it occupies a position intermediate between modern Persian and the Caspian dialects (where rhotacism is also found sporadically).

The Muslim Tāts who form the bulk of the people speaking Tāti, live in the districts of Bākū [q. v.], Qubba [q. v.], Shamākhi and Gök-čai. There are some in the province of Gandja and in southern Daghestān (the districts of Kaitak-Tabasarān immediately west of Darband; cf. Kozubsky, *Pamiat. knižka Dagestan. oblasti*, Temir-khān-shura, 1895, p. 314).

The majority of the Tāts live on the two slopes of the eastern extremity of the Caucasus range and the peninsula of Apsheron (Ābshārān) except its south-east point. On the ethnographic map of the Caucasus by Rittich (before 1877) the total number of Tāts is put at 64,656; Kondratenko's ethnographical map appended to vol. xviii of *Zapiski Kavk. Otd. Russ. Geogr. Otschē.* gives for the district of Bākū (in 1886): 58,621 Tāts. The *Great Russian Encyclopaedia*, vol. xxxii/ii., 1901 gives the total as 135,000. The Soviet census of 1923 gives 98,020 Tāts "by language" and 28,705 "by nationality". In the former are included 970 "Tāts" of the Transcaspians (i. e. the Tādjik whom the Turkomans call Tāt). In addition in the Soviet republic of Ādharbāidjān there are 11,000 individuals speaking "Fārsi" which must include some Tāts. In all we may say about 90,000 people speak Tāti. The decrease in the number of Tāts may be the result of their gradual turkicisation.

The Jews speaking Tāti (the "mountain Jews" in Turkish *Dagh-čufuzi*) numbered in 1886: 21,000, 10,000 in villages and 11,000 in towns. Their largest colonies were at Qubba (6,280), at Darband, Temir-khān-shura, Grozni, Nalčik (a Circassian district of Kabarda). They are also found on the Kuban [q. v.]. The dialect of these Jews is remarkable for its guttural articulation: in it we find *h*, 'ain, *ʔ* and *q*, even in purely Iranian words (*haʔd*, "seven", *asb*, "horse", *danūsda*, "know", *ʔar*, "wet"). V. F. Miller thus defines the character of Jewish Tāti: "It is an Iranian dialect, spoken with the Semitic articulation, the phonetics of which (in part) and the morphology (in part) have been formed on the Turkish model". As to articulation, it could be explained by the fact that these Jews had formerly spoken Arabic, or more simply by the proximity of the peoples of Daghestān who not only have the sounds 'ain and *hā* but have always cultivated a knowledge of Arabic, in which until quite recently, correspondence in Daghestān was conducted. For the rest, the Muslim Tāts also have the sounds 'ain and *hā*. The influence of Turkish on Tāti is in any case not to be exaggerated. The morphological phenomena and even the vocalic assimilation in the syllables of the same word discovered by V. F. Miller have purely Persian parallels. Iranian influence on these Jews is not confined to language; Jewish folklore reflects it also (*sār-āvi*, "spirit of the waters", *āzdāhāy-mār* "dragon" etc.).

The Tāti of the Armenians (the little town of Matrasi [Madrasa], Kilvāl etc.) is marked by the

simplification of vowel sounds ($\delta > a$) and by the aspired character of certain consonants.

The Tāts of the Caucasus are at the present day entirely surrounded by Turkish and Daghestān peoples. Their present habitats must always have been separated from the main body of Iranians. Their geographical distribution along the eastern chain of the Caucasus with an out-thrust to Darband seems to suggest the idea, which decided their settlement in these regions, namely the desire to reinforce the natural line of defence by Iranian colonies to meet invasions from the north. It would be tempting to recognise in the Tāt remains of ancient colonies transplanted to Daghestān in the period when the Sāsānians were fortifying Darband. According to Balādhuri, p. 194, Anūshirwān (531—579) had settled the region of Darband-Shābirān [cf. SHIRWĀN] with people from Sisakan (*al-siyāsīdjin*). This last province was situated on the left bank of the Araxes (practically the district of Nakhčuwān with the surrounding mountains) immediately north of Ādharbāidjān. The people of Sisakan were Christians, but from the political and linguistic point of view held a special position in the kingdom of Armenia. In 571, they begged the Sāsānian king to detach their province from Armenia and include it in Ādharbāidjān; cf. Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, p. 120—122, Hübschmann, *Die altarmen. Ortsnamen*, *Indog. Forschungen*, xvi., 1904, p. 263—266, 347—349. The late *Darband-nāma*. ed. Kazem-beg, *Mém. présentés à l'Académie des Sciences par divers savants*, vi., St. Petersburg 1851, p. 461, says. Anūshirwān peopled the new towns in the vicinity of Darband with people from Ādharbāidjān and Fārs and the towns to the south of Darband (the region of Shābaran-Mashkūr; cf. the word KUBBA) with people from the Irāk and Fārs. According to the same source (p. 530) however, the fortresses around Darband were re-built under the 'Abbāsīd al-Mansūr (754—775) and on this occasion Arabs from Mawṣil and Syria were placed in them. Among the places fortified are especially mentioned Muṭā'ī, Kamākhi, etc. which at the present day are inhabited by Tāts. It might be concluded from this that the presence of Tāts at Muṭā'ī etc. represents a migration later than the eighth century, but the text of the *Darband-nāma*, the original Persian of which has not yet been found (cf. Barthold, in *Iran*, i., Leningrad, 1926, p. 42—58) is not certain (according to Klaproth's version, three hundred families settled in Muṭā'ī came from Tabasaran!). The historical sources at our disposal thus only reveal the ethnical complexity of the colonies established in Darband. On the other hand, Tāti in its general characteristics is a modern dialect which (apart from rhotacism) does not show any special traces of antiquity such as might be expected if it had long been isolated. The question of the Tāti Jewish dialect is only a subsidiary one, the Jews even if they had been in Daghestān before the coming of the Tāts (cf. Miller, 1892, Introduction) may have adopted Tāti in place of their old language (Arabic?).

As to the affinities of Tāti the rhotacism of its dialects has analogies in the Iranian islands of Persian Ādharbāidjān at the present day. For the region of Ardabil, we have examples from the 15th century (Ahmad Kisrawī *Ādhari, Zabān-i bāstān-i Ādharbāidjān*, Tihirān, 1304 [1927]). The early borrowings made by Armenian from

Iranian (*Mar* < *Māda*; *sparapet* < *spādapat*) also suggest the existence at a very early date of this peculiarity among the Iranian neighbours of the Armenians (Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, p. 174, note 6; Bartholomae, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, Suppl. to vol. xix., 1906, p. 43, note 1). The other curious feature is the name of the town of Lāhidj inhabited by Tāts (at the sources of the Gök-čai) and perhaps mentioned in the Georgian *Chronicle*, Brosset, I, p. 364, under the year 1120 (Lidatha or Laidjk). The inhabitants themselves believe they came from Lāhidjān [q. v.]. The investigation conducted on the spot by V. F. Miller in 1928 has shown that the dialect of Lāhidj has certain special features. It is possible that some colonies of Tāts were settled in Transcaucasia later than others and that the dialect of the principal group exercised a levelling influence on the neighbouring dialects (according to the *Gulistān-i Iram*, of Bāki-Khanov, Bākū 1928, p. 14, the people of Miskindja in the district of Samur came from Astrābād in the time of Tahmāsp I).

Bibliography: Bérézine, *Recherches sur les dial. persans*, Kazan 1853, p. 2—24 (grammar of Tāti); on Dorn's Materials see his *Caspī*, Russian edition, St. Petersburg 1875, p. xli. 203, 353, 493 and especially Miller, 1907 (quoted below); Vsevolod F. Miller, *Materialy dlia izučeniya yewreisko-tatskago yazika*, St. Petersburg 1892 (bibliography [30 articles in Russian], introduction, text [8 histories], vocabulary); *Armiano-tatskiye teksty*, *Sbornik materialov dlia opisaniya Kavkaza*, Tiflis 1894, vol. xx./2, p. 25—32; Geiger, *Die kaspischen Dialecte*, *Grund. d. iran. Phil.*, i./2, p. 345—373 (passim; very meagre); V. F. Miller, *Očerki fonetiki yewr.-tat. narečiya, Trudy po vostok. Lazar. Instituta*, fasc. iii., Moscow 1900; do., *Očerki morfologii yewr.-tat. nareč.*, *ibid.*, fasc. vii., 1901; do., *Tatskiye etudy*, part i., *ibid.*, fasc. xxiv., 1905 (p. 1—29: 11 histories in the dialect of the Muslim Tats of Lāhidj; p. 33—79: Tāti-Russian vocabulary); part ii., *ibid.*, fasc. xxvi., 1907 (grammar); do., *Yewr.-tat. ma'ni, Zap.*, 1913, xxi., fasc. iv., 0017—0029; Korsch, *Sludy dialect. rhotacisma v srednepers. yazike, Drevnosti vostok.*, ii./3, Moscow 1903, p. 1—10. On the Tats of the Caucasus cf. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*, Leipzig 1887, p. 220; Kowalewski, *O yuridičeskom bit'e Tatov, Izvestiya Obšč. Liubit. Yestestvoznaniya*, Moscow 1888, xlii., fasc. 2, p. 42—9. On Lāhidj cf. Mamed-Hasan Efendiev, in *Sborn. mater.*, xxix., Tiflis. — On the mountain Jews cf. Miller's bibliography and H. Rosenthal in *Jewish Encyclop.*, iii., 1902, p. 628—631; Kurdov, *Gorskije yewrei Daghestana, Russ. antropol. journal*, Moscow 1905, fasc. 3 and 4, p. 57—88; do., *Gorsk. yewrei Šemakh uyezda, ibid.*, 1912, fasc. 2 and 3, p. 87—100; do., *Tat Daghestana, ibid.*, 1907, fasc. 3—4, p. 56—66 (the author shows that from the anthropological point of view the Tats of the 7 villages west of Darband, are very different from the Tats of Bākū and from the Persian, and more closely related to the Turks).

(V. MINORSKY)

TATAR, written Tātār, Tatār and Tatar, the name of a people the significance of which varies in different periods. Two Tatar groups of tribes, the "thirty Tatars" and the "nine Tatars", are mentioned in the Turkish Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century A. D. As Thomsen (*Inscriptions*

de l'Orkhon, Helsingfors 1896; p. 140) supposes, even at this date the name was applied to the Mongols or a section of them but not to a Turkish people; according to Thomsen, these Tatars lived southwest of Baikal roughly as far as Kerulen. With the foundation of the empire of the Kitai [see *QARA KHITAI*] the Turks were driven out of modern Mongolia and Mongol tribes took their place. The district of Ütükan, continually mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions as the dwelling-place of the Turks, lay, according to Mahmūd Kashghārī (i. 123) in his time (second half of the v^{th} = x^{th} century), in the land of the Tatars. That the language of the Tatars was different from Turkish was known to Mahmūd Kashghārī (*op. cit.*, i. 30). A number of Tatar clans had joined with Turkish peoples and moved farther westwards. In the anonymous *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (cf. *Zap.*, x. 121 sqq.) the Tatars are described as a part of the Tughuzghuz [cf. GHUZZ] (cf. W. Barthold, *Otchet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 34), by Gardizi (*op. cit.*, p. 82 sq.) as part of the Kimāk [q.v.] on the Irīsh [q.v.]. In the anonymous *Mudjmil al-Tawārīkh* (c. 520 = 1126), in the list of titles of rulers (in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 20), is given a Tatar ruler *Simūn buyūy* (or *būwī*?) *djāyār*, nowhere else mentioned. In the reports of the campaigns of Sultān Muḥammad b. Takash [see *KH'WĀRİZM-SHĀH*] against the Kıpçak [q.v.] is mentioned a campaign by him in 615 (1218-1219) against Kadīr Khān, son of the Tatar Yūsuf (*Tabakat-i Nāsiri*, transl. Raverty, 1881, i. 267).

In the accounts of the Mongol conquests of the $viii^{th}$ (xiii th) century the conquerors are everywhere (in China, in the Muslim world, in Russia and Western Europe) called Tatars (Chin. *Ta-ta*); the same name is given in Ibn al-Aṭhīr (ed. Tornberg, xii. 178 sq., 236 sq.) to the predecessors of Čingiz Khān, the Naiman under Küčlük [see *QARA KHITAI*]; according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr (*op. cit.*, p. 237), these were the "first Tatars" (*al-Tatar al-ūlā*). Rashīd al-Dīn, who apparently knew nothing of the use and dissemination of the word Tatar before the Mongol period, speaks of the Tatars as if they were a separate people distinct from the Mongols, whose main centre had been the country on the Buir Nor (S. E. of Kerulen). After the conquests of Čingiz Khān many of the people subdued by him had, says Rashīd al-Dīn, adopted the name "Moghūl" (Mongol); the Tatars previously had been equally powerful; many peoples had been so called; therefore "in Khitai, Hindūstān, Čin, Māčīn, among the Kirghiz, in Kelār (Poland), Bāshkird (Hungary), in the steppes (*dash*) of Kıpçak, in the northern lands among the Beduins, in Syria, Egypt and in the Maghrib, all the Turkish peoples are to this day called Tātār" (text in *Trudi. Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, vii. 64).

The peoples of Mongol origin and language had apparently always called themselves Tatar. After the time of Čingiz Khān, this word was completely supplanted in Mongolia and Central Asia by the word "Mongol" (in Muslim manuscripts *Moghul* or *Moghūl* and in the every day language of the descendants of the Mongols in Afghānistān, who have kept their language to the present day, *Moghul*), officially introduced by Čingiz Khān. In the most western parts of the Mongol empire, the word Mongol never became predominant, although it was also introduced there officially,

as we know from European travellers (John of Pian de Carpinī and William of Rubruck; *Hakl. Soc.*, 1905, Index s.v. Mongol and Tartar). The people of the kingdom of the Golden Horde [see *BĀTŪ KHĀN* and *BERKE*] and of the later minor kingdoms in the same region are always called "Tatar". As the many documents preserved in the Public Library in Leningrad show, the Turkish speaking peoples of the Crimea were not only called "Tatar" by the Ottomans (as by the Russians) but also called themselves Tatars.

A Mongol force had been transferred to Asia Minor at the time of the conquest. Their descendants (who no doubt became turkicised) were called "Black Tatars" (*Qara Tatar*); at the time of Timūr's campaign they were leading a nomadic life in the country between Amasia [q.v.] and Kaīsariya [q.v.]; they numbered 30-40,000 families (*Zafar-nāma*, Ind. edition, Calcutta 1888, ii., p. 502 sq.). Timūr had these "Tatars" deported to Central Asia, according to Ibn 'Arabshāh (ed. Manger, ii. 338), on the advice of Sultān Bāyazīd; there they were allotted dwelling-places in Kashghār on an island (which now no longer exists) in Lake Issik-Kul [q.v.] and in Kh'wārizm; a section of them succeeded in escaping to the lands of the Golden Horde. After Timūr's death, the Black Tatars returned to Asia Minor; in 1419 they (or a part of them) were deported to the Balkans and settled west of Philippopolis; the town of Tatar-Pazardjik takes its name from them (J. von Hammer, *GOR*², Pesth 1834, i. 292).

Later in Russia and in Western Europe we frequently find the name Tatars applied to all the Turkish peoples with the exception of the Ottomans; this use of the word is still found in Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1884, passim. After the example of the Chinese, the name has been extended to the Mongols also and especially to the Manchus (cf. the "Tatar town" in Peking). As the name of a particular people, the word Tatars is used only for the Turkish speaking people of the Volga basin from Kazan to Astrakhan, the Crimea, and a part of Siberia; in the printed list (*spisok*) of the year 1927 of the peoples of the Union of Soviets, the Tatars in the Crimea, the Tatars of the Volga, the Tatars of Kasimow [q.v.] and the Tatars of Tobolsk are therefore given as separate peoples, in addition to the Tatars of White Russia whose ancestors were deported to Poland as prisoners from the Crimea. They have adopted the language of the White Russians but have remained faithful to Islām. The name "Tatar" is now rejected by the people of the Crimea. The Turkish speaking people of Astrakhan according to the most recent investigation belong to the Noghai stock. In the central course of the Volga also the "Tatars" are usually given this name by their Christian fellow-countrymen, the "Kryashen" (from the Russian *kreshcheniy* "baptised") (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii. 101 sqq.). They prefer to call themselves "Muslims" rather than "Tatars" which was more fitting their heathen ancestors, just as the Ottomans have for long preferred not to be called "Turks". Even in the last year before the Revolution when the principle of nationality had already come to the front it was disputed whether they should be called "Turks" or "Tatars" (*M. I.*, i., 1912, p. 270 sqq.); the name "Tatars" has now prevailed; since 1920 there has existed an autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic with capital

Kazan [q. v.] and a population of 2,780,000 of whom rather less than half (1,306,292) are Tatars. Cf. the ethnographical survey (*očerķ*) by Prof. D. Zolotarev in the book of travels *Povolžye*, 1926, p. 99 sqq. (the figures are given on p. 123 and 126).
Bibliography: given in the article.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TAṬĪL a technical term used in dogmatics meaning the divesting of the conception of God of all attributes; see the article **TASHBĪH**.

TAWADDUD, the heroine of a story which is preserved in the *1001 Nights* as well as in an independent form. Tawaddud (as a personal name not found elsewhere in Arabic literature — however frequent it is as a *nomen verbi* — is of similar formation to *Tamannī*, *Tadjannī* and similar women's names) is the slave of a merchant who has fallen into poverty and, following her advice, offers her for sale to the caliph Hārūn to free him from his difficulties. Hārūn declares himself ready to pay the high price demanded on condition she shows by an examination that she possesses all the knowledge she claims. In the tests made by a number of learned men, including Ibrāhīm b. Saiyār al-Nazzām, Tawaddud answers all the questions put to her in the field of theological knowledge, astronomy, medicine and philosophy, solves all the riddles put to her and proves herself an expert in chess, backgammon and playing the lute; finally she in her turn puts questions to her examiners which they cannot answer and in this way she puts even the proud Nazzām to shame. When the caliph then asks her to beg a boon of him, she asks to be given back to her former master, which the caliph does and gives her a present besides, and makes her master one of his boon companions.

For the date of the story the name of al-Nazzām (d. 231 = 845—846), preserved in all versions even the Shī'a and Christian forms (see below), gives a *terminus post quem*, while the oldest Spanish version going back probably to the xiiith century gives a lower limit; but we shall hardly have to go beyond the xth or xith century. Several manuscripts which contain the story as an independent story give the name of the narrator but it is not always the same and his identity has so far not been established. The essential features for him are the questions and answers which take up most of the space; the story of Tawaddud only forms the framework which he fills out with these. Several motives, such as the magnanimity of the purchaser, are found in other stories of the *Arabian Nights* and outside this collection also; the didactic purpose however and the form in which the learned matter is conveyed, ally the story to the books of questions found among the Parsis, in the Christian east and European middle ages and in Arabic literature also. The Arabic books of questions are sometimes like the *Kitāb al-Tarbi' wa 'l-Tadwīr* of Djāhiz intelligible only to the learned, sometimes for popular instruction like the questions of 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, which have passed into other Muslim literatures. Tawaddud belongs to the latter group although the theological in the didactic part of the story is by no means so predominant as in the questions of 'Abd Allāh. A Shī'a version of Tawaddud is found in the Ḥasaniya of Abu 'l-Futuwwa popular in Persia in Malcolm's time.

A Christian version is the Spanish *Historia della donzella Theodor*, of which we still possess

an older form free from the Christian insertions of the later. The *Historia della donzella Theodor* — the manuscript in Madrid of the *Hikāyat al-Diāriya Ṭadur* already has this corruption of the name — was repeatedly reprinted as a chap-book down to the nineties of the last century, and in the Portuguese translation down to the first decade of the twentieth.

Bibliography: Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vii. 117 sq.; Horovitz, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lvii. 173 sqq.; Menendez, in *Homenaje Codera*, p. 483 sqq.; W. Suchier, *L'enfant sage* (*Gesellschaft für romanische Litteratur*, vol. XXIV); G. Heinrici, *Griechisch-byzantinische Gesprächsbücher* (*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, XXVIII); G. F. Pijper, *Het boek der duizend vragen*, Leyden 1924.

(J. HOROVITZ)

ṬAWĀF (A.) from *ṭāfa* with *bi* of place) encircling; in the language of ritual the running round or circumambulation of a sacred object, a stone, altar, etc. There are traces of the rite having existed among the Israelites, cf. especially Ps. xxvii. 6 (xxvii. 6, lxx.) and the ceremony of the feast of booths in the time of the Second Temple, where the altar is circumambulated once on the first six days and seven times on the seventh. The rite however was also found among Persians, Indians, Buddhists, Romans and others and is therefore very ancient. It played a very important part in the religious ceremonial of the ancient Arabs. We find the synonymous *dawār* (from *dāra*) also used. Thus Imru 'l-Qais, *Mu'allaka*, 63, compares the wild cows with young women in long trailing robes, who perform the circumambulation (*duwār*, a circumambulated idol like *dawār* in 'Antara 10, 2, if *diwār* is not to be read here). In Mecca the Ka'ba which enclosed the Black Stone sacred from very ancient times used to be circumambulated and Muhammad adopted this old custom when he established the rites of his religion and centred them round the Ka'ba. When, in the year 8, he made his victorious entry into his native town, he is said by Ibn Hishām, p. 820 and Tabarī, i. 1642 to have performed the ṭawāf riding on his camel, touching with his crooked staff the *rukn* (the eastern corner of the Ka'ba where the stone was). This was however something exceptional and according to Ibn Hishām, it was only shortly before his death at the "farewell pilgrimage" that he laid down the authoritative rules for the circumambulation. It may however be assumed with certainty that he observed ancient traditional forms ("handed down from Abraham": cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 51, 20) so that we can deduce from Muslim practice what the ancient pagan custom was; one feature of the latter was that the circumambulation had to be performed seven times in succession (cf. above on the feast of booths) the three first at a greater speed, beginning at the black stone and ending there and during the course keeping the Ka'ba on the right; one should make a special effort to kiss the stone or at least touch it. On the contrary, if Wellhausen is correct, it was an innovation that the ṭawāf which previously took place only at the 'umra [q. v.] was inserted by Muḥammad in the great ḥajj when the pilgrims visited Mecca. This suggestion is however disputed, cf. HADDJ, ii., p. 199^a where Sūra iii. 91 is quoted against it, but the expression *ḥajj al-bait* is hardly decisive,

since Muḥammad may have decided on the expansion of the rites of the ḥajj, when he conceived the verse, if the expression was not inserted in the text later. The following special courses are certainly Muslim innovations: the *ṭawāf al-taḥiyya* or *al-kudūm* (circumambulation of greeting or arrival) and the *ṭawāf al-wadā'* (circumambulation of departure, cf. Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 439) which are, it is worth noting, not obligatory. Of the old pagan customs, one at least was strictly forbidden by the Prophet, making the *ṭawāf* naked; see Sūra vii. 29; Ibn Hishām, p. 921; cf. Ibn Sa'd, iii/i. 6, 12, where there is a reference to a wooden object at the Ka'ba, where the heathen laid their clothes at the circumambulation. The pavement surrounding the Ka'ba on which the course was run is called *al-Maṭāf*. At the al-Ḥaṭīm wall (see ii. 585) they run close to the outer side of it, not as usual along the Ka'ba.

The *ṭawāf*, except for the special forms above mentioned, is strictly compulsory and therefore it became an important factor in Islam. It is therefore significant that the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, when the rule of the anti-caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair made the visits of the faithful to Mecca difficult, proclaimed that a *ṭawāf* around the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem would have the same value as that around the Ka'ba (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 35). The complete omission of this rite would have meant a serious gap in Muḥammadanism. But the innovation soon disappeared with its cause and in orthodox Islām any *ṭawāf* except that around the Ka'ba became more and more pointless. That the old ritual custom survived in the lower strata of Arab life is revealed in an interesting fashion by 'Udjaimi, who says the Beduins endeavoured to perform the *ṭawāf* not only around the graves of their ancestors but also around the tomb of Ibn al-'Abbās in Ṭā'if.

Bibliography: Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 1889, p. 321; Scheftelowitz, in *M.G.W.J.*, lxx. (1921), p. 118 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, p. 67, 74, 141; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het mekkaansche Feest*, p. 108; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Geistes*, 1910, p. 148, 150, 156 sq.; Azraqi, ed. Wüstenfeld, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i., *passim*; Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. (FR. BUHL)

TAWAKKUL, trust in God, is enjoined by the Qur'ān, but the *mutawakkilūn* whom God loves (iii. 153) do not form a special class of quietists like those known by the same designation in the iith and iiith centuries A.H. The doctrine of the latter, closely connected with that of *tawḥīd* [q. v.] and probably developed under Christian influence (cf. Matt. vi. 24—34), was sometimes carried in practice to such lengths that the comparison of the *mutawakkil* to a corpse in the hands of the washer who prepares it for burial (Kushairi, *Bāb al-Tawakkul*) seems quite appropriate. According to these zealots, *tawakkul* is directly opposed to every sort of *kasb* ("acquisition", personal initiative and action): how can a man seek to help himself if he really believes that God is the only Provider? The answer given by Kushairi, that a man's activity in making use of the means which God provides need not impair his inward trust in God's providence, indicates the line of advance by which the old ascetic school of Sūfism was left behind.

Bibliography: Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳuṭub*, ii. 2—38; Goldziher, *W. Z. K. M.*, xiii. 41—56; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 153 sqq.; R. Hartmann, *Kuschairis Darstellung des Sūfismus*, p. 25 sqq.; Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, book i., p. 900—991.

(R. A. NICHOLSON)

TAWAKKUL B. BAZZĀZ (Tūklī [?] b. Ismā'il), a darwīsh, author of the *Ṣifwat al-Ṣafā*, which is a biography of the grand Shaikh Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardabil (650—735 = 1252—1334), ancestor of the Ṣafawid dynasty. The book was written in 750 (1350) under the direction of Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn, son of Ṣafī al-Dīn, whom Tawakkul quotes as an authority. Later under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I the text of the work was revised by a certain Abū 'l-Fath Ḥusaini. The Persian text was published in Calcutta in 1329 (1911). The *Ṣifwat al-Ṣafā* is a work of considerable length, about 216,000 words. It is purely hagiological in form but the historical and geographical details, important as supplementing our knowledge of the history of N. W. Persia, are overlaid with the miraculous elements. In it we find for example specimens of the old Iranian dialect of Ādharbāidjān (xivth century). The *Ṣifwat al-Ṣafā* does for the grand Shaikh of Ardabil what the *Manūḳib al-'Arifin* of Afāki [q. v.] does for the grand masters of the Mawlawī order of Koniya. Like the history of Shāh Ismā'il (by Khwādja 'Abdullāh Murwārid [?]; cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1902, p. 170) the beginning of which was translated by E. D. Ross in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 249—340, the *Ṣifwat al-Ṣafā* is a valuable document for the study of the moral and religious factors in the great Ṣafawī movement out of which modern Persia arose. It enables us to watch the formation of the Ṣafawī "secret doctrine"; the belief in the sanctity of Ṣafī al-Dīn (of which historical orthodoxy has no doubt) later led to the extremist Shi'a doctrine, the aberrations of which are evident in the poems of Shāh Ismā'il himself [cf. KHAṬĀ'Ī].

Bibliography: Khanykov, *Lettre à M. Dorn*, *Mél. Asiat.*, 1852, i., p. 543—558; cf. do., *Sac d'Ardabil par les Géorgiens vers 1200*, *ibid.*, p. 580—583; Rieu, *Catal. Pers. MSS.*, p. 345—346; Horn, in *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii., p. 586; E. G. Browne, *Pers. Lit. in Modern Times*, p. 34—35, 38 (cf. E. G. Browne, *J. R. A. S.*, July 1921, p. 417).

(V. MINORSKY)

AL-TAW'AMĀN, the Twins, the constellation Gemini. According to al-Kazwīnī, it contains 18 stars and seven which do not belong to the figure, and represents two men with their heads to the N. E. and their feet to the S. W. The two bright stars in the head are also called *al-Dhira'* *al-mabsūṭa*, the outstretched arm, and form the seventh station of the moon; the two at the feet of the second twin form the station of the moon called *al-Han'a*. The whole constellation is also called *al-Djawwā*, like Orion; hence the name Ras algeuse for the star β (Pollux). In Ptolemy the stars now known as Castor and Pollux are called Apollo and Heracles, which become A v e l l a r and A b r a c a l e u s in the Latin translations of 'Alī's commentary on Ptolemy.

Bibliography: al-Kazwīnī, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 36; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, 1809, p. 150 sqq. (J. RUSKA)

TAWĀSHĪ, one of the many words used as a euphemism for eunuch. According to al-Makrīzī, the word is Turkish and was originally *tāwūshī*. The reference is clearly to the word which is *tapuğhī* in Ottoman Turkish and means "servant". The word has therefore undergone the same change of meaning as *kḥādim* [q. v.] and refers not to the physiological peculiarity of a eunuch — *kḥaṣyī* is used for this — but to a particular "servant", an official in a definite position which was usually filled by a eunuch. Thus we find the word in the language of administration in Egypt, where it means a military rank in the bodyguard (*kḥawāṣṣ*), *kḥādim* being also used alongside of it.

Bibliography: al-Makrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, transl. Quatremère, i/ii. (1840), p. 132, note 163; the Turkish Dictionaries and Brockelmann, *Mitteltürk. Wortschatz*, p. 195; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islām*, p. 332 sqq., esp. 334 and note 4; Wüstenfeld, *Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten*, p. 179.

(M. PLESSNER)

TAWBA (A.), repentance, originally meaning "return", is a verbal noun derived from *tāba*; the verb is often used in the Qur'ān, either absolutely or with *ilā*, of one who turns to God with repentance, and also with *alā* of God, who turns with forgiveness to the penitent, for He is *tawwāb raḥīm*, "very forgiving and merciful" (Qur'ān, iii. 35 sqq.). The validity of tawba depends on three things: 1. a conviction of sin, 2. remorse (*naḍam*), 3. a firm resolution to abstain from sin in the future (Ḡhazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, book iv., where the subject is discussed in detail; Qur'ān, iv. 21, 22; ix. 105; xlii. 24). If these conditions are fulfilled, God always accepts repentance, not from obligation (*wadḡūb*) as the Mu'tazilites hold, but in virtue of His eternal will; on the other hand "a deathbed repentance" is unavailing (Qur'ān, iv. 22). Sin being an offence against God, tawba is indispensable for salvation, though Aḥmad b. Hanbal and others deny this (Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, p. 666). The Ṣūfīs, rising above the legal notion of sin, attach a correspondingly higher significance to tawba. Amongst them the term denotes the spiritual conversion which is the necessary starting-point for those entering on the Path (*ṭarīqa*), and which is represented as an act of divine grace. In its most proposed sense tawba is not so much an acknowledgement and renunciation of sin as a new orientation of the entire personality, so that the penitent is wholly turned towards God. Any recollection of sin or thought of remorse is wrong; for to remember sin is to forget God, and self-consciousness is the greatest sin of all; hence, according to a well-known Tradition, the Prophet sought forgiveness of God seventy times a day.

Bibliography: L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, p. 665 sqq.; Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Maḥḡūb*, ed. Schukowski, p. 378 sqq.; transl. by Nicholson, *G. M. S.*, xvii., p. 294 sqq.; R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳusḥairīs Darstellung des Ṣūfī-tums*, p. 107—110; Margaret Smith, *Rābi'a the mystic*, Cambridge 1928, p. 53—58; R. A. Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 30—32.

(R. A. NICHOLSON)

TAWḤĪD (A.), infinitive II of *w-ḥ-d*, means literally "making one" or "asserting oneness" (Lane, p. 2927^a). In consequence, it is applied theologically to the oneness (*waḥdāniya*, *tawḥīd*)

of Allāh in all its meanings. The word does not occur in the Qur'ān, which has no verbal form from this root, nor from the kindred *ḥ-d*, but in the *Lisān* (iv. 464, 16 to 465, 4 from below) there is an elaborate philological statement of the usages of the different forms from these roots as applied to Allāh and to men. Technically "the science of *tawḥīd* and of the Qualities" (*ʿilm al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ṣifāt*) is a synonym for "the science of *kalām*" [see article KALĀM] and is the basis of all the articles of the belief of Islām (Introduction by Taftāzānī to the *ʿAḳā'id* of Nasafī, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 4 sq. and the marginal commentaries thereon; *Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 22). In this definition the Mu'tazilites would exclude the qualities and make the basis *tawḥīd* alone. But unity is far from being a simple idea; it may be internal or external; it may mean that there is no other God except Allāh, who has no partner (*sharik*); it may mean that Allāh is a Oneness in himself; it may mean that he is the only being with real or absolute existence (*al-ḥaḳḳ*), all other beings having merely a contingent existence; it may even be developed into a pantheistic assertion that Allāh is All. Again, knowledge of this unity may be reached by the methods of systematic theology (*ʿilm*) or by religious experience (*ma'rifa*, *mushāhada*); and the latter, again, may be pure contemplation or philosophical speculation. In consequence, *tawḥīd* may mean simply "There is no god but Allāh" or it may cover a pantheistic position. There is a good statement of these developments in *Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 1468—1470; cf. also, p. 1463—1468.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

TAWĪL, the first metre in Arabic prosody, has one *ʿarūd* and three *ḍarb*; the paradigm is:
faʿūlun mafʿūlun faʿūlun mafʿūlun
in each hemistich.

The *ʿarūd*, or last foot of the first hemistich, is always *mafʿūlun*. The first *ḍarb*, or last foot of the second hemistich, is *mafʿūlun*; the second, *mafʿūlun*; the third, (*mafʿi* =) *faʿūlun*.

The *faʿūlun* foot often loses its *nūn*; the dropping of this is recommended for the foot which immediately precedes the foot forming the third *ḍarb*.

The first *faʿūlun* of the first hemistich of the first verse of a piece may lose its *fa*, and combined with the loss of the *nūn*, we have: (*ʿūlun* =) *fīlun*, and (*ʿūlu* =) *fīlu*.

Mafʿūlun may lose its *i* or its *nūn*, but one of them must be retained.

Bibliography: cf. the article ʿARŪḌ.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

TA'WĪL (A.), originally means quite generally interpretation, exposition. In some of the passages in which the word occurs in the Qur'ān it refers definitely to the revelation delivered by Muḥammad. The use of the word *ta'wīl* afterwards became more and more limited to this special meaning and it meant exposition of the Qur'ān, and was for a time synonymous with *tafsīr*. In time the term seems to have become more specialised although not yet confined to this one meaning; it became a technical term for the exposition of the subject matter of the Qur'ān. In this latter sense *ta'wīl* formed a valuable and necessary supplement to the more external philological exegesis of the Qur'ān, which was now distinguished as *tafsīr*. So long as it did not come into contradiction with the obvious literal meaning of the Qur'ān or with Tradition, orthodox theology had no reason to

deny its right to exist. The question was altered however when *ta'wīl* no longer satisfied these conditions. Šūfis, the Ikhwān al-Safā', the Shī'is, especially such schools of thought as, without abandoning Islām itself, diverged to any extent from the path of orthodoxy, saw in *ta'wīl* a suitable instrument for bringing the views held by them into harmony with the literal text of the Qur'anic revelation and even for deriving them from it. Alongside of the literal interpretation of the text there grew up a biased allegorical exposition which found the most far fetched ideas concealed in the text. With the extreme schools, this transformation of the "external" meaning came to be the only way of looking at the Qur'an so that the traditional exposition fell into disrepute and the legal enactments of the Qur'an were even declared not to be binding.

Details in the method of using allegorical *ta'wīl* may, as Goldziher (*Richtungen*, p. 210 sqq.) has suggested, be ultimately traced back to the influence of the Neo-Platonists, especially Philo. The method itself however was the direct result of the necessity of sanctioning new views by a new interpretation of the words of the revelation that had been handed down; allegorical *ta'wīl* may be considered essentially of native Muslim origin.

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TAWILA, a town in South Arabia, formerly the headquarters of the Ka'immaḳām of the Kaḏā of Kawkabān, to which the town already belonged in Niebuhr's time. It lies on a tongue-shaped spur of the Djebel Ḍulā' on the left bank of the Wādī Lā'a which forms a continuous chain of four rocky hills, the second (from the east) of which is called al-Ḥuṣn. In the SSW. of the town a little lower but not 500 yards away stands the Masjid al-Zāhir, a mosque now in ruins with a fine cistern, from which a well-made paved road (*marhal*) leads eastwards towards the town. Barely 200 yards east of this ruin or rather of the ruin built of its stones (*semsera*) is a huge building of blocks of black rock, from which another paved road leads to the town. The town is small and unvalled but has a considerable market. The administrative buildings used by the Turks when they ruled here lie to the extreme S.W. of the town, which was visited by the explorer E. Glaser on Dec. 2-3, 1883.

Bibliography: C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 258; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen Jemen 1883-84*, fol. 59, 60; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yémen*, Paris 1889, p. 71. (A. GROHMANN)

TAWILA, a South Arabian coin, see the article LARIN.

TAWKĪ' (A.), lit. "a document with the signature or device (*ʿalāma*) equivalent to a signature of a ruler"; hence generally, edict, decree of a ruler, and its preparation in written form. Tawḳī' has the special meaning of the titles of the ruler (roughly equivalent to the *tughra* [q. v.]

of the Ottomans) to be inscribed in the chancellery, which gives the document validity, in contrast to *ʿalāma*, the mark or device of the ruler put on it with his own hand, which was regarded as his signature. The use of the two words is however to some extent indiscriminate, for tawḳī' was also used for motto.

In the *Inshā'*-literature edicts (*tawḳī'āt*) of the Sāsānian kings are mentioned. Under the Omayyads is said to have arisen the custom — no doubt really an old Oriental one — of the Caliph himself deciding (*waḳḳa'a*) in public audience on complaints (*ḳiṣaṣ*) brought to him; the secretaries had then to put the Caliph's tawḳī' into writing. For the 'Abbāsīd period, Ḳudāma mentions a special *Dirwān al-Tawḳī'* (office for edicts). It may be considered an important increase in the power of the vizier under the 'Abbāsīds that Hārūn al-Rashīd for the first time entrusted the Barmecide Dja'far with the right of dealing with petitions (*tawḳī' ʿala 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*). According to Ibn al-Ṣairafī, there was in the Fāṭimid *Dirwān* a special secretary for dealing with petitions. This secretary for the *tawḳī'āt ʿala 'l-ḳiṣaṣ* was one of the highest in rank. Under the Mamlūks the private secretary (*Kātib al-Sirr*) received the right of *tawḳī' ʿala 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*. As a general rule, however, the sultāns exercised it themselves here also.

In the Mamlūk administrative system, tawḳī' was also used as the name of particular classes of diplomas of appointment, and according to Ibn Faḏl Allāh, it was applied to the diplomas of all officers, the lower as well as the upper, up to the great governors (*nuwwāb*), and therefore became the word most used for appointment generally. Ibn Faḏl Allāh however says that it was only used for the appointing of the lowest ranks of officials. A little later it came into use for the appointments of "turban-wearers" (*muta'ammimūn*) i. e. the ecclesiastical and Dirwān officials. According to Ḳalkashandī, tawḳī' is the fourth and lowest as well as the most extensive group of diplomas of appointment (*wilāyāt*).

In the Ottoman empire the imperial edicts were dealt with by a special official, the *nishāndjī* or *tawḳī'ī*, who was responsible for the documents bearing the Sultān's style and titles. He was one of the highest officials in the kingdom (the *Er-ḳiān-i Devlet*) and a member of the imperial Dirwān. A device written by the Sultān himself was no longer in use here; in Ottoman diplomatic, *ʿalāmet*, like the Persian word *nishān*, means the imperial sign-manual (the *tughra*), the style of the Sultān drawn in the chancery of the *nishāndjī* by a special assistant, the *tughrakesh*. *ʿAlāmet* was in this case synonymous with tawḳī'.

Lastly tawḳī' meant a special style of script in use at the close of the middle ages (xiii—xvth century), which was specially used for documents of this period in the Mamlūk as well as the Ottoman dominions. In the great period of Ottoman history (xvth century downwards) it was ousted by the Dirwān script.

Bibliography: *Kāmūs*, s. v.; Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣḥā'*, 14 vols., Cairo 1332-1346; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928. — On the Ottoman *Nishāndjī* cf. J. v. Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, ii., Vienna 1815, p. 133 sq.; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, iii.,

Paris 1830, p. 350; Fr. Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1921, p. 18 sqq. — On Tawkī as the name of a script cf. Kraelitz, *op. cit.*, p. 8; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926, p. xx. — On Tawkī and 'Alāma cf. e. g. Abu 'l-Fidā, *Ta'rikh*, Stambul ed., iii. 155, 156, 158 = Cairo reprint of 1325, iii. 148, 149, 151; Tawkī in the sense of 'Alāma as motto used e. g. in Ibn Bibi, ed. Houtsma, p. 288 (cf. also Kraelitz, p. 23, note 2).

(F. TAESCHNER)

TAWRĀT, Hebr. *Tōrā*, is in the Qur'ān of the Medina period (cf. also an alleged verse of the Jewish poet Sammāk in Ibn Hishām, p. 659) the name of a holy scripture revealed after the time of Ibrāhīm (iii. 58) and Isrā'īl (= Jacob; iii. 87) and afterwards confirmed by 'Isā (iii. 44; v. 50; lxi. 6) which contains the *ḥukm Allāh* (v. 48). While obedience to it brings a reward in Paradise to the "people of the book" (v. 70), those who do not take upon themselves the tawrāt imposed upon them are "like asses who carry books" (lxii. 5). The Tawrāt also contains a prophecy of the coming of the *Nabī al-ummī* (vii. 156) i. e. Muḥammad, and in it Paradise is promised to the faithful who "fight on the path of Allāh" (ix. 112). A sentence from the Tawrāt is quoted in v. 49, which repeats approximately the text of Exodus xxi. 25 sq., while the parable quoted in lviii. 29 from Tawrāt and Injil comes not from the Tōrā but, although only in its gist, from the *Psalms*; cf. for example, Psalm i. 3; lxxii. 16; xcii. 14. In iii. 87^b the Jews are challenged to read from the Tawrāt the law (Genesis, xxii. 33) which corresponds to the substance of iii. 87^a. On the other hand the sentence quoted in v. 35 comes not from the Tawrāt but the *Mishnā Sanhedrīn*, iv. 5. Besides such express references to the Tawrāt, the Qur'ān contains, frequently repeated, a number of stories from the Pentateuch — usually in their Haggada form and not infrequently adapted to Muḥammad's special purposes — and many laws from the Pentateuch, both without mentioning their origin. Of the books of the Old Testament, in addition to the Tawrāt, Muḥammad only knows the *Zabūr*, i. e. the *Psalms*; perhaps, as the Jews themselves sometimes do, he meant by Tawrāt the whole of their holy scriptures (see Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie*, i. 197).

In Ḥadīth the Tawrāt is also frequently mentioned and in several passages Mūsā is named as he who observed it (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra ii. bāb 1; do., *Tawḥīd*, bāb 19, 24; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 322; Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, bāb 37). While the Jews pride themselves on having a great treasure in the Tawrāt (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xvii., trad. 12; cf. for example *Prov.* iv. 2) it is on the other side pointed out that its possession has availed them nothing and the Tawrāt contains nothing equal to the *Umm al-Qur'ān* i. e. the *Ṣaḥ' min al-Mathānī* (*op. cit.*, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xvii., trad. 3; *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, bāb 1). The description which the Tawrāt gives of Muḥammad and which according to Bukhārī (*Tafsīr*, Sūra xlviii., bāb 3; do., *Buyū'*, bāb 50) has passed in part into Sūra xxxiii. 34; xlviii. 8, in the form given, *loc. cit.* proves to be only a rather inaccurate paraphrase of *Is.*, xlii. 1-4 (cf. similar passages in Ibn Sa'īd, i/ii. 87 sqq.). In Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 31, 47;

Manāḥib al-Ṣalāt, bāb 17, the *Ahl al-Tawrāt* in a ḥadīth modelled on the parable of the labourers and their hire, complain that the reward of those who obey the Qur'ān is larger than theirs, although the former are "less in work" *ākallu 'amalan* than they, a reference to the greater number of the Jewish prescriptions. In explanation of Sūra iii. 87, Bukhārī (*Manāḥib*, bāb 26; *Tafsīr*, Sūra iii., bāb 6; *Tawḥīd*, bāb 51) says that the Prophet put the question to the Jews asking how they dealt with adulterers. They tried to give him a wrong answer and to conceal from him the passage in the Tawrāt, in which the punishment or stoning is prescribed (*Deuteron.* xxii. 23 sq.) but they did not succeed. According to Ibn Mādja, *Aḥ'ima*, bāb 39, it is said in the Tawrāt "The *wuḍū'* is the *baraka* of meals", a statement which ascribes the Jewish command to wash the hands before meals to the Tōrā, in which the Jewish students of the scriptures also claim to find it indicated (*Hullin*, fol. 106^a).

The Qur'ānic allusions early aroused in Muslim scholars the desire to have a closer acquaintance with the contents of the Tawrāt, a knowledge which was however not without its dangers because it brought out certain contradictions which existed between the Qur'ānic and the Biblical revelation. How this danger was to be met, the Prophet himself gives a hint in an utterance several times quoted by Bukhārī (*Tawḥīd*, bāb 51; *I'tiṣām*, bāb 21; *Tafsīr*, Sūra ii., bāb 11): the *Ahl al-Kitāb* were in the habit of explaining the Hebrew text of the Tawrāt to the Muslims in Arabic, whereupon the Prophet commanded the latter "Declare ye the statements of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* neither true nor false but say 'we believe in Allāh and what He has revealed'", an utterance, which Bukhārī, as the title of his paragraph shows, wants to be able to apply to the decision of the question whether the translation of the holy scriptures of foreign religions into Arabic is permitted. While in Bukhārī, *Shahāda*, bāb 29, asking members of another faith about the substance of their revelations is deprecated, just as they should put no questions to Muslims about the contents of the Qur'ān, there is no lack of references to distinguished men of piety (Ibn Sa'īd, vii/i. 179) who studied the Tawrāt in the original or even (*op. cit.*, p. 161) had read it through to the end in a week. The numerous quotations from the Tawrāt, which cannot be identified in the Pentateuch, preserved in Ḥadīth, canonical and extra-canonical, as well as in edifying literature, have tempted Cheikho (*M. F. O. B.*, iv. 39 sq.) to the untenable thesis that there was a book called Tawrāt different from the Hebrew Tōrā, from which these quotations were taken; in reality the passages in question are either pure invention or inaccurately modelled on sayings in the Bible of the Talmud.

An intimate knowledge of the text of certain parts of the Tōrā is shown by some chronological or genealogical statements about the Biblical period, such as are given by Ibn Ishāq (d. 150 = 767) in his *Maḡāzī*, while Ibn Hishām (d. 213 = 828) in his still unpublished *Kitāb al-Tidjān*, quoting Wabb b. Munabbih (d. 110 = 728), gives certain Biblical names not only in their Hebrew but also in their Syriac form. That he checked the statements of Muslim tradition by the Biblical text is recorded in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, p. 13, by Ibn Qūtaiba (d. 276 = 889) who also gives in this

work word for word quotations from Genesis; the Biblical quotations in others of his works do not always correspond exactly to the original and the same is true of the quotations in *Djāhīz, al-Radd 'ala 'l-Naṣārā*. On the other hand in another contemporary of Ibn Kūtaiba, the convert to Islām, 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, we have many literal quotations from all parts of the Old Testament canon in his "Book of Religion and Empire" written about 240 (854–855) (ed. by A. Mingana; if this work really belongs to him; cf. Bouyge, in *M. F. O. B.*, x. 242 sqq.); some also are to be found in the *Risāla* of 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. Ishāq al-Kindī. While the text of the Bible was accessible without difficulty to converts like 'Alī b. Rabban, the Biblical quotations in authors born Muslims were either learned orally from Jews or Christians or from another Arabic translation of the Bible. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salām al-Indjīlī (whose relationship to 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, the Jewish convert of the time of the Prophet, cannot be certainly established) is said to have made one such, notably a translation of the Tawrāt, and according to the *Fihrist*, p. 22 in the reign of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. Three further translations are mentioned by Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 112): that of the Nestorian Ḥunain b. Ishāq (d. 260 = 873–874) based on the LXX and two by the learned Jews Abū Kathīr (between d. 321 = 933 or 329 = 941) and Sa'īd b. Yūsuf al-Faiyūmī, best known under the name of Sa'adyā Ga'ōn (d. 331 = 943) from the original Hebrew. Of all these translations only that of Sa'adyā has survived (ed. Derenbourg, Paris 1893) and the only other of the period in existence is one made in Spain in 345 (956) from the Latin. Of all later translations from the Coptic, Syriac or Hebrew by Christians and Samaritans, bibliographical details are given in the article "Bibelübersetzungen, Arabische", in Herzog: *Realenzyklopädie*.

Sūra vii. 156 firmly convinced believers that the Tawrāt contained a prophecy of the coming of Muḥammad. Attempts to prove this go back to the earliest period of Islām (see below) but it is not till the middle of the third century that definite verses of the Pentateuch and other books of the Old Testament are quoted in a literal translation and interpreted as prophecies of Muḥammad's coming. From an unnamed work of Ibn Kūtaiba, Ibn al-Djāwzī in his *Kitāb al-Wafā* quotes several passages of this kind and many others are given about the same time by 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (see above) and these recur again and again in the apologetics and polemics of the following centuries with greater or less completeness. From the Pentateuch the verses *Genesis*, xvi. 9–12; xvii. 20; xxi. 21; *Deut.*, xviii. 18; xxxiii. 2, 12, play a prominent part in these polemics. Since according to *Gen.*, xxi. 21, Faran was the abode of Ishmael, and according to Sūra ii. 119 he stayed in Mecca, Faran is identified with Mecca. On the basis of the same identification, *Deut.*, xxxiii. 2 is referred to Muḥammad, as is xviii. 18, and in xxxiii. 12 a reference to the *Khātam al-Nubuwwa* is found.

Even in the *Qur'ān* we find the Jews reproached with "displacing phrases from their context" (iv. 45; v. 16, 45) and an example is given in iv. 45; further they are charged with having forgotten or concealing a part of what had been revealed to them (v. 16; iii. 64; vi. 91). We have already had from Ḥadīth an example of this

concealing: the Jews wished to keep from Muḥammad the verse of the Tawrāt which prescribes the punishment of stoning for adultery. The reproach of "altering the words" is more precisely defined by Bukhārī, *Shahāda*, bāb 29, who says that the "possessors of the scripture" had altered the book of Allāh with their own hands and said it was Allāh's. Not all Muslim apologists go so far, however, as to assert deliberate falsification of the text; the milder school ascribes to the Jews only distortions of the meaning. The most distinguished representative of the stronger view is Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 = 1064) who raises objections to no less than 57 passages in the Tawrāt and collects the impossibilities and contradictions which he had found in it.

Bibliography (so far as not given in the article): W. Rudolph, *Die Abhängigkeit des Qurans vom Judentum und Christentum*, p. 13, 52 sq.; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin–Leipzig 1926, p. 71; do., in *Isl.*, xii. 298; M. Steinschneider, *Die polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache*; I. Goldziher, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxii. 341 sqq.; do., in *R. E. J.*, xxviii. 79; xxx. 1 sqq.; do., in *Z. A. T. W.*, xiii. 315 sqq.; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, p. 100 sq.; M. Lidzbarski, *De prophetis quae dicuntur legendis*, Leipzig 1893; G. Rothstein, *De chronographo arabe anonymo*, p. 49 sqq.; A. Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre Muhammads*, i. 56; G. Graf, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur*; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, § 23; M. Schreiner, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlii. 591 sqq.; do., in *Kohut Memorial Volume*, p. 496 sqq.; C. Brockelmann, in *Z. A. T. W.*, xv. 138 sqq.; H. Hirschfeld, in *J. Q. R.*, xiii. 230 sqq.; W. Bacher, *op. cit.*, p. 542; Graf, in *Biblische Zeitschrift*, xv. 193 sqq., 291 sqq.; Di Matteo, in *R. S. O.*, ix. 301 sqq.; Bessarione, xxxviii. 64 sqq. (J. HOROWITZ)

TAWRĪYA (A.), syllepsis in oratory, a figure of rhetoric (*badf*) which consists in using a word having two different meanings, one obvious and the other secondary, veiling the second sense by the first so that it is the first sense which strikes the listener first. Tawriya is called *ihām* (disimulation) because he who uses it conceals the remoter meaning he had in view by the primary sense which is seized on first. It is sometimes called *ibhām* ("act of concealing or masking").

There are two kinds of tawriya: 1. that which is "deprived" of everything that might indicate the meaning one has in view (*mudjarrada*), for example "The Merciful is seated (*istawā*) on his throne" (*Qur'ān*, xx. 4); here the remoter sense of "to make oneself master of" is in mind and there is nothing in the phrase which might suit the nearer sense of "to rest, to establish oneself, to sit"; 2. that which includes something which suits the obvious sense, for example "And the heavens which We built with power" (*Qur'ān*, li. 47), literally "and the heavens which we built with our hands" in which one notices that "hand" here, taken in the secondary sense of "power", is accompanied by the verb "to build" which suits its primary meaning of "part of the body at the end of the arms". The figure is also used by the Persians who seem to have borrowed it from the Arabs.

Bibliography: Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-Idjāz fī Dirāyat*

al-*I'djāz*, Cairo 1317, p. 113; Muḥammad Ṣadqī Ḥasan Khān Bahādūr, *Ghuṣn al-Bān al-murīk bi-Muḥassināt al-Bayān*, Constantinople 1296, p. 24; Ibn Ḥudjdja al-Ḥamawī, *Kashf al-Lithām 'an Wadīh al-Tawriya wa 'l-Istikhdam*, Bairūt 1312; al-Djurdjānī, *Ta'rifāt*, Constantinople 1307, p. 49, s.v. tawriya, and p. 27, s.v. al-iḥām (especially); S. de Sacy, *Scènes de Hariri*, Paris 1847—1853, p. 88; Yahyā b. Ḥamza b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī al-Yamanī, *Kitāb al-Tirāz*, Cairo 1332, iii. 62; Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm*, Cairo 1318, p. 180 ("al-iḥām"); Kāsim al-Bakradjī, *Hilyat al-Badī' fi Madh al-Nabī al-shafī'*, Ḥalab 1293, p. 210 (tawriya, iḥām, takhyil); 'Abd al-Ḥamid Kaddas b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Khaṭīb, *Talīf al-Sa'd al-rafi' fi Sharḥ Nūr al-Badī' alā Naẓm al-Badī'*, Cairo 1321, p. 75; Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Cairo 1304, p. 239 (iḥām, tawdjih, takhyil); 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Nafaḥāt al-Ashḥār alā Nasamāt al-Ashḥār*, Bulāq 1299, p. 188; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī al-Khaṭīb, *Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ* (with notes by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Barḳūkī), Cairo 1322 (1904), p. 355; Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Ma'ānī*, Constantinople 1318, p. 180; do., *al-Muṭawwal*, Constantinople 1304, p. 425; Tashköprüzade, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ada*, Haidarābād 1329, ii. 334; 'Abd al-Ḥādī Nadjā al-Abyārī, *Su'ad al-Maṭālīf*, Bulāq 1283, i. 315. — Specimens: 1. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Mukhtaṣar alā Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ*; 2. Ibn Ya'qūb al-Maghribī, *Mawāhib al-Faṭṭāḥ fi Sharḥ Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ*; 3. Bahā' al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Arīis al-Afrūḥ fi Sharḥ Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ* and in the margin; 4. al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī, *al-Iqāḥ*; 5. al-Dusūkī, *Ḥāshiyā alā Mukhtaṣar al-Taftāzānī*, Bulāq 1317, iv. 322; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kais al-Rāzī, *al-Mu'djam fi Ma'āyir Ashḥār al-'Adjām*, Leyden 1327 (1909), p. 326 (iḥām); Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1873, p. 90.

(MOH. BEN CHENEZ)

AL-TAYĀLISĪ SULAIMĀN B. DĀWŪD B. AL-DĪRĀD ABŪ DĀWŪD, a collector of traditions and author of a *Musnad*. The *nisba* is derived from *al-tayālisa*, the plural of *ṭailāsān*, a piece of clothing that covers the head-dress and sometimes also the shoulders (see Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, p. 278 sqq.).

Al-Tayālīsī was born at Baṣra in 133 (750–751) and died in 203 (818–819). It is also said that he reached the age of 72 years. He has handed down traditions on the authority of Shu'ba, Sufyān al-Thawrī and other well known traditionists. In his turn he was an authority for Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaiba etc. It is said that he knew 30,000 traditions by heart and that he did not make use of notes in handing them down. He is reputed to be trustworthy, although slips of his memory are on record. He contracted elephantiasis in consequence of a frequent use of *balādhur*.

The text of his *Musnad*, which was printed in Haidarābād in 1321, has been handed down by Abū Bishr Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Dja'far b. Aḥmad b. Fāris, Abū Nu'aim Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaddād al-Makḳarī, Abū 'l-Makārim Aḥmad b. Aḥmad... b. Muḥammad b. Kais al-Labbān († 597 = 1200–1201).

The work consists of the single *musnads* of over six hundred ṣaḥābī's and is arranged in the same way as other works of the kind. It contains 2,767 traditions; this means that its bulk is about one tenth of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* or $\frac{1}{25}$ of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. The contents cover the whole field of classical *ḥadīth*; all subjects of some importance are represented, though on a moderate scale. It may be remarked that the materials concerning some persons who played a part in Muḥammad's history are perhaps more scanty than in any of the other collections; there are e. g. no traditions on Khadija, Zainab bint Djaḥsh, Abū Sufyān, 'Amr b. al-'Ās, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, Ibn Ṣaiyād, Ka'b b. Malik, Khālīd b. al-Walīd, Sa'd b. Mu'adh, Salmān al-Fārisī.

The book contains scarcely any tradition which is not to be found in the classical collections; in rare cases the wording may be helpful for the understanding of difficult traditions.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

TAYAMMUM (A.), the recommendation, or permission to perform the ritual ablution with sand instead of water in certain cases, is based on two passages in the Qur'ān, Sūra iv. 46 and v. 9. The latter passage runs as follows: "And if ye be impure, wash yourselves. But if ye be sick, or on a journey or if ye come from the privy or ye have touched women and ye find no water, take fine clean sand and rub your faces and hands with it. Allāh will not put a difficulty upon you but He will make you pure and complete His favour upon you, perhaps that ye may give thanks". Sūra iv. 46 is somewhat more briefly expressed but the law is formulated there in almost identical words except that the phrase "with it" is lacking from the sentence "and rub your faces and hands with it". According to the Shāfi'is (see Baidāwī on Sūra iv. 46) "with it" means that there must be some sand in the hand. The Ḥanafis on the other hand consider the rite valid even if the hand has only been touched by a smooth stone.

In his *Mizān al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1279, i. 143 sqq., al-Shā'rānī gives 14 such points of difference between the *madhhab's*; they refer to *a.* the material (earth, sand etc.); *b.* the obligation to look for water; *c.* the question how far face and hands are to be rubbed and into what legal categories these rubbings fall; *d.* the question what one should do if he finds water after he has already begun the *ṣalāt*; *e.* the question whether a single *tayammum* suffices for two *farḍ* rites; *f.* the question whether one who has performed the *tayammum* before his *ṣalāt* may act as *imām* for persons who have performed the ablution with water; *g.* the question whether *tayammum* is permitted before the *ṣalāt* at festivals and for the dead, if one is not on a journey; *h.* the question whether one who is not travelling, and has difficulty in getting water for a *ṣalāt* the legal time for which is about to expire, should

repeat the *ṣalāt* performed after *tayammum* as soon as he has found water; *i.* the question whether it is permitted to use the little water one has for a partial washing and do *tayammum* for the rest; *k.* the question what is to be done in cases of injury; *l.* the question whether the *ṣalāt* is to be repeated in four cases, in which it has been performed after *tayammum*.

There is agreement among the *madhhab*s on the point that *tayammum* is only done for the face or hands, whether after a minor or major *ḥadath* [q. v.], whether in place of a washing of all or any parts of the body is a matter of indifference (al-Nawawī, on Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, i. 406).

From various traditions it is evident that 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and 'Omar had misgivings about declaring the *ṣalāt* valid after *tayammum* in cases of *djanāba* (cf. e. g. Bukhārī, *Tayammum*, bāb 7; Muslim, *Ḥaid*, tr. 110). On the other hand the saintly Abū Dharr, who had similar misgivings, is made to say that the Prophet had disposed of them by saying: "fine sand is a means of purification when one cannot find water, even if he should look ten years for it" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v. 146 sq.).

The permission is said to have been revealed when an expedition of Muḥammadans was held up so long looking for a necklace of 'Ā'isha's that its water became exhausted.

In the *Talmud* (*Berakot*, fol. 15^a) a permit to use sand in case of want of water similar to that of the Qur'ān is given and Cedrenus, *Annales*, ed. Hylander, Basle 1566, p. 206, tells how on an occasion in a journey through the desert, Christian baptism was performed with sand.

Bibliography: Cf. also the commentaries on Qur'ān, Sūra iv. 46 and v. 9; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Korāns*, i. 199; A. Geiger, *Was hat Moh. aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, p. 86; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding* etc., Leyden 1925, p. 58; A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. *Tayammum*. (A. J. WENSINCK)

TĀZĀ, a town in eastern Morocco, about 60 miles E.N.E. of Fās, in a great depression, called the "trough of Tāzā" which separates the Rif from the northern spurs of the Central Atlas. To some authors of the middle ages (*Istibṣār*, al-Marrākushī) Tāzā marks the boundary between the extreme and central Maghrib. The great importance of the great natural route from the east to west through this depression, the strategic and economic advantages secured by the occupation of the site in part defended by the ravine of a wādī, must have early encouraged a foundation of some importance at Tāzā. Prehistoric settlements have been discovered there and many tombs of uncertain date in the cliffs on which the town is built.

In the beginning of the middle ages (viiith–xth century) Tāzā was the most important settlement in the region occupied by one of the groups of the Mīknāsa, semi-nomadic Berbers. According to Ibn Khaldūn, it was they who founded the *ribāṭ* of Tāzā. This statement is evidently inaccurate in this form. Tāzā was not yet reckoned a *ribāṭ*. It must nevertheless have played an important part in the defence against the Idrisids as partisans of the Fātimids of Qairawān, then against the Fātimids as partisans of the Omayyads of Cordova. Tāzā however, as a fortified town and a *ribāṭ*, was

properly a foundation of the Almohads. In 528 (1133) 'Abd al-Mu'min, having made himself master of the High and Central Atlas, had arrived in the depression of Tāzā. There the conqueror seems to have suspended his advance. It was not till later that he tackled the ranges of the Rif and did not yet attempt to descend into the plains to meet Almoravid forces. He seems however to have felt the necessity of holding the important strategic point, of building a citadel there and placing a garrison in it. Those who held this frontier post of the Almohad dominions were naturally assimilated to the men of the *ribāṭ*'s (we know that the struggle against the Almohads had the attractions of a holy war). To call the new fortress a *ribāṭ* was giving it the value of a pious work. As a matter of fact Tāzā never played the religious part of a *ribāṭ*. It remained, as before, a military post guarding the road to Fās. A great part of the ramparts built by 'Abd al-Mu'min seems to have survived. It is a curtain of rubble flanked by towers unequal in size, with the remains of an outer wall in front of it at places.

For lack of defenders, Almohad Tāzā hardly made any resistance to the Marinids who took it in 613 (1216). Its new lords also devoted attention to its defences; they restored the great mosque on two occasions (1294 and 1353) and endowed it with medreses. In their time Tāzā for once at least did its duty in guarding the pass, when it was attacked by the Sulṭān of Tlemcen, Abū Ḥammūd II, who besieged it for a week in 784 (1382) and was forced to retrace his steps.

In the beginning of the xvth century, we have a description of Tāzā by Leo Africanus. He regards it as the third town of the kingdom; it was administered as a kind of apanage allotted to the second son of the Waṭṭāsīd Sulṭān of Fās. The population which numbered about 5,000 householders, including many Jews, lived under a continual menace from the mountaineers around.

To secure control of the springs which watered the town, and to protect himself against the attacks of the Turks of Algiers, a Sa'dian Sharīf — perhaps Aḥmad al-Manṣūr — provided it with a *bastiūn*, which still stands in the S. E. corner of the enceinte. It is noteworthy however that in the result this fortress of Tāzā never served as a defence against enemies from the east, but rather became "a citadel ready at hand for every pretender who rebelled in those regions against the Makḥzen who had built it" (H. Basset and Campardou). This was the case in 1596 when al-Nāṣir, a nephew of al-Manṣūr, rebelled against the Sulṭān and made Tāzā his base of operations, and again in 1664 when the first of the 'Alawīd Sulṭāns al-Rashīd made it his headquarters for his attack on Fās, and in 1673 when Aḥmad b. Muḥriz held out there against his uncle, Sulṭān Mawlāy Ismā'īl. Lastly in 1902 the agitator Abū Ḥamāra in his struggle with 'Abd al-'Azīz made Tāzā his capital. It was occupied by French troops on May 10, 1914.

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Zar^c, *Kirfās*, passim; Leo Africanus, ed. Ramusio, Venice 1837, p. 100; ed. Schefer, ii. 339; Marmol, *Description general de Affrica*, Granada 1573, ii., fol. 161 sqq.; Roland Frejus, *Relation d'un voyage fait en Mauritanie*, Paris 1670, p. 123 sqq.; Lieutenant Campardou, *La Nécropole de Taza*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de géogr. d'Oran*, xxxvii., 1917; Campardou and H. Basset, *Le Bastioun de Taza*, in *Archives berbères*, 1919; Ricard, *Le Maroc (Guide bleu)*; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, p. 351, 476 sqq., 728 sqq. (GEORGES MARÇAIS)

TA'ZİR (a.), punishment, intended to prevent the culprit from relapsing, to reform him (*li 'l-taḥṣir*). — The Kur'an does not know this kind of punishment; on the contrary it classifies several transgressions afterwards punished with ta'zīr merely as sins, e.g. slander, for which there is no ḥadd punishment (Sūra iv. 112) and the bearing of false witness (Sūra ii. 283; iv. 134). Tradition has very little to record about it. According to one tradition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, in the time of the Prophet, those who bought provisions wholesale without measures or weights in order to sell them again were punished by whipping (Bukhārī, *Hudūd*, bāb 43); disregarding the development in legal theory of this tradition by the commentators, it is clearly one of the many traditions which attack speculation in the necessities of life (cf. C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, Heidelberg 1906, p. 51); it is in any case based on later usage in commerce. According to another tradition of Ibn 'Abbās, the Prophet is said to have threatened with 20 lashes any man who insulted another by calling him soft or effeminate (Ibn Māḍja, *Hudūd*, bāb 15). Very frequently on the other hand we find a tradition (of Abū Burda, of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḍjābir, of Abū Huraira), according to which the maximum that can be inflicted except for ḥadd is 10 lashes (Bukhārī, *Hudūd*, bāb 43; Muslim, *Hudūd*, tr. 39; Ibn Māḍja, *Hudūd*, bāb 32; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 466; iv. 45). These traditions however can only have arisen later in the difference of opinion about the amount of ta'zīr, especially as the later law-schools admit a much larger number of lashes. In any case ta'zīr is a kind of punishment, which only found its way into Muslim law at a comparatively late date. For this view it is noteworthy that tradition does not connect the later technical sense with the verb 'azzara. It is true that it occurs in the above mentioned tradition in Ibn Māḍja, *Hudūd*, bāb 32: *lā tu'azzirū*; but in a tradition of Anas b. Mālik the verb 'azzara is used with reference to the ḥadd punishment for drinking wine in contrast to its later technical sense. (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 180; a duplicate of this tradition in Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 115 uses *djalada* in this passage).

According to the *fiqh*-books, ta'zīr is inflicted for such transgressions as have no ḥadd punishment and no *kaffāra* prescribed for them, whether it is a question of disobedience of God such as neglect of the fivefold *ṣalāt* or of fasting, or a question of crime against man such as deceit, bearing false witness, theft of an article of trifling value [cf. *SĀRIK*] etc. In the second group however there is also a breach of the divine law (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*) as well as the breach of man's law (*ḥaḳḳ al-nās*).

The most remarkable condition for the application of ta'zīr is that the delinquent must be in full possession of his mental faculties (*'ākil*). The

kind and amount of ta'zīr is left entirely to the discretion of the judge: he may administer a public reprimand, expose him in a public place, banish him, confiscate his property (but there is a difference of opinion, for the goods and chattels of a Muslim are regarded by some as inviolable in this case), throw him into prison or have him whipped. Except in the Mālikī school however, the number of lashes must not be more than in the ḥadd punishment; according to the Shāfi'ī school, the maximum for a freeman is 39, for a slave 19; according to the Ḥanafis, the maximum is 75 (some take the ḥadd for drinking wine, others the ḥadd for slander [*ḥadhf*] as the maximum); the Ḥanbalis on the other hand only allow 10 lashes, relying on the above tradition. There are also very minute and varying rules regarding the administering of the lashes in the different schools.

As the primary object of the ta'zīr is reformation, and the degree of punishment to cause this varies with each individual, men are classified systematically by some jurists for this purpose. Al-Kasānī, for example, distinguishes four classes: 1. the most distinguished of the upper classes, i.e. officials and officers of the highest rank; for them a personal communication from the judge through a confidential messenger is sufficient; 2. the upper classes, i.e. the intellectual élite and *fuḳahā'*; they are summoned before the judge and admonished by him; 3. the middle classes, i.e. the merchants; they are punished by imprisonment; 4. the lower strata of the people; they are punished with imprisonment or flogging. Other jurists however reject this external classification according to social status and lay stress on the inner worth of the individual, his attitude to religion and his mode of life.

If it seems advisable, the judge can completely remit the ta'zīr, in so far as it concerns the divine law; but the portion based on the law of man is not dropped even if the person injured renounces it.

The process of trial is simple in contrast to that for ḥadd. Ta'zīr is inflicted on a confession, which however cannot be withdrawn, or on a statement of two witnesses, one of whom may even be a woman; *shahāda 'alā shahāda* [cf. *SHĀHID*] is also admitted. According to some, it is even enough if the judge alone has knowledge of the transgression.

How these cases for punishment left by the *shar'ia* to unfettered judgment were dealt with by those in authority is very clearly seen from the stories in the *1001 Nights* (cf. Rescher in *Isl.*, ix. [1919], 68 sqq.). On the other hand the attempt was made to escape this arbitrary punishment by bribery. Frequently also the secular legislation of rulers interfered, regulating the sentence left to the *qāḍī's* discretion by laying down definite punishments for a series of transgressions, as is the case in the *Ḳānūn-nāme's* of the Turkish Sultāns, where moreover a fine is always provided for besides the flogging (cf. Mehmed II's *Ḳānūn-nāme* in *M. O. G.*, i. [1922], 13 sqq.).

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Krcsmárik, *Beiträge zur Beleuchtung des islam. Strafrechts*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lviii. (1904), 65, 556 sqq. — For the traditions see Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, s. v. *Punishment*. (HEFFENING)

TA'ZIYA (A.), a. expression of sympathy in general, b. the passion play of the Shī'is. The word, a verbal noun from 'aziya II, is not found in the *Kur'ān* (but cf. 'isīm in lxx. 37), but occurs in all schools of fiqh at the end of the book on public worship in the section, or in the separate book, *al-djanā'iz* = burial, where sympathy is requested for the relatives. Among the Shī'is it means in the first place the lamentation for the martyred imāms, which is held at their graves and also at home. In particular, however, it is mourning for Husain. The *tābūt*, a copy of the tomb at Kerbelā', in popular language is also called *ta'ziya*. It is a model kept in the house, often very richly executed. *Ta'ziya* however means particularly the mystery play itself. The time for its performance is the first third of the month of Muḥarram especially the 10th *Rōz-i Kātl*, the day of the murder of Husain and of the 'Ashūrā' festival [q. v.]. The local usages in Persia and in the Shī'ī regions of Mesopotamia and India are very varied. In a wider sense the plays include the street processions such as the cavalcade with Husain's horse, the marriage procession of Husain's son al-Ḳāsim with Ḥasan's daughter Fāṭima (see below), the procession to the cemetery with the *tābūt*, all popular celebrations of a kind at which the deepest grief does not exclude a part being played by comic figures.

Lastly *ta'ziya* means the actual performance of the passion play itself. The stage is erected in public places, in caravanserais, even in mosques and in *imām-bāṛā* specially erected for the festival. The chief properties required for the stage are a large *tābūt*, receptacles in front to hold lights, also Husain's bow, lance, spear and banner. The participants in addition to the players are the *rawṣa-khṭwān*, the poet, lit. he who pronounces the eulogy for the dead. He speaks the introduction and with gestures indicative of lamentation chants a *khutba* [q. v.] with many ḥadīths in a voice of lamentation surrounded by a choir of boys called *pešh-khṭwān*, lit. announcers, while the *nūwa-ḥan-nāna*, dressed as mourning women utter the lamentations of the women and mothers. The spectators are separated according to sexes. They are given *muhr*, cakes of earth from Kerbelā' steeped in musk, on which they press their foreheads in abject grief. While on the stage the hunger and particularly the thirst of the martyrs is most realistically expressed, water and other refreshments are provided for the spectators. The gratuitous provision of the whole spectacle and everything connected with it including payment of the poet is not only an obligation on the well-to-do but a meritorious pious work "for he builds himself the palace in Paradise" when he builds the stage. The *saiyids* play a prominent part in these festivals, for their descent from Husain gives them a special claim to gifts from the charitable, which they often demand with great pertinacity.

The motives and to a great extent the words are the same in the great number of such plays which are often touched up and expanded by the poets (cf. the catalogues of MSS.). The commonest are Persian but they also exist in Arabic and Turkish.

The term drama can only be applied with reservation to the series of sometimes 40–50 independent tableaux which constitute the performance. The events, especially the actual death of Husain, are prophesied from the beginning in all details by Gabriel to the early prophets and Muḥammad himself, foreseen in dreams, foretold and afterwards narrated again and again.

The characters in the play are, in addition to the angels, principally taken from the story of redemption including the Old and New Testament. Their fate is frequently compared with that of the martyr. Jacob and Joseph confess that Husain and his children have suffered more than they have; Eve, Rachel and Mary understand the mother's anguish of Fāṭima; Muḥammad, given by the angel of death the choice of surrendering to him his little son Ibrāhīm or the little Husain, abandons to him the former so that the latter may be preserved to die as a redeemer. Muḥammad and 'Alī are only brought in as subsidiary to Husain, who even as a child plays the principal part in their thoughts and hours of death. The brother Ḥasan and his relation to Husain is very much idealised. Of the latter's nearer relations, there appear in addition to the spirit of his dead mother Fāṭima, his sisters Kulthūm and Zainab, his wife *Shahrabānū*, daughter of Vezdegird III, and his son 'Alī Akbar, who falls in battle. Very popular is the wedding of his and *Shahrabānū*'s daughter Fāṭima with Husain's son al-Ḳāsim celebrated just before the catastrophe, in which the bridegroom is almost immediately killed. The death of a little son and a small nephew who are struck by an arrow, while clasped to his bosom aims at producing a great effect on the spectators, while the surviving son 'Alī Zain al-'Ābidin plays the main part in the mournful procession which brings the head and the captured women and children to the caliph Yazīd I. If this procession spends a night on the way in a Christian monastery, the prior pronounces the Muslim confession faith before the head. Similar scenes are introduced with Jews and pagans and with Christian ambassadors at the caliph's court. The humility of a lion which pays homage to the head of the martyr produces a great effect on the audience.

More important, and also more serious, is the fact that these spectacles produce a completely biased view of the figures of early Muslim history upon the Shī'is; such are Salmān-i Fārisī, Abū Dharr, Bilāl, al-Ḥurr who goes over to Husain, all on the Shī'a side and the enemies of Abū Bakr and 'Omar who are represented as depriving Fāṭima of her inheritance, the oasis of Fadak, with cruel blows. No distinction is made among the non-Shī'is; 'Alī's slayer Ibn Mulḍjam is not for example branded as a *Khāridjī* [q. v.]; his murder likewise is laid to the charge of the Sunnis. Ibn Sa'd, the leader of the hostile force, *Shammar* who is said to have dealt the fatal blow, and especially Yazīd I are painted in the blackest colours. The fury against the Sunnis is so pronounced that non-Muslims are tolerated as spectators but certainly not non-Shī'a Muslims. National hatred of Arabs (and also Turks) is seen in such scenes as that in which Husain's widow *Shahrabānū* returns to her home in Persia or the young Fāṭima II is rescued by a Persian king.

The scenes mainly written in the *hazaj*-metre have grown out of various sources, but the material

and the words are often old: verses of the *Kur'ān*, interpreted from the *Shi'a* point of view, and particularly old traditions with *Shi'a* bias, which are clothed in a form calculated greatly to impress the hearers; sentences from the *khutbas* are found as early as *Ṭabarī*. Whole sermons, curses and prayers are already found in the earliest *Shi'a* literature [cf. *SHI'A*], in *Ibn Bābūya*, *Kulaini*, *Shaikh Ṭūsī*, especially in the chapters *Ziyārāt* (visits to tombs) in the books on pilgrimage and the imamate and also in the *maḳātīl* works. There also are found many hymns, while on the other hand songs of lamentation are still written in modern times.

Judged from the effect on the spectators the *ta'ziya* is a most impressive spectacle. Strangers, who cannot appreciate the inner significance of it, may find its broad realism repulsive, especially in the closing scenes where the decapitated head is the principal speaker and actor. They might easily get the idea that the spectators are simply revelling in the pain and cruelty of the spectacle. The real significance can only be ascertained from an unprejudiced examination of what is actually said. As already indicated the plays are full of dogmatics with emphasis on *Shi'a* *ḥadīths*. It is possible that with the primitive nature of the production, touching and exciting scenes are introduced simply for their own sake. But the leading idea is a soteriology that rules everything and is brought out, in harmony with the text books but in much more clear fashion. Here we will only refer the reader to one of these mysteries easily accessible in Chodzko (see *Bibl.*). In the very first scene "The Messenger of God" Gabriel, representing Hasan as sharing his brother's fate, announces to Muhammad: "Thy two grandchildren shall fall under the blows of a very contemptible enemy, not because they have in some way transgressed God's laws; no, the filth of sin has never soiled a member of thy family, o Phoenix of the Universe! Rather are they sacrificed for the salvation of the people who adopt Islām so that the brow of the martyrs shall eternally reflect the brilliance of the elect of God. If thou desirest the forgiveness of the sins of these evildoing peoples, do not oppose the two roses of thy garden being plucked before the time!" (p. 5 sq.) And after this theme of the vicarious death for the forgiveness of sins has been again and again clearly formulated, the mystery comes to its logical conclusion in the last scene, in which the whole hierarchy of patriarchs from Adam to Hasan's mother Fāṭima is assembled round the sacred head. To Fāṭima her father Muḥammad (p. 215) says: "Thou art right to weep for thy slain child soaked in his noble blood; but there is a secret about the true reason of this martyrdom; as the price of this martyrdom God on the Day of Judgment will give into our hands the keys of Paradise and of Hell!" How old such ideas of this salvation by intervention are, is seen from the prayers of those "penitents" under Sulaimān b. Ṣurad who fortified themselves to fight to the death against the Omayyads by doing penance at Ḥusain's grave four years after the battle of Kerbelā; they wanted to atone for their guilt which they had brought upon themselves by not having fought or died with the dead Ḥusain. One of them, 'Abd Allāh b. Wālī al-Taimī, calls Hasan and his brother and father the "bond (of reconciliation) (*waṣīla*) with God on the Day of Judgment". *Ṭabarī*, ii,

547, records this from Abū Mikhnaḥ but on the authority of an 'Alid, Ḥusain's grandson Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, through a *Shi'a* authority Salama b. Kuhail; but the latter, generally considered a Zaidī, does not belong to an ultra-*Shi'a* school.

In their elaborate form, the *ta'ziya* are recent and at one time could not be carried through without opposition from the mollas on account of their crude dogma and irreligious accompaniment of dances and processions. Adam Olearius who witnessed great celebrations in Ardabil in 1637 does not mention *ta'ziya*, nor does J. B. Tavernier (cf. *Vierzig-jährige Reisebeschreibung*, Nürnberg 1681, p. 178 sqq.) mention any special play among the Muḥarram ceremonies in Isfahān in 1667; on the other hand it was noted for example by J. Morier in 1811 in Teheran. It is probable that ancient rites of earlier mythological festivals like the Tammuz and Adonis cults have survived in the subsidiary plays which in India have been adapted by some Sunnis and even Hindus; the banners for the processions, a large staff, the hand which is carried round by those who summon to the festival and is now interpreted as the hand of Ḥusain which was cut off, have thus their ancient prototypes. That the significance of the sacred properties has altered is shown by the fact that among the *Shi'a* Tatars the *tābūt* is called the "marriage house of Kāsim". In many places there are accompanying rites with water, which were originally indigenous; the throwing of the *tābūt* into water among the Indian *Shi'is* may be due to Hindu influence. Even the style of the mourning garments is partly influenced by earlier forms. But the passion play itself is the popular expression of that religious feeling which has its roots in the historic fact of Kerbelā.

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TAZWIDJ. [See NIKĀH.]

TCHAD. [See TSAD.]

TEBESSA, a town in Algeria, 106 miles S. E. of Constantine and 12 from the Tunisian frontier in 35° 25' N. Lat. and 8° 5' E. Long. (Greenwich); the population is 10,399 of whom 1,614 are Europeans. It is the capital of a mixed commune of 425 sq. miles, corresponding to the territory formerly occupied by the confederation of the Namānsha, with 56,991 inhabitants, of whom 56,963 are natives.

Tebessa lies in the centre of a plateau of an

average height of 3,000 feet bounded by the massifs of the Osmor and of the Djebel Dukkān, eastern extensions of the Awrās, well watered by wādīs coming from the mountains; this region was once covered by dense forests; now almost entirely cleared of trees except in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, which is surrounded by a girdle of gardens, it is very well fitted for growing cereals, which is done by both natives and Europeans. This circumstance, along with the position of the town at the intersection of the roads from the plateaus of Numidia to central and southern Tunisia, made Tebessa an important market. Since the beginning of the xth century the exportation of the phosphates worked in the vicinity of the town and sent southwards by rail to Sūk Ahras has brought increased activity to Tebessa.

Tebessa corresponds to Thevesta, where in 25 B. C. Augustus established the head-quarters of the Third Legion Augusta. The town which grew up around the camp had 30,000 inhabitants by the time of Trajan. Raised to the rank of a colonia by Septimius Severus, it was at this time considered the most important and most populous town of Roman Africa next to Carthage. Some writers give it a population of 100,000. It declined after this period. After suffering considerably in the social and religious troubles of the fourth century, it was taken and sacked by the Vandals in the fifth century. Reoccupied by the Byzantines, it was restored by Solomon. He built fortifications around it partly out of materials from old buildings and thus made it a vast citadel. Nevertheless it passed into the hands of the Moors i. e. of the Berbers in 597, then to the Arabs in 682 (45 A. H.) after a battle the memory of which is preserved in the *Futūḥ Ifrīkiya*. Tebessa henceforth shared the destinies of this part of Africa. It belonged to the Aghlabids, to the Fātimids (from whom Abū Yazid took it temporarily), then to the Zirids and the Almohads. Ibn Ghāniya took it on two different occasions without being able to hold it permanently. It finally fell to the Ḥafṣids who held it for centuries but their hold on it seems always to have been rather precarious. The Turks took it, probably at the end of the xvth century, and put a garrison into it to watch the lands on the Tunisian frontiers which were being disputed by the powerful confederacies of the Ḥanānsha and the Namānsha. At this date Tebessa consisted of the town itself enclosed in the Byzantine walls and the village of the *zāwiya* inhabited by the descendants of the marabout Sidi ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and by freed negro slaves.

The population of the town is very heterogeneous: families originally from the neighbouring small towns of Oukes and Bekāria, immigrants from Tunisia from Djārid, Kuluglis, born of the union of soldiers of the garrison with women of the country. The last element finally became predominant and forced the Ḥanafī ritual upon the majority of the population. After the capture of Constantine by the French in 1837, the Turkish garrison fled into Tunisia and the town was left defenceless against the attacks of the nomads. To put an end to this some of the notables appealed to the French. French troops appeared before Tebessa in 1842, and again in 1846; a permanent garrison was established there in 1851 and a European colony soon began to gather round the military establishments.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, transl., index; Leo Africanus, *Description de l’Afrique*, transl. Schefer, t. iii, p. 113; Castel, *Tébessa, Histoire et description d’un territoire algérien*, Paris 1905; Féraud, *Notice sur Tébessa*, in *Rev. Africaine*, 1874; Masqueray, *Documents historiques sur l’Aurès, Revue Africaine*, 187; Vayssière, *Les Ouled Rochatche*, in *Revue Africaine*, 187. (G. YVER)

TEHERAN (TĒHRĀN), i. the capital of Persia.

The name. The Arab spelling Tihṛān survived down to the beginning of the xth century. The Arabs frequently rendered by ṭ the initial t of Persian names (aspiration?). The Arab Yāḳūt however admits the pronunciation Tihṛān; the Persian Zakariyā Ḳazwīnī only gives this form. The short i in modern Persian is regularly pronounced like a short e, whence the European transcriptions Teheran etc. (already in Clavijo and della Valle; Chardin: Théran). The pronunciation Tāhrān is unknown in Persia but the Turks of Constantinople, whose language sometimes preserves the oldest form of Persian words, say Tahrān.

The origin of the name is uncertain. The popular etymology: *tah* + *rān* “he who chases the people to the depths of the earth” is clearly based on Yāḳūt’s story. *Tah* might correspond to *tah/tih* “depth” in a northern dialect. We know several names combined with *tah* (Stack, i. 97; ii. 13: *tahdashk* < *tah-dashk*). It is tempting to see in the second element *-rān* a contraction of the name Raiy (Raghān > Raiyān > Rān); the whole would then mean “at the bottom, down from Raiy”, but this suggestion is difficult as there is another Tihṛān near Iṣfahān. It is however curious that the name of the latter has become Tīrān > Tīrūn, while the capital has retained its original form.

H. Schindler, *East. Pers. Irak*, London 1896, p. 131 sees in Tihṛān, *tīr-ān* “plains” (Vullers, i. 486, *tīr* “planities, desertum”). In order to explain *tīhr-* we have to start from its final form *tīr*, but certainty will only be attained when the word in its original form *tīhr* is found in documents. The preservation of *-hr-* (< *ṣr*) shows a word of the northern group (in the south *hr* becomes *s*). H. Schindler compares the name Tihṛān to that of the mountain *Shimrān* (written *Shamirān*; cf. below) in which he sees a plural of *shamar*, “mountain on which the water is kept to supply the plain” (*Burhān-i ḳāṭī*, without an example). *Shamar* as a rule means “pond, reservoir” (Vullers, ii. 462) which gives quite good sense. In any case the name must have a common origin with that of the Dailam castle *Shamirān* [cf. TAROM].

Position. Teheran lies in 51° 25' 2,8" E. Long. and 35° 41' 6,83" North Lat. in a depression (*gawd*) below the outer spurs of the Alburz. The pass of Sār-i Tawāl, which is a dozen miles north of the town, is 12,000 feet high. This chain does not form the watershed with the Caspian basin: from behind Sār-i Tawāl rise the rivers of Karādj and Djādjārūd, both of which run towards the Central Persian desert. A southern spur of the chain runs along the right bank of the Djādjārūd and forms a barrier to the east of the plain of Teheran. It is called Se-Pāyā (“tripod”). The little town of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm lies at its southern end. The ruins of Raiy [q. v.] lie between this town and Teheran. The altitude of Teheran is 3,810 feet (H. Schindler). The ground rises im-

mediately to the north of the town and forms 3 stages from Teheran to Kaşr-i Kādīār (3 miles), from there to Zarganda another 3 miles (alt. 4,500 feet), from there to the foot of Tawcāl.

Here on the slope of the mountain is the verdant district of Shimrān, which not only gives a cool retreat for the people of Teheran in the summer (May–Sept.) but also provides the city's water-supply. Teheran has no river; water is brought to it by some thirty deep subterranean conduits (*kanāt*, *kāriz*) from 5 to 10 miles in length, which come from the springs in the mountain.

The climate of Teheran, agreeable in winter, is unhealthy in summer; typhus and other fevers and dysentery are endemic there; every evening mist rises from the soil which is soaked by irrigation and envelops the town. Otherwise the climate is dry. According to the observations of H. Schindler, *Klimatafel'n aus Persien*, *Pet. Mitt.*, 1909, p. 361–370, made in Teheran during 17 consecutive years (1892–1908), the annual snowfall and rainfall varied between 134.25 (1901) and 330.75 (1904) millimetres. The winter of 1894–1895 was distinguished by a complete absence of snow or rain. During the summer of 1905–1906 there was not a drop of rain. The snowfall in winter varied between 16.50 and 96.25 mm. The average fall in mm. and the temperatures C° per month were as follows:

November	32.26	10.8	C°	May	12.66	23.9	C°
December	34.20	5.8		June	1.58	29.7	
January	46.03	1.1		July	1.11	29.7	
February	28.12	5.5		August	1.30	28.9	
March	47.72	8.6		Sept.	1.31	25.5	
April	35.56	15.5		Oct.	8.64	18.9	

The mean annual temperature is 16.9 C° with the extreme limits of + 42.2 and – 16.1. Other meteorological observations are given in Brugsch, ii., p. 475–481 and in Stahl, p. 52.

The choice of Teheran as capital is represented by certain writers (Kinneir, Curzon) as proof of the wisdom of the Kādīārs who wanted to control the northern frontier. In reality, the choice of Teheran was dictated primarily by the desire of the Turkish dynasty of the Kādīārs not to be too remote from their ancestral fief of Astarābād and to remain in contact with the Turkish tribes of northern Persia. The majority of early travellers (Olivier, v. 87; Dupré, ii. 187; Flandin, i. 235) emphasise the disadvantages of the site of the capital (want of water, bad climate, distance from the great roads). Some of these defects have been considerably mitigated by the improvements introduced since their day, but the main inconvenience, the eccentric position of the capital, will be felt when the development of the natural resources of the south of Persia will make clear their importance for the life of Persia. The following distances have been calculated by H. Grothe, *Persien*, Frankfurt 1911, p. 98–99:

Teheran—Anzali	220 miles
Teheran—Tabriz	360 "
Teheran—Meshhed	578 "
Teheran—Muḥammara	660 "
Teheran—Bushahr	764 "
Teheran—Bandar-Abbās	980 "

Routes. Fairly good natural roads connect the capital with the provinces. For communication with Mazandarān a road passable only by horses

and mules, was built by the Austrian engineer Gasteiger Khān in 1875. Between 1883 and 1892 a carriage road was begun by the Persians and finally finished of the English company of Lynch Brothers (95 miles). Communication with Russia used to be by Kaşwin–Tabriz–Djulfā–Tiflis. In 1850 a regular line by Russian steamers began to run between Bākū and Anzali. Although, as the crow flies, the distance between Teheran and the Caspian is only 70 miles, the passage of the Alburz was always very difficult. In 1893 the Russians obtained the concession to build a carriage road from Rasht to the capital (it was opened as far as Mandjil on Jan. 1, 1890 and to Teheran on Sept. 15, 1899). Henceforth the great majority of travellers took this route, which has also become of considerable commercial importance. Since the Russian revolution, all kinds of Russian enterprises have been introduced into Persia. Since 1917 there has been a motor-car service between Teheran and Baghdād, recently continued to Bairūt (Syria). An aeroplane service has put Teheran within a day's journey of Bākū. Since the accession to power of Riḍā Shāh, a plan for a trans-Persian railway has been drawn up and even partly put into execution (1928). It is to connect Teheran on the one hand with the Persian Gulf (Khōr-Mūsā through Lūristān) and on the other with the Caspian (Bandar-Gaz via Firūzkūh).

The province of Teheran. It consists of six districts (H. Schindler): 1. Shahrīyār on the N.W. on the right bank of the Karadj; 2. Sawdj-bulak (q.v., N° 2) to the N.W. of Shahrīyār; 3. Fāshāwiya (Pāshāpūya) to the S.W. of the town in the direction of Rabāt-Karīm; 4. Warāmin [q.v.] to the S.E.; 5. Shimrān to the north of the town, with 63 flourishing villages, of which the principal is Tadjrīsh; the villages of Kōlhāk (Gulhak) and Zarganda are occupied by the British and Russian legations respectively, to which they were given in 1835 by Muḥammad Shāh; 6. Kaşrān, to the north of Shimrān on the upper course of the Djādjarūd. As subdivisions of less importance, the Persian map gives Ghār immediately to the south of Teheran with the little town of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm; Lawāsānāt to the east of Shimrān; Kand (Kan) and Sawlākān to the west of Shimrān; Shahrīstānak to the north of Kand; Arange between Kand and Karadj.

Early references. De Goeje (Iṣṭakhri, p. 209 k) proposed to identify with Teheran the BHZĀN, BHTĀN or HHNĀN, mentioned by Iṣṭakhri, p. 209, Ibn Ḥawkal, p. 366 and Muḥaddasi, p. 375. This hypothesis has again been revived by Muḥammad Khān Kaşwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 39. But according to Yāqūt, i, 769 (although late and not very explicit), the place Bihzān which represented the old site of Raiy lay 7 farsakhs(?) from this latter town, while the same geographer places Teheran as one would expect 1 farsakh from Raiy. The earliest reference to Teheran is provisionally that of the *Fārsnāma*, *G.M.S.*, p. 134 (written before 510 = 1116); its author talks highly of the pomegranates of Teheran, also mentioned by al-Sam'ānī (in 555 = 1160), *G.M.S.*, p. 373. But independently of these references, the village of Teheran must have existed before the time of Iṣṭakhri (in 340) for Sam'ānī mentions his ancestor Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Thirānī al-Rāzi, who died at 'Askalān in Palestine in 261 (874). According to the *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr* (written in 599 = 1202), G.

M.S., p. 293, in 561 the mother of the Saldjūk Sultān Arslān, who was on her way from Raiy to Nakhīcawān made the first stop (the regular *naḥl-i maḥān* of the Persians) "near Teheran". The Sultān himself occasionally stayed near Dulāb (the name of a place to the S.E. of Teheran, where the Russian cemetery now is). Ibn Isfandiyār in the history of Tabaristān (written in 613 = 1216; *G. M. S.*, p. 19) narrating the wars of the kings of the Persian epic says that Afrasiyāb's camp was pitched at the place where "Dulāb and Tihṛān" now are. Eight years later, Yāqūt gave a brief note on Teheran which he had visited just before the Mongol invasion. It was a considerable town with 12 quarters. As the dwellinghouses in Teheran were built underground and the gardens around the town were very thick, the town was well protected and the government in its dealings with the inhabitants preferred to be tactful with them. Civil discord raged to such an extent in Teheran that the inhabitants tilled their fields with the spade from fear lest their neighbours should steal their animals. Ḳazwīnī (674 = 1275) compares the dwellinghouses in Teheran to the holes of yabus (*ka-nāḥikā'i 'l-yarbu'*) and confirms Yāqūt's account of the character of the inhabitants; cf. *Āṭḥār al-Bilād*, p. 228.

All later writers note the subterranean dwellings, but only Ker Porter (i. 312) says in this connection that 200—300 yards from the Ḳazwīn gate he saw inside the town "an open space full of wide and deep excavations or rather pits", which served as shelters for the poor and stables for the beasts of burden (cf. plate 57 in Hommaire de Hell). This must be a reference to the old *darwāza-yi naw* (*pā-kāpuḳ*) to the south of which the quarter is called Ghār ("caves"). This name is also applied to the whole district stretching to the south of Teheran. As to the troglodyte life in the vicinity of Teheran, cf. Eastwick, i. 294: a village to the east of the bridge of Karādj, and Crawshay-Williams, *Rock-dwellings at Rainah*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 551; 1906, p. 217.

The growth of Teheran was the result of the disappearance of other large centres in the neighbourhood. The decline of Raiy dates from its destruction by the Mongols in 617 (1220). In the Mongol period Teheran is occasionally mentioned in the *Djāmi' al-Tawāriḳh*: in 683 (1284), Arghūn, after the victory gained near Ak-Khṡādja (= Sūmīkān, *Nuḣḣat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 173) over al-Yanaḳ, Aḥmad Takūdār's general, arrived at "Tihṛān of Raiy" (cf. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 38). In 694 (1294) Ghāzān coming from Firūzkūh stopped at "Tihṛān of Raiy" (Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 138). According to the *Nuḣḣat al-Ḳulūb* (written in 1340; *G. M. S.*, p. 55), Teheran was a considerable town (*mu'tabir*) with a better climate than Raiy. Formerly (*mā ḳabl*) the inhabitants of Teheran were very numerous. The last remark may support the hypothesis of the identity of Teheran with BHZĀN (?).

In the Timurid period the village of "Tihṛān of Raiy" is mentioned in 806 (1403) as the place where the Shāh-zāde Rustam spent 20 days to assemble the troops with whom he marched against Iskandar-Shaiḳh Čālāwī (*Zafar-nāma*, ii. 572 = *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*; Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 175). About the same time (July 6, 1404) Teheran ("ciudad que ha nombre Teheran") was visited for the first time by a European traveller, the Spanish

Ambassador Clavijo (ed. St. Petersburg 1881, p. 186; transl. Le Strange, London 1928, p. 166). At this time the province of Raiy was governed by Timur's son-in-law, the Amir Sulaimān-shāh (*Zafar-nāma*, ii. 591; Clavijo, p. 189, 351: Zuleman or Cumalexa Mirassā). He lived in Warāmin (Vatami). The town of Raiy (Xahariprey) was not inhabited ("agora deshabitada"). In the tower of Teheran was a representative of the governor and there was a house where the king stopped on his visits ("una posada onde el Señor suele estar quando allí venia"). Teheran had no walls.

The Šafawids. Under the Šafawids the capital was moved in turn from Ardabil to Tabriz and then to Ḳazwīn and finally to Isfahān. The district of Raiy was no longer of great importance. There were only two towns of note in it: Warāmin, which after a brief spell of glory under Shāh Rukh had rapidly declined, and Teheran. According to Riḍā Ḳulī Khān (*Rawḍat al-Šafā-yi Naširi*), the first visits of the Šafawids to Teheran were due to the fact that their ancestor Saiyid Ḥamza was buried there near Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm. The prosperity of the town dates from Tahmāsp I who in 961 built a bazaar in it and a wall (*bāra*) round it which, according to the *Zinat al-Madji-lis*, was a farsakh in length (*Mir'at al-Buldān*: 6,000 *gām*, "paces"). The wall had 4 gates and 114 towers, the number of the Sūras of the Ḳur'ān (on each of the towers a sūra was inscribed). 114 towers are still given in Berezin's plan (1842). The material for the construction of the citadel was procured from the quarries of Čāl-i Maidān and Čāl-i Hiṣār, which have given their names to two quarters. Aḥmad Rāḍī, himself belonged to the district of Raiy, talks in laudatory terms of the incomparable abundance of the canals and gardens of Teheran and the delights of the plateau of Shamirān, and of the neighbouring district of Kand and Sulāḳān (MS. Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers., No. 357, fol. 436—467, the greater part of which is devoted to the great men of the old town of Raiy). According to the *Madji-lis al-Mu'minīn*, the village of Sulāghān was founded by the celebrated Saiyid Muḥammad Nūrbakḥsh, founder of many religious movements, who died in 869 (1464).

In 985 Teheran was the scene of the execution of Prince Mirzā, whose enemies had accused him to Shāh Ismā'il II of aiming at the throne. In 998 (1589) Shāh 'Abbās I going against the Uzbek 'Abd al-Mu'mīn Khān fell severely ill at Teheran (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 275), which enabled the Uzbeks to seize Meshhed. It is said that this gave Shāh 'Abbās a great dislike for Teheran. It is however from his time that the building of the palace of Čāhār Bāgh dates, the site of which was later occupied by the present citadel (*ark*). Pietro della Valle visited Teheran in 1618 and found the town larger in area but with a smaller population than Kāshān. He calls it the "town of plain-trees". At this time a beglerbegi ("gran capo di provincia") lived in Teheran; his jurisdiction extended as far as Firūzkūh. In 1627 Sir Thomas Herbert estimated the number of houses in Teheran at 3,000.

The Afghāns. On the eve of the Afghān invasion Shāh Ḥusain Šafawī made a stay in Teheran and it was here that he received Durri-Efendi, the ambassador of Aḥmad III (at the beginning of 1720; cf. *Relation de Dourri Efendi*, Paris 1810).

Here also was dismissed and blinded the grand vizier Fath 'Alī Khān I'timād al-Dawla ("Athemat" of the Europeans) which precipitated the debacle; cf. Krusinski (publ. by Du Cerceau), *Hist. des révol. de Perse*, 1742, i. 295. Shāh Husain only returned to Iṣfahān (June 1, 1721; La Mamyé Clairac, i. 200) to lose his throne. Tahmāsp II made a stay in Teheran in August 1725, but, on the approach of the Afghāns, he fled to Māzandarān. European writers say that Teheran resisted and Ashraf lost many men (Krusinski, *op. cit.*, p. 351; La Mamyé Clairac, *Hist. de Perse*, 1750, ii. 250; Hanway, ii. 234). Some time afterwards Teheran fell in spite of the feeble attempt by Fath 'Alī Khān Qājār to relieve the town (cf. Olivier, v. 89 and *Mir'āt al-Buldān*). According to this last source, the *Darwāza-yi Dawla* and *Darwāza-yi Ark* gates date from this period, for the Afghāns everywhere showed themselves careful to secure the ways of retreat. The reference is of course to the old gates of those names.

After the defeat of Ashraf at Mihmāndūst (6th Rabi' I, 1141 = Sept. 20, 1728) the Afghāns in Teheran put to death the notables and left for Iṣfahān. The inhabitants fell upon the impedimenta they had left and through negligence a powder magazine was exploded (*Histoire de Nadir Chah*, transl. Jones, London 1770, p. 78). Ashraf himself was soon driven out of Warāmin and Shāh Tahmāsp II returned to Teheran.

Nādir. In 1154 (1741) Nādir gave Teheran as a fief to his eldest son Ridā Quli Mirzā, who had hitherto acted as ruler of all Persia. The nomination to Teheran was preliminary to the fall and blinding of the prince; cf. Jones, ii. 123; Hanway, ii. 357, 378; 'Abd al-Karīm, *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekke*, ed. Langlès, 1825, p. 93.

During the fighting among the successors of Nādir, 'Alī Shāh 'Ādil (1160 = 1747) took refuge in Teheran but was seized and blinded by Ibrāhīm's supporters (*Ta'rikh-i ba'd-i Nādirīya*, ed. O. Mann, p. 34). After the fall of the Nādirids, Teheran passed into the sphere of influence of the Qājārs, rivals of Karīm Khān Zand.

Karīm Khān. In 1171 (1757) Sultān Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār, after an unsuccessful battle with Karīm Khān near Shirāz, retired to Teheran where his army was disbanded. Having learned that he had withdrawn from Teheran, Karīm Khān sent his best general Shaikh 'Alī Khān there with an advance-guard. With the help of Muḥammad Khān Dawalu, Muḥammad Ḥasan Qājār was killed and Karīm Khān with his army (*ordu*) arrived at Teheran in 1172 (1759). The head of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was buried with all honour at Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm. The next year the order was given to build at Teheran a seat of government (*'imārat*) "which would rival the palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon", a *diwān-khāna*, a *ḥaram* and quarters for the bodyguard; cf. Šādiq Nāmī, *Ta'rikh-i Giti Gushā*, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers., N^o. 1374, fol. 29. Šanī' al-Dawla added to these buildings the garden Djannat and says that Karīm Khān intended to make Teheran his capital. It was to Teheran that Ākā Muḥammad Qājār, captured in Māzandarān, was taken to Karīm Khān, who treated him generously, for which he was very badly requited later. In 1176 however, Karīm Khān decided on Shirāz to which he moved the machinery of government. Ghāfur Khān was left as governor in Teheran.

The rise of the Qājārs. Karīm Khān died on the 13th Šafar 1193. By the 20th Šafar Ākā Muḥammad was in Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm and the next day he ascended the throne (*djulūs*) in the vicinity of Teheran (*Mir'āt*, i. 525). Teheran however passed into the sphere of influence of 'Alī Murād Khān, half-brother of Dja'far Khān Zand (*Ta'rikh-i Zandiya*, ed. Beer, p. 8, 13, 25). In 1197 (1783) Ākā Muḥammad Khān made a first attempt to get possession of Teheran but the governor Ghāfur Khān Tihirāni managed to procrastinate and an outbreak of plague forced Ākā Muḥammad to withdraw to Damghān (*Mir'āt*). After the death of 'Alī Murād Khān (1199 = 1785) the town was besieged by Ākā Muḥammad's troops. The inhabitants did not wish to surrender the fortress (*kāf'a*) before Ākā Muḥammad had taken Iṣfahān. The news of the advance of Dja'far Khān Zand from Fārs caused Ākā Muḥammad's troops to disperse. He was however received with open arms by the chiefs of Teheran (*ḥakim wa-'ummāl*) and henceforward the town was his capital (*maḥarr-i salṭanat*, *dār al-salṭana* and later *dār al-khiṭāfa*), from which he led the expeditions which united all Persia under his rule. According to the *Ma'āthir-i sultāni*, transl. Brydges, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, p. 18, Teheran became the capital in 1200 (1786) and the foundations of the palace were laid then. After the capture of Shirāz all the artillery and munitions of the Zands were taken to the new capital. The last Zand king Luṭf 'Alī Khān, blinded and kept prisoner in Teheran, was put to death there in 1209 and buried in the sanctuary of the *imām-zāde* Zaid; *ibid.*, p. 25, 30, 76, 82, 101.

After the assassination of Ākā Muḥammad Shāh (21st Dhu 'l-Hiǧǧja 1211 = June 16, 1797) his brother 'Alī Quli Khān appeared before the capital but the prime minister Mirzā Shāfi' would not allow him to enter. In the meanwhile the heir to the throne Babā Khān (= Fath 'Alī Shāh) was able to reach Shirāz and after the defeat of the second claimant Šādiq Khān Shakaḳi, was crowned at the beginning of 1798. The Shakaḳi [q. v.] prisoners were employed to dig the ditch of the capital (cf. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Fath 'Alī Shah una seine Thronrivalen*, Sitz. A. W. Wien, 1864, ii., p. 1-31).

During the period of Anglo-French rivalry a series of ambassadors visited Teheran: on the one side Sir John Malcolm (1801 and 1810), Sir Harford Jones Brydges (1807), Sir Gore Ouseley (1811) and on the French side Gen. Romieu (d. at Teheran in 1806), A. Jaubert (1806), Gen. Gardane (1807). The Russians concentrated their efforts on Tabriz, the residence of the Persian Crown Prince. It was only after the treaty of Turkmančai (q. v.; 1828) that the Russian minister A. S. Griboyedow paid a short visit to the capital. Just before his return to Tabriz, Mirzā Ya'qub, one of the Shāh's chief eunuchs, an Armenian of Eriwān forcibly converted to Islām, presented himself at the Russian legation and asked to be repatriated by virtue of article 13 of the treaty. This "apostacy" provoked an attack on the Russian embassy and on Feb. 11, 1829, 45 members of it were massacred (Griboyedow, his secretaries, Cossacks and servants). The tragedy took place in the legation's quarters (house of the *zambūrakī-bashi* near the old Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm gate; now the street called Sar-pulak in the Zargarābād

quarter). On the death of Griboyedow, celebrated in the annals of Russian literature, cf. *sub anno* Riḍā-Kulī-Khān, *Rawḍat al-Safā-yi Nāṣiri*, Tih-rān 1274 (1858); Mirzā Takī Khān, *Ta'rikh-i Kādjarīye*, Tih-rān 1273 (1857), i. 221; Šanī^c al-Dawla, *Ta'rikh-i Muntagim-i Nāṣiri*, iii., 1301 (1883), p. 144; *Relation des événements qui ont précédé et accompagné le massacre de la dernière ambassade russe en Perse*, *Nouv. Annales des voyages*, 1830, part 48, p. 337-367; Bergé, *Smert' Griboyedova*, *Russ. Starina*, 1872, viii. 162-207; Malyschinsky, *Podlinnoye delo*, *Russ. vestnik*, 1890, vi. 160-233; Žukovski, *Persidskiye letopistsy*, *Novoye Vremia*, 1890, N^o. 5068; Allahverdiants, *Končina Griboyedova po armianskim istočnikam*, *Russ. Starina*, 1901, N^o. 10, p. 44-68; Minorsky, "Tsena krovī" *Griboyedova*, *Russ. Mysl*, Prague 1923, iii. 1-15.

When the death of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh (Oct. 19, 1834) became known in the capital his son 'Alī Mirzā Zill-i Sulṭān proclaimed himself king under the name of 'Adil Shāh and struck coins. But the heir to the throne Muḥammad Mirzā arrived from Tabriz, accompanied by representatives of Britain and Russia, and entered the capital without striking a blow on Jan. 2, 1835. 'Adil Shāh only reigned for six weeks (cf. Tornau, *Aus. d. neuesten Geschichte Persiens*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1849, p. 1-15). The succession of the next three Shāhs took place without incident [cf. KADJĀR] (even after the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh on May 1, 1896). The history of Teheran under these Shāhs is that of all Persia. The tranquillity of the town was only disturbed by epidemics and the periodical migrations caused by famine; cf. the rioting on March 1, 1861 described by Eastwick, *op. cit.* and Ussher, *Journey from London to Persopolis*, London 1865, p. 625.

Among the more important events may be mentioned the persecution of the Bābīs [q. v.], especially in 1850 after the attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The movement against the concession of a tobacco monopoly to the Tobacco Monopoly Corporation in 1891 also started in Teheran; cf. Browne, *The Persian Revolution*, Cambridge 1910, p. 46-57.

The Revolution. Since the Persian revolution, the capital, previously somewhat isolated from the provinces, has rapidly become the political and intellectual centre of this country. The chronology of the events of the period is as follows: The *bast* of the merchants in the *Masdjid-i Shāh*, Dec. 1905. The *bast* of the constitutionalists at the British legation from July 20 to Aug. 5, 1906. The opening of the *Madjlis* in the palace of Bahārīstān on Oct. 7, 1906. The heir to the throne Muḥammad 'Alī Mirzā signs the constitution on Dec. 30, 1906. Death of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh on Jan. 8, 1907. The assassination of the Atābeg Amin al-Dawla on Aug. 31, 1907. Counter-manifestations by the "absolutists" from Dec. 13-19, 1907. Bombardment of the *Madjlis* on June 23, 1908. Capture of Teheran by the nationalist troops commanded by the Sipahdār-i Aẓam of Rasht and the Sardār-i As'ad Bakhtiyārī on July 13-15, 1909. Abdication of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh on July 16, accession of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh on July 18, 1909; cf. Browne, *Persian Revolution* and D. Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt*, London 1910, p. 82-116; on the events of May 12, 1911 to Jan. 11, 1912, information will be found in

Morgan Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia*, London 1912. In 1915 Teheran became involved in the Great War. The representatives of the Central Powers nearly carried Shāh Sulṭān Aḥmad off to Kūm with them. The capital was outside of the zone of military operations proper but on several occasions movements of troops took place in its vicinity (skirmish on Dec. 10, 1915 near Rabāt-Karīm between Russian Cossacks and the Amīr Hishmat's gendarmes who were on the side of the Central Powers; cf. Emelianow, *Persidskii front*, Berlin 1923). Down to 1917, Russian troops controlled the region between the Caspian and Teheran. From 1918 English troops took their place; cf. Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*, London 1920. The division of Persian Cossacks commanded by the old Russian instructors was also employed to protect Persia against a possible offensive from the north. The Russian officers were dismissed on Oct. 30, 1920. The greater part of the division was stationed at Qazwīn where an English force under General Ironside was still quartered. On Feb. 21, 1921, 2,500 Persian Cossacks who had come from Qazwīn under the command of their general Riḍā-Khān occupied the capital. Saiyid Diyā' al-Dīn formed the new cabinet (Feb. 24-May 24) and Riḍā Khān was appointed commander-in-chief (*Sardār Sipah*; cf. J. M. Balfour, *Recent Happenings in Persia*, London 1922). Towards the end of 1923 the Shāh Sulṭān Aḥmad left the country at the same time as the prime minister Kāwām al-Saltāna (from June 4, 1921), who was accused of intriguing against the Sardār Sipah. The latter remained master of the situation and was finally crowned on April 25, 1926 [cf. PAHLAWI].

Growth of the town. Yākūt's account of the houses of Teheran suggests that the oldest part of the town is in the south (the Ghār quarter) and that it developed from south to north (i.e. from the desert to the mountain and to the springs). There is little left in Teheran of the Zand period. The modern town has been entirely created under the Kādjar's.

Olivier who visited Teheran in 1796 says that the town, which looked entirely new or rebuilt, was in the form of a square of a little more than 2 miles (?), but only half of this was built upon. The population did not exceed 15,000 of whom 3,000 were soldiers and Olivier remarks with justice that "the gold scattered around the throne" did not fail to attract inhabitants. The palace in the citadel was built in the time of Ākā Muḥammad Shāh. In the *Tālār-i takht-i Marmar* were placed the pictures, glass and marble pillars taken from the palace of Karīm Khān in Shirāz. Under the threshold of a door were buried the bones of Nādir Shāh so that the Kādjar prince could trample over them every day (Ouseley). On the accession of Riḍā Shāh the bones were taken from there.

According to General Gardane (1808), only the poor remained in Teheran in summer, but in winter the population reached 50,000.

Morier (1808-1809) says Teheran was 4½-5 miles in circumference. Kinneir about the same time put the summer population at 10,000 and the winter at 60,000. The town was surrounded by a strong wall and a great ditch with a glacis but the defences were only of value in a country where "the art of war was unknown".

Ouseley (1811) counted 6 gates in Teheran, 30 mosques and colleges and 300 baths; he put the population in winter at 40—60,000. Ker Porter (1817) mentions 8 (?) gates before which large round towers were built (cf. his plan) to defend the approaches and control the exits. In winter the population was from 60—70,000.

Fath 'Alī Shāh had considerably improved the town but towards the end of his reign it passed through a period of neglect. According to Fraser (1838), there was not another town in Persia so poor looking; "not a dome" was to be seen in it. Under Muḥammad Shāh things were improved a little.

Berezin has given a particularly detailed description of the palace (*ḡarb-i dawlat-khāna*) with its four courts and numerous buildings (Dawlat-khāna, Daftar-khāna, Kulāh-i firangī ["pavilion"], Sandūq-khāna, Zargar-khāna, 'Imārat-i Shīr-i Khorshīd, Sarwistān, Khalwat-i Shāh, Gulistān). The same traveller gives a plan of the palace and of the town, very important for the historical topography of Teheran. At this date (1842), the town within its walls measured about 3,800 Persian *arshīn* (roughly yards) from west to east and 1,900—2,450 from north to south, i.e. occupied an area of about 3 square miles (Polak's calculation, *op. cit.*, p. 223: 83,750 square metres is obviously wrong). The citadel (*ark*) was in the shape of a parallelogram (600 *arshīn* W. to E. by 1,175 N. to S., i.e. a fourth of the whole town). The north side of the *ark* touched the centre of the northern face of the outer wall. Gardens occupied the parts of the town next the wall. The most animated quarter was that which lay to the S.E. of the citadel in the direction of the Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm gate. Only five gates are marked on this plan. The only open space, the Maidān-i Shāh close to the citadel on the south side, was not large (cf. the plate in *Hommaire de Hell*). Among the mosques that of the Shāh and the *imām-sāde* of Zaid and Yaḥyā alone are of any importance. Gardane had seen the *Masǧid-i Shāh* being built in 1807. Its inscription from the hand of the court calligrapher Muḥammad Mahdī is dated 1224 (1809), but according to Schindler, the mosque was not finished till 1840 (cf. Fraser above).

The plan by Kržiž (1857) much resembles that of Berezin, but around the town he marks by dotted lines the bounds of a new extension of the town, which according to an explanatory note by Dr. Polak, had been begun considerably before 1857. Polak himself in 1853 had built a hospital to the north of the north gate of the town. These new buildings were few in number and not built under any regular scheme. In 1861 the town was still within the old square; the population was 80,000 in summer and 120,000 in winter (Brugsch).

The new town. A radical change took place in 1869—1874 (cf. Curzon, Stahl and H. Schindler; the official figures on the projects for the development of the town have not yet been discovered). The town was extended on all sides. The old ditch and the bulk of the walls disappeared. Teheran assumed the form of an irregular octagon surrounded by new fortifications (bastions of earth, with fosses) modelled on those of Paris but of no military importance. According to Curzon, i. 305, the work was done during the famine of 1871; cf. Brittlebank, *Persia during the famine*, London 1873. The town was given 12 gates. The

old gates were retained within the city but their names were transferred to the corresponding gates on the new lines of fortification. The latter are 20,000 yards in length; the area now occupied by Teheran is $7\frac{1}{2}$ square miles (H. Schindler). Before the old Dawlat gate the important Tūp-khāna (arsenal) 250×120 yards was built, surrounded by the artillery barracks. A *champ de Mars* (*Maidān-i Mashh*) even more spacious (550×350 yards) was laid out N.W. of the Tūp-khāna. Two parallel and important arteries, Khīyābān-i 'Alā' al-Dawla and Lālazar, now run from the Maidān-i Tūp-khāna to the north. The old promenades outside the walls, Lālazar, Nigāristān etc., were incorporated in the town. The new quarters attracted first of all the foreign legations. The first French (Gardane) and British (H. Jones, Ouseley) missions had been lodged in the house of Amin al-Dawla near the old Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm Gate. In the time of Ouseley a British legation was built on land belonging to the Zamburakī-bāshī which the Shāh gave to the English (it was near another estate of the same owner that Griboyedow was assassinated). The new British legation was built in 1870 at the end of the 'Alā' al-Dawla avenue. When the Russian legation was definitely established in Teheran in 1834 it was lodged in the home of the grand vizier Ḥādīdī Mirzā Aghāsī in the *ark* itself. In 1880 the Russians built themselves a legation in the Pāmīnār quarter (east of the *ark*) but in 1915 they finally settled in the "park of the Atābeg" immediately to the north of the English. The Turkish and French legations are east and west of the English. The European shops and the Persian notables have followed the legations but the centre of trade is still the old bazaar, which is entered to the south of the *ark*.

Teheran has no fine public buildings. The mosque of the Sipāhsālār (Mirzā Ḥusain Khān, d. 1298 = 1881) is the most imposing edifice in Teheran (in the new quarter on the N.E. beside the Bahāristān palace, which has been occupied since 1906 by the Maǧlis); the building was begun in 1296 (1878), cf. *Ma'āthir al-Athār*, p. 83, and finished about 1890. Its Madrasa bears the date of 1302 (1884).

The principal beauty of Teheran is the large private houses with their gardens and flowers. Around it there are many country houses and palaces of the Kādjār style, which is not negligible from the artistic point of view and which continues the traditions of Ṣafawī architecture. Such is 'Ishrat-ābād just north of Teheran; see the picture in Curzon, i. 34 (cf. p. 326 and in d'Allemagne the pavilion of the Shams al-'Imāra in the *ark*). The chateau of Kaṣr-i Kādjār is now in ruins (cf. the plates in Saltykoff, de Coste and Hommaire de Hell). The hunting-lodge Yowshān-tapa, "hill of hyssop" (popularly called Dowshān-tapa = "hill of the hares"), situated at the foot of the mountain of Sep-pāyā (to the east of Teheran), is connected with the town by a good road (3 miles) opened on Oct. 14, 1874 (Serena). Pious people of the town make the pilgrimage to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm, a little town beyond the ruins of Raiy [q. v.]. The railway from Teheran to this sanctuary is 5 miles in length (with two branch lines, one a mile long and the other $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles); it was built between 1888 and 1893 and till 1915 was the only railway in Persia. The use

of gas was introduced into Persia in 1875 (Serena); electric light began to be used about 1905.

Under the Pahlawi regime considerable public works have been undertaken in the town. A Society of Friends of Old Teheran was founded in the capital in 1926 and it is to be hoped that it will be able to describe and protect what there is remarkable among the buildings of the Qājār period.

Teheran which still continues to grow towards the north, is now the largest city in Persia. In 1878 Mme. Serena reckoned the population at 200,000 in winter and 80,000 in summer. In 1900 Stahl gave 250,000 in the city and 350,000 in the 670 adjoining towns and villages. Balfour (1921) quotes a Persian testimony to the effect that the minimum number of inhabitants of Teheran is 250,000 while the "reasoned highest figure" may be 380,000 (for the province of Teheran these figures are 700,000 and 800,000).

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the streets; Berezin, *Puteshestviye po Vostoku* (1842), Kazan 1852, ii. 143—177, with an important plan of Teheran and Raiy; Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage* (1846—1848), Paris 1856, ii. 115—213, Atlas, Paris 1859, pl. 57—73: excellent views of Teheran, the palace, the Maidān-i Shāh etc. by Laurents (cf. below d'Allemagne); Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of . . . Persia* (1849), London 1856, p. 118 and *passim*; Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie* (1834), Paris, p. 275, 211—225; A. H. Mounsey, *A journey* (1865—1866), London 1872, p. 127—147; Eastwick, *Journal* (1860—1861), London 1864, i. 217—245 and *passim*; Brugsch, *Reise d. K. Preussischen Gesandtschaft* (1860—1861), Leipzig 1865, i. 207—234 and *passim*, several coloured plates; J. Basset, *Persia* (1871—1884), London 1886, p. 102—119; Mme. Serena, *Hommes et choses en Perse* (1877—1878), Paris 1883, p. 48 sqq.; Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, London 1882, ii. 151—169; Orsolle, *Le Caucase et la Perse* (1882), Paris 1885, p. 210—294; S. G. W. Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians* (1883—1885), London 1887, p. 56—109; Curzon, *Persia* (1889—1890), London 1892, i. 300—353 (still the most important description); E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, p. 82—98; S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life*, London 1896, p. 140—155; Feuvrier, *Trois ans à la cour de Perse* (1889—1891), n. d., p. 126—219 (numerous illustrations); Houtum-Schindler, *Teheran*, *Encycl. Brit.*, 1911, 11th ed., xxvi. 506 (excellent résumé); d'Allemagne, *Du Khorasan etc.*, Paris 1911, iii. 215—268 and index: plan of the Ark, many illustrations (including several drawings by Laurents, 1848). Cf. also Hirsch, *Téhéran*, Paris 1862; Forges, *Téhéran et la Perse en 1863*, *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 mai 1864; G. Spasskii, *Nineshnii Teheran i yego okrestnosti*, *Izv. Russ. Geogr. Obsch.*, 1866, ii. 146; Vambéry, *Meine Wanderungen in Persien*, Pesth 1868, p. 106—123, 260.

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2. A village in the province of Isfahān (in the district of the lower Kārwan, to the N.W. of Isfahān). Sam'āni, p. 373, knows the two Tihārāns of which "that of Raiy is better known than that of Isfahān". He mentions several traditionists born in the village, the oldest of whom is 'Ukāil

b. Yahyā Abi Sālih, d. in 258 (871); cf. also Yāfūt. The name is now pronounced Tīrūn; cf. Čirikow (1850), *Putewoi Journal*, p. 158, but Brugsch, ii. 39 writes Tehran. According to Houtum-Schindler, *East. Persian Irak*, p. 124, 127, 131, near Isfahān there is still a Tīhrān ("Tiran Ahangaran"). The Tiran canal (which runs from there?) waters the Maḥalla-yi now and Bidābād quarters of Isfahān. (V. MINORSKY)

TEKE or **TEKKE**, a Turkoman tribe. They are not mentioned among the 22 (so Mahmūd Kāshgharī, i. 56 sqq.) or 24 (so Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, vii. 32 sqq.) Oghuz tribes. At a later date they are described as descendants of the Salur [q. v.]. Abu 'l-Ghāzī [q. v.] comprises the Teke with two other tribes, the Sarfīk and the Yomut, under the name "Outer Salur" (*tashkhi Salūr*; ed. Desmaisons, p. 209). In his still unprinted history of the Turkomans, Abu 'l-Ghāzī describes the Sarfīk and Teke as descendants of the Salur Toi-Tutmas (transl. Tumanskiy, p. 67). From certain passages in Abu 'l-Ghāzī's great work (see Index in Desmaisons' edition) it is evident that the Teke in the xth (xvth) century and xith (xviith) century lived on the Balkhān [q. v.] and Kūren-Dagh. There were also traders in this nomad tribe (*op. cit.*, p. 324: *sawdāgar*).

Towards the end of the xviiith century the Teke began to move eastwards, where they gradually displaced the Emreli (descendants of the old tribe of Eimūr) and the Qaradashlī (descendants of the old tribe of Yazghūr or Yazr) from the Akhal [see AKHAL-TEKKE] and the Sarfīk from Sarakhs [q. v.] and Merw. The final occupation of Merw by the Teke did not take place till 1857 and 1859 under Kowshut-Khān (d. 1878); in the fighting with him in 1855 the Khān of Khīwa (see KHẒARIZM) was killed at Sarakhs and in 1860 the Persians were defeated at Merw.

After the establishment of the Russians on the Balkhān (foundation of Krasnovodsk in 1869) the Teke had to be conquered. Fighting began in 1877 (occupation of Kizil-Arwat by the Russians and the attack by the Teke on Čikishlar and Krasnovodsk itself in 1878) and was only ended in 1884 by the conquest of Merw, although the whole tribe of the Teke according to the Russian calculations only numbered about 300,000 and did not form a single political unit. There were a large number of separate leaders who claimed the title of Khān; but even those among them who distinguished themselves by personal ability or valour (in addition to Kowshut-Khān, especially Nūr Werdi Khān who died in 1880 in Gök-Tepe) could only influence a small section of the tribe. The fighting during the siege and storming of Gök-Tepe (Jan. 12—24, 1881) was particularly bitter. This was the only fighting in Central Asia in which the Russians lost standards and guns.

Since the establishment of Russian rule, more especially since the revolution, the various tribal names included that of Teke have lost their special significance before the general term "Turkoman".

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TEKE-ELI, a district in Asia Minor, formerly the land of the Teke-oghlu [q. v.], in Pamphylia and Lycia.

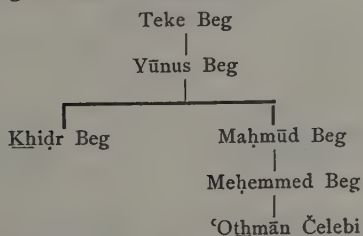
Teke-eli, i. e. land of the goat (*teke* = goat, not *tekke*, from which we find the name erroneously derived as early as J. Leunclavius), lies in Southern Anatolia and comprises roughly the land around Finika, Elmalı, Istanos, Istawros and the two ports of Adalia [q. v.] and 'Alā'ya [q. v.]. In the north, Teke-eli was bounded by the districts of Karaman [q. v.], Hamid-eli [q. v.], in the east by İç-eli, in the west by Monteshe-eli [q. v.]. In the south the sea forms the natural frontier. The early history of Teke-eli, like that of the petty dynasty of the Teke-oghlu, is rather obscure. Connections with Persia must have existed very early and it is to them that must be traced the peculiar position of this country from the religious point of view. A certain Shaikh Šadr al-Dīn had formed a strong religious community there, which was spared by Tīmūr in his campaign through Asia Minor. Teke-eli and the adjoining country of Hamid-eli from this time onwards has been particularly partial to "Persian Shaikhs" (cf. F. Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-Din*, p. 85 sq.; cf. also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 344 for Djanābī's evidence). It is a fact that many 'Alid risings have taken place in Teke-eli, as for example that strange rebellion of Baba Šah Kūlf of Bazardjik (near Adalia; cf. F. Babinger, *op. cit.*, p. 88 sq.) in April 1510, which was closely connected with Šafawī rule [q. v.] in Persia, and Teke-eli is inhabited by 'Alid sectarians like the Takhtadjis [q. v.] whose position is peculiar in several respects. In the history of the trade of the Levant, the ports of Adalia and 'Alā'ya play a prominent part. In the ninth (fifteenth) century they were the most important centres for the export of the products of Asia Minor to Alexandria and Damietta; Adalia was able to maintain its independence till 1450 while 'Alā'ya did not pass to the Ottomans till 1472. On the history of Teke-eli cf. the article TEKE-OGHLU.

Bibliography: 'Alī Bey, *Teke-eli zur Zeit [Mehemmeds] des Eroberers*, in *T. O. F. M.*, ii. 79, Stambul 1924; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, ii., Leipzig 1885, p. 354 sq.; Ch. Fellows, *Discoveries in Lycia*, London 1841; Spratt and Forbes, *Travels in Lycia*, etc., London 1847, 2 vols.; Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis*, Vienna 1889; Graf Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, Vienna 1893; Sulaimān Fikrī, *Anāliya Ta'rikhi*, Stambul 1340, p. 196, pp. 8° with maps and pictures. (FRANZ BABINGER)

TEKE-OGHLU, a dynasty in Anatolia, which ruled over Teke-eli [q. v.].

The origin of the Teke-oghlu has not yet been elucidated. It is more than probable that they

are connected with the Teke Turkomans just as the *Dhu 'l-Kādir-oghlu* [q.v.] are presumably to be connected with the *Torghudlus* (cf. *Islām*, xii. 102). The history of the Turkoman tribes scattered over Asia Minor who included also the Warsak (the *Baprandes* of Chalkondyles, p. 243) is wrapped in obscurity. As to the Teke Turkomans, they are known to have frequently changed their place of settlement (cf. J. v. Karabaček, *Zur or. Alttertums-kunde*, iv.: *Muhammed. Kunststudien*, in the *S.B. Ak. Wien*, vol. 172, *Abhandl.* 1, Vienna 1913, p. 32 sq.); they belonged to the *Kızılbaş*, who were known to have been disseminated over Teke-eli. The ancestor of the Teke-oghlu is given as a somewhat legendary Teke Beg, also called Teke Pasha, who ruled over Adalia under Saldjuk suzerainty. His son Yünus Beg succeeded him but nothing is known of his reign. When in 733 (1333) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelled through Adalia, he found Yünus' son *Khidr Beg* ruling as chief of Teke-eli (cf. *HAMID*). He was succeeded by his brother *Maḥmūd Beg*, about whose reign we are no better informed. In 774 (1372) we already find his son *Meḥammed Beg* in his place (cf. Sulaimān Fikrī, *Anṭaliya Ta'rikhi*, p. 62). Ewliyā Celebi in his *Travels* (*Seyāhet-nāme*, cf. *T.O.E.M.*, No. 2 [79], p. 81) mentions an Arabic inscription of 774 (1372) dating from him. Otherwise we know practically nothing of *Meḥammed Beg's* activities. In 794 (1392) *Sultān Bāyazid I Yildirim* put an end to the principality of Teke-eli and incorporated it in the Ottoman empire (cf. Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādī al-Tawārikh*, i. 128 sq.). Ottoman rule only lasted till 805 (1402) when a son of *Meḥammed Beg* named 'Oṯmān Celebi appears as ruler. Two years later he made an alliance with several other rulers who had meanwhile risen to power. Twenty years afterwards (827 = 1424) 'Oṯmān Celebi again appears in history, when he was defeated and slain at the siege of Adalia by the Ottoman governor of *Karāḥīşār-Şāhib* [q.v.], *Ḥamza b. Fīrūz Beg* (cf. *Şolāk-zāde, Ta'rikh*, p. 155 sqq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 425). A sister of 'Oṯmān Celebi passed into Ottoman captivity; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 425. With her the line of the Teke-oghlu probably became extinct. Its genealogical table is as follows:



The *Tekke-oghlu Derebeys* [q.v.] mentioned by European travellers in the region of Adalia as late as the reign of *Maḥmūd II* can hardly be connected with the dynasty of the name; on them, see F. Beaufort, *Karamania*, London 1817, p. 118 sqq.; W. Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, London 1820, iii. 386; C. R. Cockerell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant*, London 1903, p. 182 and V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 860.

Bibliography: 'Ali, *Teke Imāreti*, in *T. O. E. M.*, No. 2 (79), 77 sqq.; Sulaimān Fikrī, *Anṭaliya Ta'rikhi*, Stambul 1340, passim; *Khalil Edhem, Dürvel-i İslāmiye*, Stambul 1345, p. 286;

E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie*, Hanover 1927, p. 153; Aḥmad Tawḥīd, *Über die Inschriften von Adalia*, in *T. O. E. M.*, No. 83, 1924, p. 336.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

TEKĪ-KHĀN, Mīrzā, better known by his title of Amīr-i Nīzām, prime minister of Persia. Of humble origin (his father was cook and later maître d'hotel to the *kā'immaḥām*, prime minister to Muḥammad Shāh), he entered the service of the commander-in-chief of the army and accompanied *Khusraw Mīrzā* on his embassy to St. Petersburg. By rapid promotion he became vizier of the army in *Ādharbāidjān*, representative of Persia on the frontier commission of Erzerūm, and chief officer of the heir presumptive, Nāṣir al-Dīn, who appointed him prime minister when he came to the throne in 1848. He refused the title of *Şadr-i A'zam* [q.v.] and took that of Amīr-i Nīzām.

He undertook to remedy the abuses which were ruining the country, such as the sale of the public taxes, the enormous number of pensions given to unworthy individuals, the embezzlement of public funds practised by officers at the expense of the soldiers. He succeeded in putting the finances of the state on a sound footing. He became brother-in-law of the Shāh.

He had made many enemies and a conspiracy was made to assassinate him, but it was discovered in time. He persecuted the Bābī movement, arrested the principal followers of the new teaching and ordered the officers of state to proceed with their execution. The soldiers regularly paid were devoted to their chief; this state of affairs disturbed Nāṣir al-Dīn who dismissed *Teḳī-Khān*. The Russian minister having said the Czar would protect him, he was exiled to *Kāshān* but assassinated two months later in his palace at *Fin* (1851). The loss of this able and energetic man was a great misfortune for Persia.

Bibliography: de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, p. 238 sqq.; E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924; P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. 441, 442, 448, 449; Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, ii. 6 sqq.

(CL. HUART)

TEKUDER (the name is also written Tagudar and Teguder in learned works), as a Muslim called Aḥmad (e.g. on his coins with inscriptions in the Mongol alphabet and language), a Mongol ruler (*İlkhān*, q.v.) of Persia, 681—683 = 1282—1284. On his brother and predecessor see *ABAḲĀ*, on his fall and successor see *ARGHUN*. *Tekuder* is said to have been baptised in his youth with the name Nicolas (*Moshemii Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, Helmstedt 1741, p. 71). Immediately after his accession, his conversion to Islām was announced. According to some sources he turned churches and temples of idolators into mosques; on the other hand, Bar Hebraeus says he was tolerant of all creeds, especially the Christian. His adoption of Islām was taken as a basis for negotiations with Egypt for the establishment of friendly relations between the two kingdoms; cf. the letter of the *İlkhān* of the middle of *Djumādā I* 681 (Aug. 1282) and the reply of the *Sultān* of *Ramaḍān* (December) of the same year, in d'Ohsson from *Wassāf*. During these negotiations, however, two fortresses in the frontier lands of the Mongol empire were occupied by Egyptian troops.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 550 sqq.; Hammer, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, i. 320 sqq.; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 285 sqq.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TELL, a term applied by the European geographers to the district of north Africa lying near to and along the sea-coast. It is the Arabic word *tell* "hill". The Tell area is an undulating region covered with ranges of hills belonging for the most part to the Atlas system interspersed with plateaus of varying extent and height. As a result of the beneficent effect of the moist winds from the Ocean and the Mediterranean, the Tell is the best watered region in North Africa. It is the land of systematic agriculture and forests in contrast to the desert and prairie. As a result of the arrangement of the hills of North Africa, the Tell zone is by no means uniform in breadth; very broad on the Atlantic side of Morocco, it is reduced to a very narrow strip in Algeria and Tunisia. Cf. the articles: ALGERIA, ATLAS, BERBERS, MOROCCO, TUNISIA.

(G. YVER)

TELL AL-ʿAMARNA, site on the right bank of the Nile, opposite the little town of Mallawī, in the province of Minya. The distance between the Nile and the mountains (here called *Djabal al-Shaikh Saʿid*) is about 3 miles, while to the north and the south the mountains come close to the river, leaving an area of about 5 miles in length. One of the villages situated here is called al-Tell (or al-Till); Tell al-ʿAmarna seems to be a "European concoction" (Flinders Petrie) and is properly Tell al-ʿAmārina, from the tribe of the Banū ʿImrān (or ʿAmrān), who live here and on the opposite bank of the Nile. The site is famous for having been, during 20 or 30 years, the residence of Amenophis IV, to which he retired from Thebes after having instituted the worship of the sun-disk; his town was called Ekhet-Aton. As the place never was a town again, the remains have been preserved in rather good condition. Excavations have been conducted since 1888 by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and by Prof. Flinders Petrie, and, after the war, by the Egyptian Exploration Society. Of particular importance were a large number of clay tablets, found in the "Rolls House" to the east of the town, and containing in cuneiform script the correspondence of Asiatic rulers with the Egyptian king. These tablets are for the greater part in the Berlin Museum.

The antiquities of Tell al-ʿAmarna seem to have been scarcely known to the Arab writers. To the north lay the now nearly deserted town of Anṣinā (Antinoou) and, on the other side of the Nile, al-Ashmūnain; Ibn Ḥawkal (p. 105) and Yāqūt (i. 670) know a place called Būṣir lying opposite this last town, but do not give further indications. Quatremère identifies al-Tell with the place Psinaula, where, in Roman times, there was a garrison (cf. also *Description de l'Égypte*, 2nd ed., Paris 1829, vol. xviii/liii, p. 100).

Bibliography: ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaʾ al-djaʿida*, x. 43; Quatremère, *Mémoire géographique et historique sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, i. 39 sqq.; W. M. F. Flinders Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, London 1894, p. 2; Baedeker, *Ägypten*, 1928, p. 237 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TELL BĀSHIR, a fortress in Northern Syria, on the Nahr Sadjūr near ʿAintāb, two days' journey north of Aleppo. It lies in a broad plain and according to Abu ʿl-Fidāʾ was mainly inhabited by Armenian Christians; the Armenians explained its name Tʿlpašhar as a translation of the Armenian Tʿil Aveteač, i. e. "hill of the glad tidings (*avetikʿ*)" which it formerly bore (Matthēos Uihayeci, ed. Dulaurier, p. 330, 433 sq.). It had markets and a suburb (probably the modern Tell Bāshir Mezraʿašʿ S. E. of the fortress) and was surrounded by well watered gardens.

The town is mentioned as early as Assyrian times as Til Baserē (Salmanassar, *Monolith*, rev., l. 17; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, p. 468); on the other hand it has no connection with the hill Bishri nor with the Biblical Telassar (Sayce, *P. S. B. A.*, xxxiii. 175; Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 464). Its name is not mentioned in classical antiquity; but the Tabula Peutingeriana mentions a *Thalbasaris* 15 Roman miles from Tigranocerta (Sachau, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1880, Berlin 1881, Abh. ii, p. 53; Markwart, *Handis Amsōreah*, xxx., 1916, col. 118 sq.).

Arab authors do not seem to mention Tell Bāshir before the Crusades. In 489 (1095—1096) Ridwān in alliance with Djanāḥ al-Dawla took from Yaghī Shaʿbān of Antākīya the fortresses of Tell Bāshir and Shīḥ al-Dair (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. de Sacy, in Röhrich, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, i., Berlin 1874, p. 216). In 1097 Tell Bāshir and Rāwandān were taken by Count Baldwin of Bourg, Godfrey's brother, and made part of the county of Edessa (Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 218, ch. cliv.). In 1102 Baldwin gave the towns of Kūrus (*Coritium*), Dulūk (*Tulupa*), Tell Bāshir (*Turbessel*), ʿAintāb (*Halab*), Rāwandān (*Rauendel*) and Sumaisāʾ (*Samosatum*) to his nephew Joscelin de Courtenay as fiefs (*Recueil hist. or. crois.*, iii. 623; Will. of Tyre, x. 24; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 49, note 8). In 496 (1102—1103) the Franks moved from Tell Bāshir to the district of Halab, took Basarfūt and were only repulsed at Kafaralathā by the Banī Ulaim (Kamāl al-Dīn in Röhrich, *Beitr.*, i. 231). After the defeat at Ḥarrān in which Joscelin was captured by the enemy, his companions from Tell Bāshir went into captivity as hostages for him after a ransom had been fixed and he had been released to procure it (Michael Syrus, iii. 195; somewhat different in Frankish sources, cf. Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 75, note 3). In 502 (1108—1109) Joscelin along with his uncle Baldwin (Baghduwīn) and Djāwālī, with Tell Bāshir as his base, fought Tancred (Tankrī) of Antioch allied with Ridwān (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 266; Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 267; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 75 sq.). A large Turkish army sent by Sultān Muḥammad under the Amīr Mawūd of Mawṣil, who appeared with the lords of *Khilāt*, Marāgha etc. in 504 (1111) before Tell Bāshir, besieged it for 1½ months in vain (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 282, 287; iii. 496, 542 sq., 599 sq.; Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 275; Michael Syrus, iii. 216; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 90 sq.).

Ilghāzī at the end of May 1120 after being defeated by Joscelin between Kaisūm and Bahasnā advanced against Tell Bāshir, which he besieged for several days without success (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 623 sq.; Abu ʿl-Fidāʾ, *Annal. Musl.*, ed. Reiske, iii. 396). In the following years the Ḥalabis were often harassed by raids from Tell

Bāshir (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 625 sq., 634). In 1124 Nūr al-Dawla Balak was planning a campaign against Tell Bāshir, but he was mortally wounded before Manbidj [q. v.]. A note, not quite clear in Michael Syrus, iii. 211, seems to say, which is incorrect, that he took Tell Bāshir and three other fortresses from the Arabs and Franks. Joscelyn I died towards the end of 1131 (Michael Syrus, iii. 232). He was succeeded by his son Joscelyn II of Edessa, whose mother was a daughter of Leo I of Little Armenia. Unlike his valiant father, he was from youth upwards given to drinking and debauchery and spent his time in his palace in Tell Bāshir in riotous living (Will. of Tyre, xiv. 3: *commensationibus supra modum deditus, Veneris operibus et carnis deserviens immunditiis, usque ad infamiae notam*). The region of Tell Bāshir had therefore soon to suffer repeated raids by Saif al-Dīn Sawār of Ḥalab (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 665; Michael Syrus, iii. 230, 233; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 197 sq.). The Emperor John II Comnenos invaded Northern Syria in 1142 and appeared before Tell Bāshir (Will. of Tyre, xv. 19: *Turbessel; est autem praedictus locus castrum opulentissimum circa Euphraten, ab eo distans miliaribus XXIV vel modicum amplius*); Joscelyn II had to give hostages and gave him his daughter Isabella to wife (Will. of Tyre, *loc. cit.*).

The raids of the Saldjūk Sultān Maṣūd (Michael Syrus, iii. 294—296; Röhricht, p. 263, note 1) and his ally Nūr al-Dīn who defeated the Franks at Tell Bāshir in 546 (1151—1152) (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iv. 16, 68) still further weakened Joscelyn's power. When, in May 1150, he was taken prisoner and interned in Ḥalab, Maṣūd who had already attacked Tell Bāshir in the previous year (Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 330; Michael Syrus, iii. 296) took the fortresses of Kaisūm, Bahasnā and Ra'bān, but could not take Tell Bāshir (Matthēos, p. 333; Micheal Syrus, iii. 296 sq.; Will. of Tyre, xvii., ch. 15; Röhricht, p. 265 sq.). After he had withdrawn, the king of Jerusalem came to Tell Bāshir and brought the wife and children of Joscelyn including the young Joscelyn III from there to Jerusalem to safety. In Tell Bāshir, 'Azāz, al-Rāwandān, Rūm Ka'fa, al-Bira and Sumaisāt, he left garrisons of Byzantine soldiers, whom he had brought with him; but they could not restore the Franks (Michael Syrus, iii. 297; Will. of Tyre, xvii. 16). The garrison of Tell Bāshir by the 25th Rabi' I 546 (July 8, 1151) found themselves forced, after the fall of Dulūk to offer the keys of their town to Nūr al-Dīn, who appointed Ḥassān al-Manbidjī to receive their capitulation (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 29, 31, 497; iv. 73 sq.; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, iii. 516; Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 333; Michael Syrus, iii. 297). The Franks and Armenians were granted liberty to go to Antākiya (Matthēos, p. 333; Röhricht, p. 281, note 2, where mention is wrongly made of an 18 months' siege of the fortress). Nūr al-Dīn handed Tell Bāshir over to Ḥassān who restored its defences and provided it with provisions for several years (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 498). On 12th Shawwāl 565 (June 28, 1170) Nūr al-Dīn went from 'Ashtarā via Ḥalab and Tell Bāshir to Mawṣil (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iv. 150). The emirs of 'Aintāb, Tell Bāshir and other places in northern Syria submitted in 1176 to Saladin (Michael Syrus, iii. 366). In his retinue before 'Akkā was the Amīr Badr al-Dīn Duldirim b. Bahā'

al-Dīn al-Yārūkī of Tell Bāshir, who had successfully defended the stronghold in 579 (1183) against 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 71). In his pursuit of Ibn al-Muḥaddam, who had fled to Badr al-Dīn in Tell Bāshir, al-Malik al-Zāhir in 599 (1202—1203) took the fortress (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, in *R. O. L.*, v., 1897, p. 38) but lost it again (*R. O. L.*, v. 59). Badr al-Dīn was still ruling there in 615 (1218—1219) when Kaikā'ūs of Rūm took the fortress (*R. O. L.*, v. 57; *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, ii. 145). In the very same year al-Malik al-Ashraf again took Tell Bāshir from the Saldjūk Sultān and gave it with other places to Shihāb al-Dīn Tughril, Atābek of the young prince of Ḥalab (*R. O. L.*, v. 57; *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, ii. 146 sq.; v. 166; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Muslem.*, ed. Reiske, iv. 266). Al-Malik al-'Azīz of Ḥalab in 629 (1231—1232) seized the fortress and installed a governor in it and deposed the *na'ibs* of his Atābek Shihāb al-Dīn (*R. O. L.*, v. 82).

The Khwārizmians in 638 (1240—1241) attacked 'Azāz, Tell Bāshir and Burdj al-Raṣṣās (*R. O. L.*, vi. 5).

The ruler of Ḥalab, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, sent in 646 (1248—1249) a force under the leadership of the Armenian Shams al-Dīn Lūlū against Ḥimṣ, the Amīr of which, al-Malik al-Ashraf, was forced after a two months' siege to surrender his town and was given Tell Bāshir instead of it (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, iv. 494). In 658 (1260) al-Malik al-Ashraf of Tell Bāshir paid homage in Ḥalab to Hūlāgū who thereafter gave him back Ḥimṣ (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, iv. 585; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv. 13).

Sultān Baibars is said to have destroyed the fortress of Tell Bāshir (Ibn al-Shihna, Bairūt ed., p. 170).

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 864; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, i. 210; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, p. 232; *Annales Muslem.*, ed. Reiske, *passim*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, Index, ii. 705; al-Dimishqī, ed. Mehren, p. 206; Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, iii. 524, note 2; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, ii. 482; *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 316; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Ta'rikh Ḥalab*, ed. Bairūt, p. 169 sq.; Matthēos Urhayec'i, transl. Dulaurier, Index, p. 543; Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, Index, p. 72*; al-Makrizī, transl. Quatremère, *Hist. d. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 205; Ritter, *Erkunde*, x. 1033; xvii. 1684; Rey, *Les colonies franques en Syrie aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris 1883, p. 322; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.*, Leipzig 1883, p. 162—165; Ainsworth, *A personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, ii., London 1888, p. 412; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 42, 542; Sayce, *P. S. B. A.*, xxxiii., 1911, p. 175; R. Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx., 1916, p. 34, note 14; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 1923, p. 92, 95, 219; Dussaud, *Topographie histor. de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 436, 464, 468. (E. HONIGMANN)

TELL AL-KEBĪR, a village in the Egyptian Delta, with a station on the Cairo-Zakāzīk-Ismā'iliya-Suez line, about 30 km. distant from Zakāzīk, 50 from Ismā'iliya. The station is some distance from the village on the north bank of the Ismā'iliya Canal. A market is held every Thursday. The Bedouin tribes of the neighbourhood

are the Ḥanadī, the Nafa'āt and the Ṭūmilāt. Wide stretches of sand-dunes and undulating desert land extend north and south of the Wādī, with traces of ancient fortifications and the mounds of buried cities. In the depression here, known as the Wādī Ṭūmilāt through which flows the freshwater canal, rich agricultural land is to be found. The province (*mudiriya*) is al-Sharḳiya; the district (*markas*) Zaḳāzīk. It is a police outpost. The inhabitants, as given by Boinet Bey, are 3,194, being the population of 3 *ezbehs* and 5 *kafrs*. There are 4 *zāwiyas* and 3 *kuttābs*. In modern times the place achieved fame as a result of the short but fierce encounter in 1882 between the British under Sir Garnet Wolsley and the Egyptians under 'Arabī Pasha. A small graveyard with the names of British soldiers who fell in the fight may still be seen.

Bibliography: Boinet Bey, *Géogr. Econ.*, p. 224; C. Royle, *The Egyptian Campaigns*, London 1886, i. 312 *sqq.*; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Watson Pasha*, p. 108 *sqq.*; Prince Ibrahim Hilmy, *Lit. of Egypt and the Sudan*, s. v.; C. G. Gordon, *Journals*, p. 60; Milner, *England in Egypt*, p. 116; E. L. Butcher, *Church of Egypt*, ii. 389; W. Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries*, ii. 38—39; Baedeker, *Egypt*, index.

(J. WALKER)

TELLOH, a site in 'Irāk, consisting of a number of artificial mounds, covering an extent of 4—5 miles. It is situated on the eastern side of the Shaṭṭ al-Haiy, which links the Tigris to the Euphrates, at 8—10 hours from Nāṣiriya. Here the French consul in Baṣra, Ernest de Sarzec, discovered in 1877 archæological remains. Under his guidance excavations were begun in 1880, as a result of which the site proved to be that of the Sumerian town of Lagash or Sirpurla. The greater part of the material excavated — including numerous statues of Gudea — was placed in the Louvre in Paris. After de Sarzec's death, in 1901, the excavations were continued by Cros.

Telloh is a local name, containing no doubt the word "tell". According to Schefer, the name may perhaps be derived from Tell al-Lawḥ, "tablet-hill".

Bibliography: E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Paris 1884—1912.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TEMUČIN. [See ČINGİZ-KHĀN.]

TENES, a town in Algeria on the coast, 125 miles from Algiers, 100 miles E. of Mostaganem and 35 N. of Orleans, a town in the valley of the Chelif; its position is 36° 30' 50" N. Lat. 1° 18' E. Long (Greenwich). The town is built on a rocky plateau commanding the sea; the harbour lies below in a bay sheltered from the east winds by the bulk of Cape Tenes, but unprotected against the north and west which makes the anchorage unsafe in spite of the considerable work done to secure the protection of ships. Trade is confined to coastal traffic and the total of merchandise handled in the port hardly exceeds 19 to 20,000 tons per annum. A railway recently opened to connect Tenes with the valley of the Chelif will probably increase the trade of the port. Two miles south of the European town is a native village, with about 1200 inhabitants, called Old Tenes. It is built on a plateau along which runs on the east like a natural fosse, the Wād Allala. Tenes is a commune de plein exercice with

6,207 inhabitants of whom 4,620 are natives; it is also the capital of a mixed commune with 51,959 inhabitants of whom 50,728 are natives.

History. The modern town occupies the site of Cartennae, a Phœnician and Carthaginian factory which became a Roman colony under the Empire. Sacked by the Vandals, then by the Arabs, Cartennae disappeared almost completely. In the time of al-Bakrī, all that was left was a castle built on the shore and at the present day only insignificant traces of it have been found (remains of ramparts, cisterns and tombs). In the iiiith (ixth) century a new town was built two miles from the sea by adventurers from Spain. This is the modern Tenes. Al-Bakrī dates its foundation to 262 (875—876) and attributes it to Spanish sailors who used to winter in the port. They invited thither people from Elvira and Marice some of whom, dismayed by the fevers, soon went back to the Peninsula; the others remained in Africa and were reinforced by Berbers from Suḳ Ibrāhīm, a place in the valley of the Chelif. The primitive settlement of these immigrants, who were at first content to encamp in the fortress built by the Spanish Moors, gave place to a town surrounded by walls with a mosque and bazaars. Traces of it still survive in Old Tenes where a part of the ramparts still exists, a bridge and notably the mosque mentioned by al-Bakrī. In spite of the unhealthiness of the climate, Tenes rapidly prospered owing to the fertility of the environs which produced in abundance fruits of all sorts and cereals which, according to Idrīsī were exported abroad. Governed by a family of 'Alid origin, Tenes recognised the suzerainty of the Omayyads of Spain, who seem to have regarded this town as a place to which to deport any one they had reason to complain of. From the ivth (xth) century the town passed in turn under the dynasties who disputed the possession of the Central Maghrib: Fāṭimids, Ṣanhādja, Maghrawa, Almoravids and Almohads. After the dismemberment of the Almohad empire, it passed to the Ziyānids of Tlemcen, then in the second half of the xvth century threw off this yoke and formed an independent little principality ruled at first by members of the royal family, then by local *shaiḳhs*, the last of whom became a vassal of Spain. 'Arūdj [q.v.] took it in 1517 and a few years later Khair al-Din [q.v.] definitely established Turkish power there. Tenes was given a *ḳa'id* and a garrison. Henceforth its prosperity declined rapidly. The trade in corn with Europe which still went on in the xvth—xviith centuries completely ceased in the early years of the xviiith century. The town was several times pillaged by the natives and rebelled against the Turks.

After 1830, Tenes was for a period independent. 'Abd al-Ḳādir who had incorporated this town in his possessions, tried without success to revive the trade of the port. In 1843 the inhabitants submitted without resistance to the French. Bugraud at once began to erect buildings intended to facilitate the provision of supplies for the troops operating in the valley of the Chelif. This was the origin of the present town.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, transl. de Slane, revised by Fagnan, p. 128; Idrīsī, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 73; transl., p. 96; Leo Africanus, transl. Schefer, iii. 56; Dessus-Lamare and G. Marçais, *La mosquée du Vieux Ténès, R.A.*, 1929.

(G. YVER)

TEPTYAR, a Turkish people who call themselves Tipter or Bashkurt. According to Vambéry, the name is derived from a verb *tepte* "to roam" and means "rovers"; in Radloff's *Wörterbuch* (iii. 1114) no such verb is mentioned and the word *tepter* only quoted as the "name of a tribe in the gouvernement of Orenburg". In Russian documents of the xviiith century the word *tepter* is frequently associated with the word *bobıl*, which is of course not a tribal name but means "peasant without land and family". According to Karamzin (vol. i., note 73), the Tepter were a mixed people composed of Ceremiss, Votyaks, Čuwash and Tatars, who had fled in the xvth century after the fall of the kingdom of Kāzān [q. v.] to the Bashkirs [cf. BASPJIRT]. According to the modern view, the Tepter are a mixed people in which the Bashkir element predominates, but other elements from the Volga and Ural territory are represented. Their language is Bashkir. The Tepter took no part in the great Bashkir rising of the year 1755. At the present day, the Tepter live mainly in the gouvernement of Orenburg and also in the former gouvernements of Ufa and Perm; their territory belongs to the autonomous Bashkir republic; they engage in agriculture and bee-rearing. Their numbers still are about 300,000, the figure given in older accounts. According to Vambéry there were beside Muslims, pagans among them and more recently also Christians. At the present day the Tepter are all regarded as Sunnis.

Bibliography: Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1885, p. 520 sqq.; I. Zarubin, *Spisok narodnostei Soyuza Sov. Soc. Respublik*, Leningrad 1927, p. 29, N^o. 114.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TERDJUMĀN, turkicised form of the Arabic *tardjamān* (cf. Muḥammad Ḥafid, *al-Ghalaṭāt al-mashḥūra*, p. 110) meaning an interpreter. The word is of Aramaic origin and early entered the Arabic language. Interpreters must have always played an important part in the commercial and diplomatic relations of Islāmic states with foreign peoples, but their activity begins to enter into clearer historical light only in the vith (xiith) century; from that time date the earliest known treaties between Christian towns or states and Muslim rulers of the countries around the Mediterranean. From the treaties with the states in Northern Africa, as published and studied by de Mas Latrie, it appears, that the "torcimani" (for the other numerous Latin and Romance forms in that time cf. de Mas Latrie, *Introduction*, p. 189 sqq.) were an indispensable class of functionaries in the commercial chancelleries, called "douane" (from *dūwān*), that existed in the sea-ports accessible to foreign trade. Nearly all commercial transactions took place through the intermediary of these interpreters, who often formed a kind of hierarchy; evidence given by them was accepted everywhere. Special duties were levied on merchandise negotiated through their intermediary. These interpreters were originally appointed by the local authority; they were Muslims, Christians or Jews; in certain places a particular interpreter was charged with the interests of each foreign nation. Some of these functionaries had to be present at the still more important business of concluding treaties and, when needed, of interpreting treaties, when there were difficulties

concerning the text. In these cases the name of the interpreter was specially mentioned in the text of the treaty. It appears likewise from those texts, that some of them were especially attached to the local ruler. The existence of interpreters in Syria is also mentioned by the French sources on the Crusades.

Under the Ottoman Empire the position and the function of the interpreters in the different administrations remained practically the same as it had been in former centuries. But, as commercial and diplomatic relations became more frequent and more important in time, the need of good and reliable interpreters increased and so we find more and more mention of them in historical sources. The most common name for them in European sources is the Italian form "dragoman" or "dragoman", at the side of which the French "truchement" remained a long time in use. In the many Turkish sea-ports all the Turkish government offices had their dragomans, as was also the case with the consulates of foreign nations that were established there. The position of the dragomans in the capital was naturally more important; the foreign embassies had many in their service.

The most important post was, however, that of dragoman to the Turkish government. As a special office, it was perhaps already in existence under Muḥammad II, but the first dragoman to the Porte, who is mentioned was the *şu bashi* 'Alī Beg, who brought the peace treaty of 1502 to Venice. After him came Yūnus Beg, who died in 948 (1541—1542) and went often as emissary to Venice; he was the builder of a mosque in Constantinople called Durughmān Masdjidi (*Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iv. 677; *Hadīkat al-Djawāmi*, N^o. 226). Yūnus Beg was a Greek and his successor Aḥmad was originally a German from Vienna called Heinz Tulman. Another dragoman in the service of the Porte in the xvth century was Murād Beg, a Hungarian who was captured in the battle of Mohács, and known as the author of an apologetical treatise on Islām and especially of a trilingual hymn in Turkish, Latin and Hungarian (published by F. Babinger, in *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenseit*, Berlin 1927; cf. also p. 38 sqq. of this book for historical data about the dragomans of the Porte). About this time there probably were already several dragomans in the service of the Porte, one of whom was the *bash terdjumān*; they were almost without exception Christians (Greeks, Germans, Italians). As the foreign relations between the Ottoman Empire became more important and more complicated, the influence of the interpreters of the Porte increased, until, in the xviiith century, the position of dragoman of the Porte became almost hereditary in the powerful Greek families of Mavrogordato and Ghika; it became the custom that, after having occupied the office of dragoman, they were appointed as prince of one of the Danube principalities. As it was still a rare exception, at this time, for Turks themselves to know European languages, the influence of these mediators on the foreign policy was necessarily very strong; on the other hand executions of former chief interpreters were not rare. It was only under the reign of Mahmūd II that, together with the increased importance of the activity of the Re'is Efendi [q. v.], the Turkish government was able to liberate itself from the help of these not overtrustworthy ser-

vants. A special study of the role played by the Porte dragomans on Ottoman policy has not yet been made. An incomplete list of them is given by von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 627.

The dragomans of the embassies and consulates were often no less powerful international mediators. They generally belonged to the same class of people, i.e. local Christians, as those in Turkish service. The treaties or capitulations and also the diploma's (*berât*) granted to them by the sultan, guaranteed them the protection of the nation which they served in the consulate or the embassy. One of their special functions, which is expressly mentioned in the capitulations, derives from the right of the consuls to be represented by their dragomans in the processes before Turkish tribunals, in which their subjects were involved. This function had developed very naturally from the part played by the dragomans since the middle ages. As, however, since the xviiith century, the influence of European Powers and their representatives in Turkey became preponderant, the interference in Turkish affairs, exercised by the dragomans, became insupportable to the Porte; moreover the consulates made a too extensive use of their right to appoint Turkish subjects as dragomans, withdrawing them thereby from the authority of their government. As a result of the remonstrances of the Porte, an agreement with the foreign missions was reached in 1863, by which the power of the embassies and consulates to appoint native dragomans was restricted. About this time, most of the European governments had begun, however, to create a special interpreter service from their own subjects, for which a proper training was required. In the second half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the xth century, the chief dragomans in the embassies of the great powers at Constantinople were still the acknowledged authorities for conducting negotiations of all kinds with the Porte, especially with regard to the interpretation of the capitulations and the application of the special extra-territorial rights derived from those treaties. When, however, in 1914 the Turkish Government abolished the capitulations, it refused at the same time to recognise foreign diplomatic or consular functionaries with the title of dragoman. Accordingly the title is no longer officially used in Turkey.

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TERDJUMÂN, in the terminology of Turkish mystics, has two meanings:

1. a member of a *ṭarīqa*, who accompanies a neophyte of the order during his initiation, as a spiritual interpreter. When a *murid* is initiated in the Bektāshī *ṭarīqa*, he is led by two terdjumāns into the presence of the *Shāikh* and eleven other persons representing the eleven *imāms*. During the ceremony the terdjumāns guide him and say for him the formulas he has to recite (cf. J. P. Brown, *The Darvishes or Oriental*

Spiritualism, ed. H. A. Rose, London 1927, p. 206 sqq.).

The function of these terdjumāns is analogous to that of a certain class of functionaries in the organisation of Islāmic guilds, after the Futūwā-books, who are called *nahīb*, but also *tardjumān al-lisān* or *tardjumān al-ḥadam*. During the ceremony of the reception of a new member in the guild, these terdjumāns play a similar part to those mentioned with the Bektāshīs (cf. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913, p. 106 sqq.).

2. With the Bektāshīs, terdjumān means also a prayer. Only special prayers, recited at special occasions, are called terdjumān. It is also said to be the name of the secret word or phrase of the Bektāshīs (cf. Brown, *The Darvishes*, p. 180, 199). (J. H. KRAMERS)

TEREK, a large river in the Caucasus (length about 300 miles, breadth in some places up to 500 yards). In its upper course it is a mountain torrent and even in its lower course so swift that navigation is impossible upon it.

During the golden period of Arabic geographical knowledge (ivth = xth century) the land of Terek must have belonged to the kingdom of the *Khazar* [q. v.]. This portion of the *Khazar* dominions is not described by Arab geographers and the Terek not mentioned. The name seems to appear for the first time in the history of the fighting between Berke [q. v.] and Hülāgū [q. v.] at the beginning of 661 (Nov.—Dec. 1262) in Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, p. 394). Ḥamd Allāh Ḳāzwīnī (*G. M. S.*, xxiii. 259) mentions the Terek (in Le Strange's translation, p. 250: Turk) along with the Stīl (Volga) as a river in Dašt-i *Ḳipčak* [cf. *ḲIPČAK*]. The land of the Terek at that time belonged to the kingdom of the Golden Horde and probably adopted Islām at the same time as the latter in the viith (xivth) century. A few years after the conquest of Astrakhān [q. v.] in 1554, Russian Cossacks began to appear on the Terek and formed the "Terskish Cossack army" (*Terskoe kazaĭye voisko*); at first independent of Moscow it was afterwards incorporated in the Russian empire. For the political life of the Muslim world, the Terek lands have never been of great importance; even the fortress of *Ḳızlar* on the north bank of the Terek was, in spite of its Turkish name, built by the Russians in 1735.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the text see E. Weidenbaum, *Pudevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TERNATE, a small volcanic island, west of Halmahera in the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago. From the administrative point of view, it forms with several other small islands and groups of islands a subdivision of the residency of Ternate in the gouvernement of the Moluccas. Only a part of the island is directly under the rule of the Dutch East Indian government; the other part belongs to the autonomous district of Ternate, which includes several portions of Halmahera, the Sulu Archipelago and some other islands. From early times the trade in spices has brought many foreigners to these islands; the population, especially that of the area under the gouvernement, is therefore much mixed; the main element shows a strong resemblance to the native population of northern Halmahera. The standard of living is

not high, partly because the natives are not fond of work; they live mainly by fishing and a primitive agriculture. The language, Ternatan, is the *lingua franca* of the Molucca Archipelago; it belongs to the (non-Indonesian) north Halmahera group of languages and is a rather degenerate specimen of it.

The early history of these regions is little known. In the period when our knowledge begins to increase, the north-east corner of the archipelago was divided into 4 kingdoms: Ternate (then called Gapi), Djailolo, Tidore and Batjan. There must have been some connection between these kingdoms (tradition traces them back to one single kingdom). But they seem to have been continually at war with one another. Djailolo originally had a certain predominance but had later to give way to Ternate; and especially in the xvth and xvth century Ternate showed a great desire to extend its power. We have very little, and that unreliable, information as to the time and manner in which Islām spread here. According to one tradition, a Javanese merchant named Husain (or Dato Mawla Husain) preached Islām in Ternate as early as the reign of Kaitjil Gapi Baguna (also called Marhūm) in 1465—86 and he is even said to have been successful in converting this ruler. In native chronicles, however, this king is not numbered among the Muslim rulers, the series of whom begins with his son Zain al-ʿAbidin (1486—1495?) who was also the first to replace the old title *Kolano* by that of *Sultān*. Under him the whole population is said to have been converted to Islām; we are also told that he made a journey to Java in order to be more accurately instructed at Giri in the principles of Islām. Islām is now found here in the same form as in other parts of Indonesia; several old pagan customs still exist but the principal precepts of Islām are followed with comparative fidelity, especially at the courts. There is no fanaticism.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to conclude a treaty with Ternate (beg. of the xvth cent.); when in the beginning of the xvth century the Dutch appeared in the Moluccas, an unceasing struggle began between them and the Spaniards and Portuguese; in 1683 Ternate recognised the sovereignty of the Dutch East India Company. In 1915 the reigning Sultān was deprived of his throne for his disloyal attitude; since then the autonomous area has been governed by a council of notables.

Bibliography: A full account of Ternate is given in T. S. A. de Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate*, Leyden 1890; see also: *Legende en geschiedenis van Ternate*, in *Tijdschrift van het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, li. 310. (W. H. RASSERS)

TESHRİN, the name of the first two months of the Syrian calendar. It is found as early as the Palmyrene inscriptions and there means only one month, namely the first (in the Jewish calendar, the seventh) while the next was called Kānūn [q. v.]. In the calendar of the Syriac church however, we find this name applied to two months, the third and fourth Syrian = ninth and tenth Jewish, Kislēw and Tēbhēth, while the original Kānūn was replaced by a second Teshrīn month. As a stage in the development of the four first Syriac names of months from four different to two pairs A. v. Gutschmid has recognised the calendar of Heliopolis, the first four months of

which bore the names Ag, Thorin, Gelōn and Chanu. The last three names correspond to Tishrī, Kislēw and Kānūn. The development from Gelōn to Kānūn is explained by a change of letters, while the replacement of Ag by Tishrī might be due to Jewish influence. The Syrians distinguished the two Teshrīn by the epithets *kedēm* and *ḥrāy* (so al-Birūnī) for which the Arabs used *al-awwal* and *al-ākhir* or *al-thāni*.

In time, the two months coincide with the October and November of the Roman calendar and have 31 and 30 days. In the two months the four first stations of the moon set and the 15—18 rise. The days on which this happens are, according to al-Birūnī, the 10th and 23rd T. I and 5th and 18th T. II, according to al-Kāzwinī, the 18th and 31st T. I and 13th and 26th T. II. In 1300 of the Seleucid era (= 989 A.D.), according to al-Birūnī, the stars of the four stations rose or set on the 22nd T. I and on the 5th, 18th and 31st T. II.

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TEWFİK MEHMED, called Çaylak Tewfik, a Turkish author and publicist, born in Constantinople in Sha'bān 1259 (Sept. 1843), the son of a certain Muṣṭafā Agha who was connected with the Janissaries, and a freedwoman, and died in 1311 (1893) in the same city. After a rather scanty education he entered the War Ministry as a clerk. Introduced to journalism by Filib Efendi, founder and editor of the newspaper *Waḳīṭ* and *Mukhbir*, he devoted himself more and more to this and to authorship, which was only interrupted by longer or shorter tenures of office as secretary in Constantinople and in the provinces (Brussa, Serajevo, and Bihaç). Things nowhere seem to have gone well with him and he had to drink to the dregs the bitterness of a journalist's life under the despotic measures of the government against the press. He was apparently also a lecturer on rhetoric, although it was style that offered him the greatest difficulties at the beginning of his career. He contributed to the newspapers *Mukhbir*, *Istambol*, *Terakki* and *Ba-şiret*, founded for the wālī of Brussa the printing press and official organ of the wilāyet, *Khudāwendigār* in Brussa, and independently the political papers *ʿAsr* and *ʿOthmānī* and the humorous papers *Gewene*, *Leṭāʿif-i Āthār* and *Çaylak*.

At the same time he showed great activity as an author, especially in the literature of anecdote. His works are especially important for Turkish folklore as he saw the great importance of recording the old customs which were gradually disappearing. His *Istambolda bir Sene* in particular secures him lasting recognition. His works usually appeared in parts and therefore some were never completed; they include the following: *Dheil-i Leṭāʿif-i Inshāʾ*; *Akhişarlı'nın Nizām-i ʿAleṃ Terdjemesi*; *Kāfile-i Shuʿarāʾ*, 1290; *Meshāhīr-i ʿOthmāniye*, 1293; *Āthār-i perishān*; *Madjāristān Seyāhat-nāmesi*, 1294; *Charāʾib-i Hikāyāt*; *Leṭāʿif-i Naṣr*

ed-Din, 1299; *Istambolda bir Sene*, 1299—1300; *Buadem*, 1299—1302; *Takhrîdj-i Kharâbât*, 1300; *İki gelin Odası*, 1301; *Ta'rikkh yakhod bin yüz yetmiş Djinâyeleri*, 1302; *Khasine-i Lefâ'if*, 1303; *Lefâ'if-ez-Zerâ'if*; *Uşul-i Inshâ' ü-Kitâbet*; *Shumrukhi Edeb*.

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(TH. MENZEL)

TEWFIK FIKRET, whose real name was Mehmed Tewfik, the poetical name of Fikret being assumed later instead of Tewfik Nazmi which he first took, an important Turkish poet and metricist, founder of the modern Turkish school of poetry.

Born on the 24th *Sha'ban* 1284 (Dec. 25, 1867) in Constantinople, the son of the secretary to Fâtima Sultân, afterwards *müteşarîf* Husein Efendi (descended from a family of notables of Çerkes in Anatolia) and Khadija Refî'a Khanım, a Turkish lady from the island of Chios (probably originally of Greek descent), received a careful education; he went first to the Mahmûdiye-Wâlîde Rüşdiye school in Akserai. When the latter was closed on account of the influx of the *mühâdjir* in the Russo-Turkish war, he entered, at the age of nine, the Galata High School (*Ghalaṭa Seray Sultânisi*), with which he was to remain connected for almost his whole life. At eleven he lost his mother, who had gone with her elder brother on the pilgrimage to Mecca, where both died of cholera in the desert (Fikret, who only came to realise his loss fully when his sister died, devoted to her his touching *merthiye*: *Hemşirem için* in 1318 = 1900). As a child, he was unmanageable and self-willed but later obtained a masterly control of himself and became serious, almost misanthropical and hypersensitive. In 1304 (1886—1887) he passed out of school as its most distinguished scholar, entered an office of the Porte, which he left in 1311, as the inactive life, then typical of a Turkish government office, did not satisfy his honourable nature. At the same time he taught French, Turkish and calligraphy in the commercial school in Gedik Paşa. In 1306 (1888—1889) he became teacher of Turkish at Galata Serai High School, which he left in 1311 (1893) because the government cut down his salary. In 1312 (1894—1895) he became a teacher at the Robert College in Rumeli Hisâr, where he remained till his death. In Rumeli Hisâr he built himself a house which he decorated according to his own artistic ideas (he was also an artist) with a splendid view, where he lived the peaceful idyllic life of a poet with his wife who was also his cousin, whom he had married in 1306 (1888) and his son Khalûk, to whom he dedicated a volume of poems. (It was a remarkable decree of fate that while his mother died while on the pilgrimage, his son Khalûk became a Christian in Glasgow, is now working as an engineer in America and is therefore lost to the Turkish cause).

From 1307 he was a contributor to the periodical *Mirşad*, which was edited by the poet İsmâ'il Şefâ. In 1309, along with a few friends of like literary tastes he founded the *Ma'lûnât*, which

was suppressed by the censorship after 24 numbers. In 1311 he undertook the literary editorship of the illustrated periodical *Therwet-i Fünûn* founded by Ahmed İhsân in 1890. His wide literary activity was then begun which in a short time made him a most famous author. After suffering all kinds of restrictions under the regime of 'Abd ul-Hamid, after the revolution in 1908 he was appointed Director of the Galata Serai High School by the Young Turkish government, when he refused the Ministry of Education. He endeavoured to make the school a modern Turkish seminary, but soon came into conflict with the conservatism and red tape of the Ministry of Education and finally retired in 1910 (1327) to devote himself entirely to his poetry and his teaching in the Robert College. To this period belongs his scheme of educational reform for a new type of Turkish school (*yeñi mekteb*), which however was never carried through. After a long illness, he died on Aug. 18, 1915 (1331).

At the early age of 14, Fikret began to write *ghazels*, of course in the old style (*Muntakhabât-i Terdjümân-i Hakikat*, p. 533). He developed his literary abilities under his teachers of literature, Feizi, Mu'allim Nâdjî and particularly Redjâ'i-zâde Ekrem, who won a lasting influence over him as on the whole of the younger generation. It was Ekrem also who decided him to become chief editor of the *Therwet-i Fünûn*. With Fikret's accession to the staff, a new era began for the *Therwet*. The periodical set the standard for the whole of modern Turkish literature, which is known as the Tewfik Fikret (poetry) and Khalid Ziyâ (prose) period. Very soon all the collaborators of the *Mekteb*, edited by Husein Djâhid on western lines, joined the *Therwet*, whose staff included 'Ali Ekrem, 'Abd ul-Hakḡ Hâmid, Djenâb Shehâb al-Din, Khalid Ziyâ, 'Ali Nâdir, Husein Nâzim, Ahmed Reshid. The Oriental trend in the new literature was represented by the *Muşawver Ma'lûnât*.

Two years after taking up his duties Fikret published his principal work: *Rubâb-i shikeste*, "the Broken Lute" (*Edebiyat-i djedide Kütüb-Khânesi*, No. 2, Stambul 1314 [1896]) which had an unparalleled success and went through many editions (later with the addition of his later works). In 1317 (1899) he wrote *Sis* (Mist), his most vigorous poem directed against the despotic rule of 'Abd ul-Hamid. At the present day, it reads rather tamely. After the revolution he published his *Rudjû'*. In 1318 (1900) he wrote the *merthiye*: *Hemşirem için*; in 1322 (1904) on the occasion of the unsuccessful attempt on the life of 'Abd ul-Hamid: *Lahza-i te'ekkhür*; in 1908: *Millet Sharkisi*. In No. 1 of the paper *Tanin* founded by him he published *Sis* and *Rudjû'*, which had previously passed secretly from hand to hand. In 1329 (1909) appeared *Doksan beshe dogru*, which found whole-hearted approval in a special number of *Fedjri-ati*, *Rubâbln Djewâbl*, *Khalûklın Defteri* (in facsimile in the *Edebiyat-i djedide Kütüb-Khânesi*, No. 31). In 1328 (1910) appeared the poem *Khanyaghma*, in 1330 a collection of songs for children in *Parmaḡ Hisâbl*: *Shermîn*, his last work at all.

The amount of his work is not large but its importance for Turkish literature is unique.

Fikret is now a much disputed personality. While he was praised to the skies in his life-time

and lauded as a classic poetical genius, since his death an attempt has been made to minimise his importance and even to deny that he is a real poet and to describe him as a mere virtuoso and skilful metricist. A reaction has followed his incredibly rapid rise to fame. The following criticism sums up this modern attitude to him: "Fikret is immortal in Turkish literature as a technician, unforgettable as a man, but as a poet perhaps already forgotten".

Like every poet, Fikret is to be studied in his period and milieu, in order to do justice to him. He is a finished master of technique, the creator of the Turkish renaissance, the main representative of the westernising school. The preceding period (Kemāl, Hāmid, Ekrem) had abolished the dominion of Persian and Arabic forms but left the Oriental spirit. The task now was to get rid of the Muslim outlook on life and replace it by the western, i. e. French, point of view. For models Fikret took the French, especially François Coppée, Leconte de Lisle and Sully Prudhomme along with Musset, Lamartine, Baudelaire and Verlaine.

He created a new language of poetry, made new rules for rhyme on the principle that rhyme is not intended for the eye, as is the case with Ekrem and 'Abd ül-Ḥaḡḡ Hāmid, but for the ear. With his fine taste and sound judgment, he succeeded in developing the language in spirit and structure on Turkish lines, doing away with linguistic anarchy, turkicising the foreign elements and rhythms, although from the point of view of vocabulary he had no objection to overloading Turkish with Arabic and Persian words and his poems contain many rare non-Turkish words. Fikret did for the language of poetry what Nāmīk Kemāl had done for prose. The rules laid down and followed by him are now so generally adopted that they are no longer felt to be innovations. The main object of his attention was language as such, much more than had been the case with other poets. In accuracy of language he resembles Mu'allim Nādjī and surpassed them all in command of language. He recalls to some extent Platen not only in the perfection of his language and the freedom from error of his verse, with which even the opponents of the "Decadence" like Ahmed Miḡhat could find no fault, but also in the soullessness of its marble smoothness.

Even in his earliest ghazels his own special characteristics are apparent, although he is still entirely under the influence of the older school. His mastery of language and rhythm developed very rapidly and it is this that distinguishes him from all others and which have made him a model for all other poets.

In contrast to the old school, which made each verse end as a closed unit in itself (which is why, particularly in the ghazal, the verses are so arbitrarily transposable), Fikret makes the sentiment run through a series of verses. His verses have thus a flexibility and naturalness which is still lacking in the verse dialogues composed by Hāmid. The language of his verses endeavours to adapt its melody to the subject matter, which Nef'i before him had tried to do. Specially noteworthy is his introduction of the sonnet, which has since been much cultivated in Turkish.

In his metres he is still absolutely quantitative, with the exception of his poems for children. Otherwise the followers of the old school could

not have so readily felt that he was indisputably a poet.

Fikret's was a hypercritical intellect which dealt with the moral, religious and political problems of his time, unswervingly following the voice of his heart and conscience. But he was not a philosopher who could solve the problems of humanity, no metaphysician who could penetrate into the depths of the soul. His mental processes were of a very ordinary, almost trivial nature. His *İnanmak İhtiyādı* and his *Ta'rikh-i kadim* are typical of the unbelief of his time. In the poisoned atmosphere of 'Abd ül-Ḥamid's despotic rule and later in the time of the unrestricted and one-sided administration of the young Turks, with his pure personality, with his steadfast confidence in himself, his earnest devotion to duty and his sacred enthusiasm, by his poems he performed a duty to his country nobly so that the appeal was made to the young men of the day: "To thyself be like Fikret, to thy country like Nāmīk Kemāl!" As there is something to be learned from every one of his poems, he had a great influence as an educative force on the youth of Turkey. He had a great belief in the value of education.

Tewfik Fikret is a poet although not of the greatness that his contemporaries thought. He lacks the poetic fervour of Nāmīk Kemāl, especially in the poems of his second period. The poems in which he scarified despotism, like his fervent *Sis*, which in its day was accepted like a gospel by the young men, now seem colourless and unreal. They are not born of desperation like those of N. Kemāl. Fikret also celebrated in his verse the smallest and most insignificant things, going much further than Ekrem, who although he said that everything is poetry, in practice only applied it to flowers, clouds, water, dawn etc. A number of poems which Fikret wrote, following the practice of the day, for pictures in periodicals, were published in the *Rubāb-i shikeste*. Special mention may be made of the clearly outlined poems characterising Nedim, Nef'i, Fuzūli and Hāmid. That he wrote verse with difficulty and had to struggle with words and matter until he completed a poem, is clear not only from his own confession and the labour and pains that many poems reveal, which takes from their effect as works of art, but also from the not very great volume of his production.

Bibliography: Besides the mentioned works of Tewfik Fikret and his poems scattered through periodicals and anthologies: *İkdam*, N^o. 6648, 20th August 1915; Brusall Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmanlı Mi'ellifleri*, Stambul 1333, ii. 380; Nüzhet Hāshim, *Milli Edebiyāta doġru*, Stambul 1918, p. 169; Rūshen Eshref, *Tewfik Fikret, Hayātına dāir Khāhireler*, Stambul 1919; Ismā'il Hābib, *Türk Tedjeddūd-i Edebiyātı Ta'rikhi*, Stambul 1340, p. 440—457; Köprülü-zāde M. Fu'ād, *Bugünkü Edebiyāt*, Stambul 1342, p. 324—329; Ismā'il Hikmet, *Türk Edebiyātı Ta'rikhi*, Baku 1925, p. 713—797; Şālih Nigār Kerāmet, *Fikretin Hayāt ve-Etheri*, Stambul 1926; İbrāhīm 'Alā ed-Din, *Tewfik Fikret. Büyük Adamlar Serisi*, i., N^o. 34, Stambul 1927; *Dawl*, Stambul, N^o. 7, 13; Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig 1902; Wl. Gordlewski, *O'erki po nowoi osmanskoj literature*, Moscow 1912; Th. Menzel, *Die türkische Literatur*, in *Hinneberg's Kultur der Gegenwart*, i., part vii. 2, Leipzig 1925. (TH. MENZEL)

TEWFIK PASHA, Khedive of Egypt (1879—1892), was born on December 15, 1852 as the eldest son of the Khedive Ismā'il Pasha. He was educated in Egypt and began his political career at the age of 19 as president of the Council of State (*al-maǧlis al-khuṣūṣī*). On March 10, 1879, after Nubar Pasha had resigned, he was appointed Prime Minister by his father. In his cabinet, as was the case in the former, an Englishman was Minister of Finance and a Frenchman Minister of Public Works. But already on April 9 of that year, Ismā'il, by a kind of "coup d'état", dismissed this new cabinet and Sharif Pasha [q. v.] became Prime Minister. Soon afterwards political difficulties led to Ismā'il's deposition by the Sultan (June 26) and Tewfik followed him on the throne according to the law of succession promulgated in 1866.

At the very beginning of his reign Tewfik Pasha had to face considerable difficulties. The draft of a constitution, submitted to the new Khedive by Sharif Pasha, shortly after his accession, was disapproved and Sharif tendered his resignation (August 18). For a short time Tewfik became his own Prime Minister, but soon Riyāḍ Pasha was appointed to that post, to keep it for about two years, till the outbreak of the army rebellion of 'Arābī Pasha. In the meantime the "dual control" of England and France over finance was re-established and in 1880 Egypt seemed to have entered a new prosperous period. In January 1880, however, occurred the first troubles in the army, which led to the nationalist revolt of September 9 on the return to power of Sharif Pasha; 'Arābī Pasha [q. v.] soon appeared as the most prominent man in the nationalist movement. The Khedive had no strong party on which he could rely to keep up his authority against this movement, and likewise the position of Egypt's suzerain, the Turkish Sultan and natural protector of the Khedive's government, was too weak to be of any importance. So, in the period that followed, the Khedive could not but play a passive part and allow the nationalists to take the measures they thought fit. One of these measures was the convocation of a national assembly of notables, but although at first the nationalist leaders showed moderation, the international financial troubles brought about at last a serious anti-foreign feeling in the country, which culminated in the massacre in Alexandria (June 11, 1882), followed on July 17 by the bombardment of that town by the British fleet. The Khedive with his government had already fled from the capital to al-Ramla near Alexandria, while 'Arābī, now in open revolt against the ruler, retired to Kafr-Dawar, a few miles distant. This was the most difficult time of Tewfik Pasha's reign; he had to choose between the nationalists and foreign intervention and, at the same time, the Sultan contemplated his deposition and the installation of his uncle 'Abd al-Ḥalīm in his place and even the despatch of an army to Egypt, from which he was prevented by the attitude of the European powers. At last the nationalist insurrection was crushed by the military intervention of England (battle of Tell el-Kebir on September 13, 1882), followed by the military occupation of the country. After the battle, Tewfik had returned to Cairo, but the only possible way, in these circumstances, to keep his throne was now to fall in with the wishes of the occupying power. In fact, the Khedive's government, again presided

over by Sharif Pasha since August 1882, was now quite impotent. All the measures after the English occupation, taken with regard to the administration of Egypt, the new Organic Law of May 7, 1883, the international regulation of the financial administration in 1884, had to be accepted. There was, however, a loyal collaboration between the Khedive and the British resident with the title of Consul General, the later Lord Cromer, in the difficult years that followed. One of the most disastrous events in this time was the Mahdist rebellion in the Sūdān and the abandonment of this province by Egypt, much against the personal wish of Tewfik, after the vain struggle to defeat the Mahdi (fall of Kharfūm in January 1885). It was only towards 1890, that a more prosperous time announced itself for the country; soon afterwards, on January 7, 1892, Tewfik Pasha died unexpectedly in his palace at Ḥulwān, to be succeeded by his eldest son 'Abbās Ḥilmi.

Tewfik Pasha is said not to have had a character strong enough to face the overwhelming political difficulties; especially the weak attitude of himself and his government towards the first manifestations of rebellion in the army seems to have led inevitably to the complete loss of control over the course of events. On the other hand this Khedive has left the reputation of a mild and enlightened personality, who was esteemed by all those who had personal intercourse with him, amongst them Lord Cromer and other European statesmen who have given descriptions of him. At the age of 21 he had married a lady belonging to the Khedivial family and he remained strictly monogamic during all his lifetime.

Bibliography: Djirdji Zaidān, *Mashāḥir al-Sharḥ*, Cairo 1910, i. 48 sqq.; Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, London 1911, esp. p. 715 sqq.; A. Hasenclever *Geschichte Ägyptens im 19. Jahrhundert*, Halle a. S. 1917, esp. p. 198 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TEZKARA. [See TADHKIRA.]

THĀ', the name of the fourth letter of the Arabic alphabet with the numerical value 500. Its form is a horizontal stroke, curved upwards at its ends, with three dots above it. By these three dots it is distinguished from the third letter of the alphabet, *tā'* [q. v.], which has two dots only. This similarity explains also the place of *thā'* immediately after *tā'*.

Of the other Semitic alphabets it is only the South-Arabic which has a special form for the sound *th*.

Etymologically *thā'* corresponds to Canaanitic *ṭ*, Aramaic *ṭ* (early-Aramaic *ṭ*), Assyrian *ṭ*, Aethiopic *ṭ*. In Arabian its place is sometimes taken by *f*.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-THA'ALIBĪ, Nisba of three Arab authors:

I. ABU MANŠUR 'ABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀ'IL, one of the most fertile intellects of the 10th (xth) century, of whose life we only know that he was born in 350 (961) in Nisābūr and died in 429 (1038). His numerous compilations, in which he deals by no means scrupulously with the intellectual property of his predecessors and repeats himself frequently, deal mainly with the poetry of his time but also with lexicology and rhetoric.

His most famous and, for us most important, work is the *Yatīmat al-Dahr fī Maḥāsini Ahl al-'Aṣr* on the poets of his own and the preceding

generation, arranged under countries, in the main an anthology with biographical notes as a rule very brief. Like most works of its kind, it went through several recensions as may be seen from Yāqūt's statement in the *Irshād*, ii. 320 that he read the story given in the Damascus edition, iii. 33, at Cairo in a copy given by the author to Yāqūb b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, while it is not found in the usual texts. To the manuscripts given by Pertsch, *Verz. der ar. Hss. zu Gotha*, N^o. 2127 and *G. A. L.*, i. 284 may now be added those in Paris (Blochet, *Catalogue des mss. ar. des nouvelles acquisitions*, Paris 1925) N^o. 6442, in Cambridge (E. G. Browne, *Handlist*, 1900) N^o. 1224 and in Nicholson's possession (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 912), as well as an anonymous synopsis in the Brit. Museum Or. 7743 (*Descriptive List*, p. 61); to the printed edition (Damascus 1304) may be added the index of Mawlawī Abū Musā Aḥmad al-Ḥaḥḥ entitled *Fā'idat al-Asr*, a comprehensive index of persons, places, books etc. referred to in the *Yatimat al-Dahr*, the famous anthology of Tha'ālibī, Calcutta 1915, *Bibl. Ind.*, N. S., N^o. 1215. The first continuation of the work was written by the author himself and entitled *Tatimmat al-Yatima*, quoted by Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vi. 411 and in the Paris ms. N^o. 3308 (s. Mirzā Muḥammad on Samarkand's *Čahār Maḳāla*, p. 129; on a ms. in Aleppo s. *Revue de l'ac. ar. de Damas*, vii. 529-535), in other mss. like the Berlin (s. *G. A. L.*, loc. cit.) it is simply called *Dhail*; s. also al-Badr (Tunis 1340), i. 2, 38 sqq. A further continuation in part coinciding with the *Tatimma* was written by al-Bakharzī [q. v.]. An anthology arranged under subject matter is the *Kitāb Aḥsan mā samī'ū* which is much larger in the ms. of the Köprülü library (s. Rescher, *M. S. O. S. As.*, iv. 164) than in the printed edition of the ms. in the Khedivial library in Cairo (Cairo 1324), transl. by O. Rescher in *Et-Ta'alibī*, Heft 3, Leipzig 1916. Subsidiary to it is the *Kitāb man ḡhāba 'anhu* 'l-Muṭrib, the autograph of which is in the Läleli mosque in Stambul (N^o. 1946, cf. Rescher, *M. O.*, vii. 105). It is printed in the collection *al-Tuhfa al-bakiya* (Stambul 1302), p. 230-294 and Bairūt 1309, transl. by Rescher in *M. O.*, xvii. 31-198; xviii. 81-109. Similar anthologies, in which however the poet's names are not given, are the *Kitāb Khāṣṣ al-Khāṣṣ*, Cairo 1326, the *Kitāb al-Muntahā*, pr. with commentary by Aḥmad b. 'Alī as al-Muntakhal fī Tarādjim Shu'arā' al-Muntahā, Alexandria 1321, and the *Kitāb Tarā'if al-Turaf* in the Aya Sofia mss. 3767 (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxiv. 504), Köprülü 1336 (*M. S. O. S. As.*, xiv. 176) and Top Kapu Serai (*R. S. O.*, iv. 696). For the especial use of secretaries he prepared the *Kanz al-Kuttāb*, 2,500 passages from 250 poets, s. Flügel, *Die ar. etc. Hss. der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, N^o. 242; on this the Turkish poet Lāmi'ī wrote a commentary, s. Toderini, *Lit. Turc.*, ii, app. xxxiv. Here also we may mention his prose versions of the verses in the anthology *Mu'nis al-Udabā'* of an unknown author which he prepared by command of the Khwārizmshāh Abu 'l-'Abbās entitled *Nashr al-Naẓm wa-Hall al-'Iqd min mukhtār al-Shi'r alladhi yashtamil 'alaihi* 'l-*Kitāb al-mutardjam bi-Mu'nis al-Udabā'*, pr. Damascus 1300, Cairo 1317.

A second series of his works belong to the field of entertaining literature but also contain all kinds of useful information especially historical

anecdotes. Among these are the *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong, Leyden 1867, the *Kitāb al-Farā'id wa 'l-Kalā'id* or *Kitāb al-'Iḥa al-nafis wa-Nuḥat al-djalis*, pr. Cairo 1317 (on the margin of the *Nathr al-Naẓm*, 1324, the *Kitāb al-Mubhidj* (or *al-Mubahhidj*), pr. Stambul n. d., Cairo 1324 and the two works on praise and censure of things, that old topic of school adab entitled *Kitāb al-Laṭā'if wa 'l-Zarā'if* and *Yawāqūt al-Mawāqūt*; to the MSS. quoted in *Cat. codd. ar. bibl. ac. Lugd. Batavae*, N^o. 455 may be added: Paris, *op. cit.*, N^o. 5934, Petersburg, N^o. 857, Nicholson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 913, Haupt, N^o. 268. The two books are worked into one by an unknown hand in the Leyden ms. N^o. 456 and by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Makdisī: the latter was lithographed under the title of the former at Baghdad 1282 and printed as the *Djam'a fī-mā байна Kitābai al-Tha'ālibī* etc., Bülāk 1296 and Cairo 1300. Finally must be mentioned the *Kitāb Ghurar al-Balāgha wa-Turaf al-Barā'a*, MS. in Berlin, N^o. 8341, or *Ghurar al-Balāgha li 'l-Naẓm wa 'l-Nathr* (thus in Köprülü MS. 1290, s. Rescher, *M. S. O. S. As.*, xiv. 197) or with the addition wa 'l-Barā'a in the Brit. Mus. 7758 (*Descriptive List*, p. 63), another MS. also in Nicholson's possession (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 913). Wrongly ascribed to him in the *Khams Rasā'il*, Stambul 1307, and on the margin of the *Nathr al-Naẓm*, Cairo 1317, are the *Kitāb al-Amthāl*, Cairo 1327, the *Kitāb al-Farā'id wa 'l-Kalā'id* of al-Aḥwāzī († 544 = 1053) and in the Gotha MS., N^o. 1873 a *Maḥāsin al-Maḥāsin*, s. *Z. S.*, iii. 78, 254.

He also compiled several collections of proverbs and sentiments, notably the *Kitāb al-Tamaththul wa 'l-Muḥādara* (to the MSS. given in the *Cat. Lugd.*, N^o. 454 add Paris, N^o. 6019), and the *Kitāb aḥāsin Kalim al-Nabī wa 'l-Ṣaḥāba wa 'l-Tābi'in wa-Mulūk al-Djāhiliya wa-Mulūk al-Islām wa 'l-Wuzarā'* wa 'l-Kuttāb wa 'l-Bulaghā' wa 'l-Ḥukamā' wa 'l-'Ulamā' (*Cat. Lugd.*, N^o. 453; Paris, N^o. 8201, 2), from this is taken *Talibii syntagma dictorum brevium et acutorum*, ed. J. J. Ph. Valetton, Leyden 1844; this work was later included in the larger *Kitāb al-'Idjāz wa 'l-Idjāz*, pr. in *Khams Rasā'il*, Stambul 1301 and Cairo 1897. To the same class belong the *Kitāb Ḥilyat al-Muḥādara wa-'Umwān al-Mudhāhara wa-Maidān al-Musāmara*, Paris, N^o. 5914 and the *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-Ṣaḥāba wa 'l-Tābi'in*, cf. *Selecta e Thaaibii libro facietiarum*, ed. P. Cool in the Chrestomathy to Koorda's *Grammatica arabica*, Leyden 1835. Cheikho published another collection of wise thoughts in *Machrig*, v. 831-834. Finally he also compiled an adab work called *Mu'nis al-Wahid* (in Ḥādjī Khalifa, N^o. 13454) which seems to survive in the Cambridge MS. (Browne, *Suppl. Handlist*, N^o. 1287, while the text publ. by Flügel entitled *Der vertaute Gefährte des Einsamen* is only a portion of the *Muḥādarat* of Rāghib al-Iṣfahāni; s. Gildemeister, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiv. 171. According to Ḥādjī Khalifa, N^o. 7343 he also wrote a mirror for princes entitled *Strat al-Mulūk* or *al-Kitāb al-mulūki*. It still has to be investigated whether this survives in the *Sirādj al-Mulūk*, an ethical work ascribed in the Brit. Mus. Or. 6368 (*Descriptive List*, p. 64) to Tha'ālibī; a counterpart of this is the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, in Gotha, N^o. 1886. Shorter adab-works are the *Kitāb Mir'āt al-Murūwāt wa-'Amāl al-ḥasanāt*, pr. Cairo 1318 and

the *Kitāb Bard al-Akbād fi 'l-ʿAdād*, Stambul 1301.

A third group comprises his philological works in the narrower sense. The most famous of them is a work on Arabic synonyms composed very late in life to which he first gave the title *Shams al-Adab fi 's-sīmal al-ʿArab*. It consists of two parts, synonyms in the narrower sense, entitled *Asrār al-Lughā al-ʿarabiya wa-Khaṣṣat-iṣṣihā* and notes on style entitled *Maḍjārī Kalām al-ʿArab bi-Rusūmiḥā wa-mā yataʿallaqu bi 'l-Nahw wal-I'rāb minḥā wa 'l-Istishād bi 'l-Kurʿān ʿalā akthariḥā*; the bulk of this second part is taken word for word from the *Kitāb Fiḥḥ al-Lughā* of Aḥmad b. Fāris. In this oldest form the work only exists in the Leyden MS., No. 66 and Berlin, No. 7032—7033. He later published the first part separately as *Fiḥḥ al-Lughā*; in this form it attained very great popularity, cf. *Prooemium et specimen lexicæ synonymici arabici Atthalibi*, ed., vertit, notis illustravit J. Seligmann, Upsala 1863; Fleischer, *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 152—166 and the printed editions Paris 1861 (ed. R. Dahdah), Cairo 1284, 1317 (with the original form *Asrār al-Lughā* on the margin), 1325, Bairūt 1885 (bowdlerized). In the Cairo editions 1284 and 1325 the second part of the original version is also printed as the *Sirr al-ʿArabiya fi Maḍjārī Kalām al-ʿArab wa-Ṣilatihā wa 'l-Istishād bi 'l-Kurʿān ʿalā akthariḥā* also printed as the *Sirr al-Adab fi Maḍjārī ʿUlūm al-ʿArab* along with Maidānī's *al-Samī fi 'l-Asāmī* lith. in Teheran n. d. and to be found separately in the Paris MS. No. 5989 with the error in the title *Maḍjārī* for *Maḍjārī* also found elsewhere (e. g. Ḥādjdī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, iv. 590). The work was put into verse by an unknown author in 742 (1341) as the *Nagm Fiḥḥ al-Lughā*, in the Leyden MS. No. 67; cf. Weijers, *Orient.*, i. 360 sqq. In 400 in Nisābūr he wrote a handbook of Rhetoric with special references to Metaphor for the Khwārizmshah Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn, which in the MSS. is sometimes called *al-Kifāya fi 'l-Kināya* (so Paris, No. 5934), sometimes *al-Nihāya fi 'l-Ta'riq wa 'l-Kināya* (so Brit. Mus., Suppl. No. 1110, 1), sometimes simply *al-Kināya wa 'l-Ta'riq* (so Berlin, No. 7336). It has been printed under the last named title at Mecca 1301 and Cairo 1326 along with al-Djurdjānī's *al-Muntakhab min Kināyāt al-Udabāʾ wa-Ishārāt al-Bulaghāʾ*. A collection of elegant Arabic expressions is the *Kitāb Siḥr al-Balaghā wa-Sirr al-Barāʾa* (to the MSS. enumerated in *G. A. L.*, i. 285, No. 7 may be added Cairo (see *Fihrist* 2, iv. 183) and Paris, No. 6724, from which extracts have been printed in Stambul (Reuther, *Verz.*, i. 32, 3). Finally he compiled a collection with annotations of constant genitive combinations entitled *Thimār (Thamar) al-Kulūb 'l-Muḍāf wa 'l-Mansūb*, which he dedicated to the Amir ʿUbaidallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mikālī (d. 436 = 1044); to the MSS. in *G. A. L.*, i. 285, No. 9 add Paris, No. 5942, Cambr. Suppl., No., 354, and Brussa *B. K. O.*, vii. 81, pr. Cairo 1320. A supplement is the *al-Taḥyīl al-marḡhūb min Thamar al-Kulūb*, which collects the names of famous men, in the Paris MS., No. 6029. A synopsis entitled *ʿImād al-Balaghā* was composed by ʿAbd al-Raʿūf al-Munāwī (d. 1031 = 1622); cf. *Codd. ar. bibl. reg. Hafn.*, No. 206; *Revue de l'ac. ar. de Damas* vii. 574; *Fihris Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya*, iii. 3; *Z. D. M. G.*, lxviii. 855 (on a MS. in Brussa). It was put into alphabetical order by Muḥ. Amin al-Muḥibbi († 1699) entitled *Mā yuʿawwal ʿalaihi fi*

'l-Muḍāf wa 'l-Muḍāf ilaihi; MSS. in Cairo, *Fihrist* 2, iii. 285; Top Kapu, No. 2455; ʿĀrif, No. 2247 (*R. S. O.*, iv. 727; *M. F. O. B.*, v. 496), Aya Sofia, No. 4136, *M. O.*, vii. 132.

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2. ABŪ MANŠŪR AL-ḤUSAIN B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MARGHANI (from Marghan in Ghūr, Afghānistān), an Arabic historian of whom we only know that he dedicated his work, *Ghurar al-Siyar*, to Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd of Ghazna who died in 412 (1021). It gives the history of mankind from Adam down to Maḥmūd Subuktegin. The first part is in Stambul in the Ibrāhīm Pāshā library, No. 916 and in Paris No. 5053. Zotenberg published the history of the Persians from it (*Histoire des rois des Perses*, Paris 1900); in the introduction he sought, without convincing reasons, to show that it was written by the better known man of the same name (No. 1). This part of the book is specially valuable because it gives the sources used by Firdawsī for his *Shāhnāme* in many places more accurately than even Tabarī. The author apparently translated fairly literally the book of kings prepared in Persian about 950 by four men for the ruler of Tūs, Abū Manšūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāk but he also used Tabarī, Djawlikī and other Arabs quite uncritically. Of the four volumes which accords to Ḥādjdī Khalifa No. 8592 (ed. Flügel, iv. 319, where he is wrongly called al-Marʾashī) only one survives in the Bodleian (d'Orv., x. 2). This covers the period 74/5 to 158 A. H. It is a very laudable endeavour to cast off the fetters of the purely chronological arrangement of Arab historiography, and give history in its psychological setting. From this work Houtsma published the account of Bilʿafūd, *W. Z. K. M.*, iii. 30—37.

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3. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD B. MAKHLŪF AL-DJĀFARĪ AL-DJAZĀʾIRĪ, North African theologian, b. in Algiers 788 (1386), studied from 802 (1399) in Bidjāya, Tunis and Cairo, made the pilgrimage from there, returned to Tunis where he died in 873 = 1468 (so his tombstone, while Aḥmad Bābā gives 875). His principal work is the commentary on the *Kurʿān* finished on 25th Rabiʾ I, 833 (Dec. 23, 1429) entitled *al-Djawāhir al-ḥisān fi Tafsīr al-Kurʿān*; to the mss. given in *G. A. L.*, ii. 249, 5, 1 may be added Paris, No. 5283 and 5379; Escorial 2, No. 1324; Fās Ḳaraw., No. 126/27; Algiers, No. 132/37. Of his works an eschatology has been printed, *ʿUlūm al-fākhirā fi 'l-Nazar fi Umūr al-Ākhira*, Cairo 1317—1318 and a portion of his ethics *Djāmiʿ al-Ummahāt fi Ahkām al-ʿIbādāt* entitled *Nubḍha min al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*, s. l. 1911. To the list of his minor works in *G. A. L.*, l. c., may be added a

Risāla on Definitions in Tübingen (Seybold, *Verz.*, No. 19, 2) and *al-Anwār al-muḍ'ira al-Diāmi'a bain al-Sharī'a wa 'l-Haḳīka*, Fas, Karaw., No. 610.

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(C. BROCKELMANN)

THĀBIT B. KURRA, mathematician, physician and philosopher, one of the greatest figures among the promoters of Arab learning in the third (ninth) century. Born in 836 (826?) at Harrān, the ancient seat of the worship of the planets, he belonged to a prominent family settled there, which produced a long series of scholars. The later names in his genealogy (Thābit b. Kurra b. Zahrūn [Marwān?] b. Thābit b. Karāya b. Mārinūs b. Malāghriyīs [Μελέαγρος]) take us back to a time when the Greek character of the life of the town was seen in its nomenclature, although it is not safe to suppose without further enquiry that Thābit was descended from Greek colonists. The biographers record that Thābit was originally a money-changer. In any case an inherited fortune enabled him to acquire a thorough philosophical and mathematical training during a stay in Baghdād. His liberal philosophical opinions brought him into conflict with the pagan community of his native town. Brought before the religious court, and compelled to recant his philosophical heresies, he escaped further molestation by moving to the village of Kafartūthā near Dārā. Here he is said to have met Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākīr on his return journey from Byzantium to Baghdād and the latter, recognising his mathematical talent and linguistic ability, took him with him to Baghdād, to recommend him to the Caliph Mu'taḍid, who appointed him one of his court astronomers. In Baghdād Thābit spent the greater part of his life translating and expounding Greek mathematicians, composing his own mathematical works, in philosophical studies and the practice of medicine, and died there at the age of 67 on Feb. 18, 901.

The great prestige which Thābit enjoyed at the Caliph's court benefited the Ṣābians in Harrān and other places. The Syriac writings which Thābit — probably while still in Harrān — wrote on the doctrine and worship of his co-religionists, were still known in part to Barhebraeus (d. 1286) but seem now to have disappeared. They would now be of the greatest value for the religious history of late Hellenism. Lists of Thābit's Arabic works are given in Chwolsohn, Suter, Steinschneider, Brockelmann and Wiedemann in the works quoted below. Much that is valuable and worth publishing still exists in manuscript. A survey is given by H. Suter, *Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, p. 36 sqq. E. Wiedemann in *Beiträge*, lxiv., *Über Thābit ben Qurra, sein Leben und sein Wirken*, *S. B. P. M. S.*, Erlangen 1920—1921, p. 210—217, has given a list of Thābit's writings, classified under subjects, which is useful as a preliminary survey. The works of Thābit which have been edited or translated are given below in the *Biblio-*

graphy. On Sinān b. Thābit and other later members of the family see the full treatment in Chwolsohn, *Die Sābier*, i. 566—610.

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(J. RUSKA)

THĀBIT, whose personal name was 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN, an important Ottoman poet of the transition period (mainly under Sultān Aḥmad III [1703—30]) with a distinct style of his own, quite outside of the usual. Born in Užica in Bosnia about 1060 (1650) of humble origin and of Serbo-Croat parents, he was related to the poet Wuṣlat 'Alī Bey Pašić of Užica and Māhirī 'Abd Allāh of Serajevo. He died in Constantinople in 1124 (1712—13). He adopted a theological career and went to Constantinople at the end of his studies, where as a result of his early developed poetical talent he soon became famous and gained patrons but also the hostility of many of his colleagues. As a result of the prevailing corruption and

nepotism in the appointments to public offices, in spite of his acknowledged ability he never succeeded in rising higher than *mülâzim* which rank he reached in 1089. He therefore resigned from the *Müderrişlik*, which alone formed the stepping-stone to higher offices and adopted a judicial career, which took him to Çorlu, Burgas, Adrianople (1097), Kaffa, Rodosto, Serajevo (1112), Konia (1117), Diarbekir (1119—1121 to which he had been particularly anxious to go). As the tenure of office was as a rule only one year, and after each period there was a considerable period of enforced inactivity (*‘azl*) without a pension, he had continually to struggle with financial worries and difficulties, especially as he was ashamed to enrich himself by irregular means. His high moral character was recognised even by his enemies. At the same time he suffered heavy blows from fate; he lost all that he owned through the outbreak of war; a portion of his family was massacred and others carried off into captivity. When he died in 1124 he had been for some considerable time without a post.

Thābit had an impediment in his speech which hindered his advancement in his official career; he was however all the more fluent with the pen. Various peculiarities of language reveal his non-Turkish origin. His command of vocabulary and language is very powerful. His Turkish vocabulary is one of the richest and most valuable in the whole of Turkish literature, especially for its idioms. One of his characteristics is the frequent use of proverbs and popular sayings, even the most trivial ones. His language surprises us with its youthful vigour, power of expression and its wealth of bold imagery.

In spite of his reputed membership of the Melāmī-Bairāmī order and his not infrequent use of Sūfī nomenclature, there is nothing of the mystic in him. His feeling for the real is very pronounced, a feature he has in common with other Ottoman poets. What gives him a note of his own and raises him high above the level of other Turkish poets is the manner in which his own individuality comes out in his poems. He was able to invigorate the tonelessness of Turkish poetry, usually abstract to the verge of desperation, by colouring it with his personality which breaks out everywhere and fills it with the spirit of a warm-blooded man. In spite of the fact that, with his remarkable jugglery with words, he does not reveal great depth of feeling, he is yet a true poet. But what always won hearts and secured him a certain popularity is his inexhaustible humour and his sarcasm, which compel laughter and are not found in a similar form in other Ottoman poets. He is always full of jokes and witty remarks and punning allusions and double entendres, not always easy to understand. The strong contrasts which follow in rapid succession are typical of him: the simple and involved, even tortuous, beautiful and coarse, pious and frivolous, even obscene.

Although he is not a popular poet in the proper sense of the word (there are for example no *sharkî* by him and his great learning makes his poems not easy to understand) he was much admired at all times in many circles. The number of manuscripts is large as his *Diwān* was often copied. The fact that he has not been printed is probably due to the large number of manuscripts available. Modern Turkish literary criticism has now,

but not quite justly, rather turned against him.

His works consist of a *Diwān* with 37 *kaşidas* (incl. his *Me‘rādīya*, and 2 *na‘l*'s), about 364 *ghazal*'s (the *ghazal*'s are the weakest part of his poetry), a few *takhtis*, riddles, 60 quatrains, 100 *müfredāt* and about 50 chronograms; also of a number of *methnewi*'s: A *Zafer-nāme*, composed for Selīm Girey (pr. Stambul 1299 and 1311); *Edhem u-Humā* (*Edhem-nāme*); *Berber-nāme*; *Dere-nāme* (*Hikāyet-i Khodja Fesād*, *Hikāyet-i Donlu Dere*) and *Hikāyet-i ‘Amr ū-Leith*.

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THAKĪF. On the eve of the Hidjra, the tribe of Thakīf, settled in the district of Tā‘if, claimed a common ancestor called Thakīf. His real name is said to have been Kaṣī and Thakīf a surname. A malicious tradition has identified this Kaṣī-Thakīf with Abū Righāl, the traitor, who guided the Abyssinian army from Abraha to Mecca, and whose tomb used to be stoned on the road from Tā‘if to Mecca. It was when they wished to ascend beyond this eponymous ancestor that divergences began. Some connected Thakīf with Yād, others with Hawāzin [q. v.]. Genealogists were still hesitating between these two schemes in the second century A. H. Most of the Thakīfis declared themselves for the descent from Hawāzin. This was in order to connect themselves with the group of this name which was itself a subdivision of the mass of tribes connected with Kaṣis. Their interests, their geographical position suggested this opportunist solution to the Thakīfis in a district inhabited by the Banū Hawāzin, where the influence of the latter was predominant. Only among the *Ahlāf* of Tā‘if did the theory of Yādī descent have any partisans.

The town of Tā‘if was the urban centre of Thakīf. The tribe seems to have included only a small proportion of nomads. As for the town and the surrounding gardens, it contained the fertile country villages of Waḥt, of Lyya and others which stretched in the direction of the Yemen. Its islāmisation took place at the same time as that of Tā‘if. It shared the reputation for trickery of the Tā‘ifis, took part with them in the conquests of Islām, above all in the ‘Irāk, where the foundation of Baṣra was due to them. Like them, the tribe rallied readily to the Omayyad régime, an attitude which earned them the hostility of the ‘Abbāsīd rulers and also that of the ‘Abbāsīd and ‘Alīd traditionalists.

Meanwhile a slight movement of the tribe towards the south took place, all along the farms which they were developing in this direction. From the third century A. H. small numbers of Thakīfis are found as far as the Yemen, in the Banū Hamdān country and in the district of Naḍjirān, on intimate terms with the tribes of the country. It is thus that we find them in the Yemen supporting the Zaidī restoration of the ‘Alīd al-Hādī ila ‘l-Haqq, studied by Van Arendonk. For the rest the history of the tribe is not distinct from that of Tā‘if, the

centre round which the majority of the tribe remained settled.

At the beginning of the ninth century, the traveller Burckhardt described the "Thekif" as a "very powerful tribe; it possesses the fertile country round Taif, its gardens, and other sites on the eastern slopes of the mountains of the Hedjaz. A great many Thekif have fixed abodes. Half the inhabitants of Taif belong to this tribe; others continue to live in tents. The Thekif have very few horses and camels but they are rich in sheep and goats.... They can turn out two thousand men armed with rifles; they defended Taif against the Wahhabis", in 1803. One of the last European visitors to Taif, Mr. Philby, found them on the slopes of mount Karā, between Taif and Mecca, where they devote themselves to agriculture.

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(H. LAMMENS)

THAʿLAB, ABU ʿL-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. ZAID B. SAİYĀR (or: YASĀR) AL-ḤAIBĀNĪ (= Mawla of the Banū Ḥaibān), an Arab grammarian, although regarded as of the "Kūfa" school (see below), spent his life in Baghdad. Born in 200 (815), at the age of 16 he began to devote himself to the study of the Arabic language. Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAṣṣābī, al-Zubair b. Bakkār were among his teachers. He also studied with great enthusiasm the works of al-Kisāʾī and especially of al-Farrāʾ; he is said to have known all the latter by heart at the age of 25. Later he himself taught publicly and privately and in this capacity received a considerable salary from the court at the suggestion of the vizier Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul. His best known pupils were Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī and Abū ʿUmar al-Zahid. For thirteen years he was also private tutor to the son of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, governor of Baghdad. His scientific activity also found expression in a number of publications of a philological, especially grammatical, nature. Of most only the titles have survived. Only two of them (*Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ* and *Kawāʾid al-Ḥiṣr*) have been printed. Thaʿlab's hearing became very defective in his old age. This defect was the cause of an accident which he suffered on his way home from the mosque one day, of the results of which he died in Djumādā I 291 (904). As he had led a simple life, he was able to leave his daughter a considerable fortune. His extensive library was purchased after his death by the vizier al-Ḳasim b. ʿUbaid Allāh.

The later Arab grammarians class Thaʿlab as belonging to the so-called Kūfa school, which is said to have reached its zenith and also its end in him. He himself indeed declared he was an ardent follower of al-Farrāʾ, the Kūfan *ḥaṣ* *ḥiṣṣ*; he also waged a constant feud with al-Mubarrad, his famous contemporary of the "Baṣra" school. But, as G. Weil has shown, one cannot really talk of a regular school of "Kūfan" grammarians; when its alleged representatives are considered to form an independent group, this is simply an invention of the later grammarians, who considered themselves the natural continuers of the Baṣra tradition and thought that the state of affairs in

grammatical study with its opposing schools in their time must also have existed in the past. Thaʿlab no doubt continued the tradition of al-Farrāʾ but he was no more able than the other "Kūfans" to do more to establish his grammatical method, still less to develop it. His interest also was too much devoted to accumulating material to be memorised and to acquiring a knowledge of special linguistic forms, to enable him to develop a fruitful activity in the field of method.

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(R. PARET)

THAʿLABA, a common old Arab proper name (more rarely Thaʿlab) and eponym of a number of subdivisions of the larger tribal divisions of ancient Arabia. Thus we have the Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba of the great tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil (Yamāma as far as Baḥrain); the Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd b. Ḍhubyān of the tribe of Ḥaṭaṭān in the Neḥd region; the Thaʿlaba b. Yarbuʿ of the tribe of Tamīm; the Thaʿalib Ṭaiy clans of the Ṭaiy [q.v.]. A Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. Muḍjalid is mentioned as the first pylarch of the Ḥassānid dynasty. The "Roman Arabs of the house of Thaʿlaba" mentioned by Joshua Stylites as taking part in the wars with the Lakhmids are either of Ḥassānid origin (Nöldeke) or belong to the Bakri Thaʿlaba (Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hira*). In the south Arabian tribes we have Azdī and Kinānī Thaʿlaba. A Thaʿlaba clan of the Aws in Yaṭrib and a Thaʿlaba b. al-Fityūn (in Caussin wrongly Ghūityūn) of the Jewish ʿKainuḳāʿ may also be mentioned. A member, of this clan, called Muḫhairīḳ, distinguished for his learning, generally hostile to the Prophet, is said to have adopted Islām and fallen at Uḥud (Ṭabari, i. 1424; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, iii. 24 sqq.).

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtikāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, index, s.v.; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen und Register*; Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*. (H. H. BRÄU)

AL-THAʿLABĪ, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM ABU IṢḤĀḲ AL-NISĀBŪRĪ, a famous theologian and Ḳurʾān exeget, born in Muḥarram 427 (Dec. 1035). His great work is the commentary on the Ḳurʾān entitled *al-Ḳaṣṣ* wa ʿl-Bayān ʿan *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* which Ibn al-Djauzī (according to Ibn Taghribirdī, p. 660; ed. Popper, ii. 166)

criticises on the ground that it accepts weak traditions, especially in the early Sūras, but which according to Schwally (in Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns*, ii. 174), must be one of the most useful works on the subject, as he uses about 100 sources in addition to Ṭabarī in an intelligent fashion, and with every endeavour to attain completeness the work is only twice the size of Baiḍāwī. Nevertheless the work which was still very widely used in Yāqūt's time and had a criticism written on it by Aḥmad b. al-Mukhtār al-Rāzī about 631 (1233) (see *Fihrist al-Kutub-khāne al-Khedīwiye*, i. 198) has now fallen into oblivion and has never been printed. Much more popular is his *History of Prophets*, which grew out of his Qur'ān exegesis and was to be a supplement to it; it gives all the stories in very great detail but keeps on the whole clear of the worst feats of imagination of the *kuṣṣās*, such as we find in al-Kisā'ī [q. v.]. The book has been often printed e. g. Cairo 1297, 1303, 1306, 1308, 1310, 1314, 1321, 1324, 1340, Bombay 1306, and a Tatar translation by Muḥammad Amīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ya'kūbī, Kāsan 1903. As it became a popular work, the text was not treated with care, for example in the Paris MS. 1923, it is worked into that of al-Kisā'ī.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ii. 104; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1299, N^o. 30; al-Suyūṭī, *De interpretibus Corani*, ed. Meursinge, N^o. 5; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N^o. 185; *G. A. L.*, i. 350.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

THAMŪD, the name of one of those old Arabian peoples, which like the 'Ād, Iram (Aram), Wibar (Jobaritae) had disappeared some time before the coming of the Prophet. A series of older references, not of Arabian origin, confirm the historical existence of the name and people of *Thamūd*. Thus the inscription of Sargon of the year 715 B. C. mentions the Tamud among the people of eastern and central Arabia subjected by the Assyrians. We also find the *Thamudaei*, *Thamudenes* mentioned in Aristo, Ptolemy, and Pliny. The latter mentions as settlements of the *Thamudaei* Domatha and Hegra, which are probably to be identified as the modern Dūmat al-Djandal in Djöf and al-Hidjr on the Hīdžaz railway north of al-'Elā'. Old Arab tradition also locates the *Thamūd* at the last named place. The older poets mention the *Thamūd* with the 'Ād as examples of the transitoriness of worldly glory, e. g. al-A'shā and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Salt who quotes several legendary features of their story. In the Qur'ān the fate of the *Thamūd* along with that of the 'Ād serves as a warning from native history along with the foreign ones from the Bible: for example in Sūra vii. 71—77; xi. 64—71; xv. 80—86; liv. 23—31. Arab tradition of the fall of the *Thamūd*, which was further developed by the earliest exegetes from the references in the Qur'ān is in its main lines as follows. Just as there was a prophet named Hūd among the 'Ād so there was one called Šāliḥ (b. 'Ubaid b. 'Amīr b. Sām, q. v.) among the *Thamūd*. Challenged by his opponents, whose leader is said to have been Djundā' b. 'Amr, to give a sign of his divine mission, he conjured up a pregnant she-camel out of a rock. The tendons of this animal, sacred and inviolable as "Allāh's camel", were however cut along with those of its foal by the scoffers. In punishment the whole

people was doomed to destruction. The manner of their destruction is said in Sūra vii. 76 to have been *radjfa*, earthquake, in Sūra xli. 12, 16, *ṣā'ika*, a thunderbolt. These expressions make it probable that tradition associated the fall of the *Thamūd* with one of the volcanic outbreaks which led to the formation of more or less extensive fields of lava called *ḥarra* in Arabia. West of al-Hidjr lies one of the largest of these *ḥarra* (cf. B. Moritz, *Arabien*, Hanover 1923, p. 28). E. Glaser thinks the *Thamūd* are closely connected with the Liḥyān [q. v.], the Lechieni of Pliny, that *Thamūd* was the older, Liḥyān the later name of the people still surviving in the two Liḥyān clans of the Hudhailis, and that the decline of the *Thamūd* coincided with the end of the Liḥyān kingdom, somewhere between 400 and 600 A. D. The rock inscription found by Huber, Euting and others in al-'Elā', al-Hidjr and neighbourhood are called by epigraphists Liḥyān or *Thamūdene*.

Bibliography: The commentaries on the Qur'ān passages quoted; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 219 sqq., 244 sqq.; al-Makdisī, *Livre de la création*, ed. Huart, iii. 39 sqq.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, iii. 84 sqq.; al-Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1290, p. 58 sqq.; Abu 'l-Fida', *Historia anteislamica*, ed. Fleischer, register; Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 24 sqq.; Sprenger, *Alte Geographie Arabiens*; E. Glaser, *Skizze zur Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, vol. ii. (H. H. BRÄU)

THANAWIYA, Dualism, means the doctrine that light and darkness are the two equal eternal creative principles. There is not a regular *Thanawiya* sect or school in Islām. The term, as the characteristic name of a school of thought, is limited to three non-Muslims and their adherents: Ibn Daiṣān, Mānī and Mazdak [see these three articles].

A danger arose to Islām through the tendency to dualism within its ranks from the mass conversions of Persians, as was seen for example at the beginning of the Abbāsīd period in the disturbing figure of Ibn al-Mukaffā'. He was attacked for example by the Mu'tazilī Zaidī al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā', *al-Radd 'ala 'l-Zindīq Ibrāhīm al-Mukaffā'* (ed. M. Guidi, Rome 1927). In the further course of dogmatic development, the charge of dualism is often raised and is not by any means confined to one party. Several ultra-*Shi'is* of the third (ninth) century had the accusation made against them: Abū Ḥafṣ al-Haddād, Ibn Dharr al-Dhairafī and Abū 'Isā al-Warrāk, the authority on heresies, who himself, originally a Mazdaean, even after his conversion is said to have "supported the *Thanawiya* by his writings". But the classification, for example, of the latter among the Manichaeans is based on his agreement with them on other, not metaphysical points, for example the prohibition of killing. Even the heretic who gets his usual epithet from a *Thanawiya* group, the Rāfiḍī Abū Šakīr al-Daiṣānī got the name, so far as we can see, because he attributed a body to God, i. e. an opinion not in itself dualistic and the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 338, 8) classifies him more generally among the "secret Zindīqs". In fact the distinctive Daiṣānī dogma, the derivation of bodies from the black and the white element (see Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyin* [ed. Ritter], p. 335) seems so far not to be traceable in Abū Šakīr; besides the branding of an opponent on the ground of a single, often quite subsidiary

tertium comparationis is an all too frequent and confusing habit of the Muslim champions of orthodoxy.

The above charges against the three last-named are taken from al-Khaiyāt, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, "Le Livre du Triomphe" (ed. Nyberg, Cairo 1344, p. 150, 41, 149, 9, 155, 14, 41; cf. also the index under the names mentioned here and below). To appreciate his opinions properly, one must remember that they are counter-attacks on Ibn al-Rawandī, who in his *Kitāb Fadiḥat al-Mu'tazila* had branded several leaders of the Mu'tazila [q.v.] as dualists. It is true that these circles produced many polemics against Thanawiya, Manichaeans and Daiṣānīs; but Ibn al-Rawandī seized upon the Mu'tazila endeavour to make God not the originator of evil. Even al-Djāhīz is said to have endangered monotheism by the assertion that "the bodies develop out of their nature" and that "God cannot destroy them" (*op. cit.*, p. 168). Ibn al-Rawandī particularly characterized Ibrāhīm al-Nazzām, the teacher of Djāhīz, although he wrote against the Thanawiya (*op. cit.*, p. 17, 12), as a downright dualist Manichaean and Daiṣānī (*op. cit.*, p. 38, 3, 40, 6, 17 sq., 43, 17 sq. and pass.) chiefly on account of his view of the absolute opposition between good and evil, as between light and heavy. So long as the original works are not available, we must accept with caution the distorted reproduction of his opponents' views by Ibn al-Rawandī and the evasive exposition by al-Khaiyāt. It is, however, not only these opponents who suspect the Mu'tazilis, who take pride in calling themselves the people of true monotheism and not only the Mu'tazilis mentioned who have become suspect, but several others like 'Alī al-Aswārī and Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (cf. also de Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, Stuttgart 1901, p. 47; Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912 and his other works by index under Dualismus). The Mu'tazila counter-attack however was able to reproach the Sunnis with their Qur'ān which they asserted had existed from the beginning alongside of God.

Dualism is said to have been distinctly taught by some disciples of al-Nazzām. Just as they are said to have intensified his Shī'ī tendencies till they became ultra-Shī'a, so they developed his christianising logos-theory into the doctrine of two creators: God and God's word. The latter however, identified with the Messiah, does not mean complete incompatibility with monotheism, as it is only a created creator, an intermediary. Even the names of these heretics are, it must be confessed, uncertain. In Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton), p. 42 whose authority is Ibn al-Rawandī they are called al-Faḍl al-Ḥadāthī and Aḥmad b. Khā'it. The latter is also the name given in Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), iii. 266, but in another classification; in Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* (Cairo 1331), iv. 197, 20 sq.; Aḥmad b. Khābiṭ and al-Faḍl al-Ḥarbi (cf. Nyberg on Khaiyāt, p. 148 on p. 222 sqq. and Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *J.A.O.S.*, xxix. [1909], p. 10 and Index). The ultra-Shī'ī al-Bayān b. Sim'an al-Tamimi is said to have interpreted Sūra xliii. 84 to mean that there is one God of heaven and another, inferior however, of the earth, and Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb Bazigh and a certain al-Surri are said to have agreed with him (al-Kashshī, *Ma'rifaṭ Akhbār al-Ridjāl* [Bombay 1317], p. 196, 8 sqq.). This seems to lean towards those ḡhulāt [cf. NUṢAIRIYA] who see in 'Alī not so much the incarnate iden-

tity with God as the demiurge under the highest God. It is often insisted by theologians and philosophers (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv. 37; see also Schreiner, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lii. [1928], p. 479 sqq. and Nallino in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. 91 sqq.) that the participation in rule by the stars as second forces in addition to God, because it is dualism, is no less infidelity than the purely atheistic paganism of an absolute astrology.

To Islām with its striving after monotheism, duality means the abolition of the very idea of God (cf. on Sūra xvi. 53: al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib* [Cairo 1308], v. 327, 24, 36; al-Baidāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl* [ed. Fleischer], p. 517, 12; al-Naisabūrī, *Tafsīr* [on the margin of Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Bulāḡ 1323 sqq.], xiv. 74). Thanawiya thus became a term of contempt, but even in this use, it is not absolutely free from ambiguity but is used to some extent synonymously with the commoner word *zindik*, the application of which is much wider. Of the philosophical systems the Peripatetic brought a dualistic system, of metaphysics into the Kalam of Islām. Ḥazālī very strongly emphasises its halfway position, full of contradictions, between the true belief in tawḥīd on the one hand and complete infidelity on the other, as taught by the Dahriya [q.v.], naturalism, erroneous it is true, but quite conceivable: "the philosophers think that the world is eternal, but in spite of this they assume a creator; this is a self-contradictory proposition which requires no refutation"; Ḥazālī insists it is only hiding and not bridging over the difficulty when the empiricism of the Peripatetics summons to its assistance, from the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation, after the fashion of the Brethren of Purity [cf. IKHWAN AL-ṢAFĀ'], a being intermediate between God and the universe: "a caused (creative intermediary) alongside of the prime cause gives two creators and those eternal" (cf. *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* [ed. with the works of the same name by Ibn Rushd and Khwājizāde, Cairo 1319], p. 33, 27 and thereon J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ḥazālīs* [Vienna-Leipzig 1921], p. 43 sq., 57 sqq., 63 sqq.). It is at the same time (p. 35) strongly emphasised that from the Aristotelian Neo-Platonic point of view of Fārābī or Ibn Sīnā a proof of tawḥīd need not be given. He is therefore not all impressed in any way by the fact that the latter tries to remove the danger, which he himself feels of a "second Necessarily Existing One" (see Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas* [Halle 1907], p. 542 sqq.; esp. p. 551 on Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Shīfā'*, iv., treatise 9). Even more uncertain sound the monotheistic assertions of Ibn Sīnā in the narrower scope of his *Kitāb al-Nadīāt* (Cairo 1331), p. 327 sqq., 356 sqq., 374 sqq. etc., in view of the granting of the independence of the hylic substratum of creation, as it is reflected in his dualistic anthropology also.

How the contamination of Muslim monotheism by dualism from outside Islām presents itself to the Sunnī Ash'arīs may be seen, for example, in 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Baghdādī. In *Farḡ bain al-Firaḡ* (Cairo 1328) he expresses surprise even more ironical than Ibn al-Rawandī (see in Khaiyāt, p. 30, 1) at the fact that al-Nazzām in his arch-dualism (*Farḡ*, p. 120, 121: *rahikī [bi-'ainih] kawī al-Thanawiya*) wrote against the Thanawiya and the Manichaeans (p. 117, 5, 120, 12, 123 ult.,

124, 8). Al-Baghdādī in *Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Sambul 1928, p. 54) associates al-Nazzām directly with the Thanawiya outside Islām, among whom he in error includes the Marcionites, unlike the other heresiologists: He describes the Bāṭinīs [q. v.] without qualification as dualists (p. 322): "They were originally Maḍjūs and Thanawī, then in the time of al-Ma'mūn their prophets like 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn al-Qaddāh [q. v.] and Ḥamdān b. Karmat preached that there were two creators whom they called the first and the second; but this is in substance the teaching of the Thanawiya about light and darkness and the substance of the teaching of the Maḍjūs about Yazdān and Ahriman". Who are meant by the "two creators" is not recognisable with certainty from the brief general observation. It might be thought that al-Baghdādī had arbitrarily emphasised only the *nūr sha'sha'ani* and the *nūr qulāmi* out of the series of emanations [see KARMAṬIANS] in order to assert the Maḍjūs character of the Bāṭiniya. The known monotheistic tendency of the Bāṭinī Nāṣir-i Khusrāw (*Zād-i Musāfirin*, Berlin 1923, p. 74 sqq., 150 sqq., 160 sqq.) does not support the idea of a duality of this kind (cf. also Schaefer, *Die islamische Lehre vom vollkommenen Menschen*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, N. S., iv. [1925], p. 222 sqq., esp. p. 231). The subordination of the second god would, it is true, not fit the comparison with the Maḍjūs made by al-Baghdādī but it is just this point that would not be regarded as proper dualism in the usual language of the Muslim heresiologists. They expressly excluded the Maḍjūs from the Thanawiya, distinguishing them from the three groups mentioned at the beginning of the article, because, according to their dynamic monarchianism, Ahriman-darkness was a secondary creation of Yazdān-light or, as the sub-group of the Zoroastrians (Zaradushtiya) teach, both are equal to each other, but are subordinate to a supreme God as the first things created by him.

Bibliography: Besides the books mentioned in the text, cf. the works quoted in the articles cited.

(R. STROTHMANN)

THĀNISARĪ, MAWLĀNĀ, whose real name was Aḥmad, was a disciple of Shaiḫ Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ārāgh-i Dihlī (d. 757 = 1356), and was distinguished for his learning and piety. When the news of the arrival of Timūr (d. 807 = 1404) spread in Dihlī, most of the 'Ulamā' left the place but Thānisarī stayed till he and his dependents became prisoners of Timūr. As his fame was widespread and Timūr had previous knowledge of his learning, he was set at liberty and was received by him after order had been restored. A discussion arose about the precedence in the assembly between Thānisarī and Shaiḫ al-Islām who was the descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Farghānī al-Marghinānī (d. 593 = 1197), the author of *al-Hidāya*. Timūr took the side of Shaiḫ al-Islām and said that the latter was a descendant of the author of the *Hidāya*, meaning that preference should be given to him. On which Thānisarī replied that it was no wonder that Shaiḫ al-Islām had committed one mistake, for his ancestor, the author of the *Hidāya*, had committed many mistakes. Whereupon Shaiḫ al-Islām became very angry and asked him to point out the mistakes. Thānisarī told his pupils to do so. But Timūr stopped the discussion, in order to prevent further disturbance. When Timūr left India, Thānisarī also went away

from Dihlī and settled at Kālpī where he engaged in teaching till his death in 820 (1417) and was buried in the fort of Kālpī.

Among his compositions the *Ḳaṣida Dāliya* is very famous.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Akḥbār al-Akḥyār*, p. 142; Āzād Bilgramī, *Subḥat al-Mardjān*, p. 37; Šiddīq Ḥasan, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, p. 892 and *Ḥadīq al-Ḥanafīya*, p. 313. (M. Hidayet Hosain)

THA'R. [See KĪṢĀṢ.]

THAWBAN B. IBRĀHĪM. [See DHU 'L-NŪN.]

AL-THAWR, the constellation of Taurus, the second in the zodiacal circle. The figure is the front half of a bull whose head is turned to one side so that the horns face east. The constellation consists of 32 stars in the figure and 11 outside it. On the sector (*kaṭ'*, ἀκτορική) are said to be four stars in a straight line; in reality the stars ϵ ζ η θ form a curve. The bright star of the north horn also belongs to the constellation of the Steersman. The eye of the bull, 'Ain al-Thawr, the star with a red light of the first magnitude α in the centre of a thick group of smaller stars, the Hyades of the Greeks, is given many names by the Arabs. The name *al-Fanīḳ*, the "large camel", seems to be genuinely Arabic; around it are grouped the other stars or *al-K'ilās*, "little camels". Other names of α are connected with the Pleiades. As this constellation is called *al-Nadīm* "the group of stars" by the Arabs, α is called *Ḥādī 'l-Nadīm*, the "driver of the stars", or *Tālī 'l-Nadīm* and *al-Dabarān*, the "follower of the stars". This last name has passed into our star-maps in the form Aldebaran. The stars ν and κ near the ear of the bull are called *al-Kalbain*, the "two dogs", i. e. of the driver.

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 35; transl. by H. Ethé, as the *Kosmographie*, p. 74; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 136. (J. RUSKA)

AL-THUGHÜR (A., plur. of *thaghr*, "cleft, opening"), the zone of the fortresses built against the Byzantines in the Syrian and Mesopotamian marches (hence also *Thughūr al-Rumīya*). In Constantinople Porphyrogenetos they are called *τὰ Στόμα (De Cerimon., ed. Bonn, i. 657; cf. Reiske's note, ii., p. 777 = Migne, Patrol. Graec., cxii., col. 1220, note 38)*, by the Syrians "the land of Tagrā" (Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, iii. 20 sq., 467; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccles., ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 339 sq.*).

This frontier zone ran from Ṭarsūs [q. v.] in Cilicia along the Taurus on to Malatya [q. v.] to the Euphrates and served to protect the frontier province of the 'Awāšim [q. v.] from enemy invasion. It corresponded in object (but not in position) to the ancient *limes*, and a distinction, analogous to the old division into *Limes Arabicus*, *Syriacus* etc., was made between the *Thughūr al-Sha'mīya* and the *Thughūr al-Djazīriya*. The most advanced town in the former was Mar'ash [q. v.] and in the latter Malatya [q. v.]. Al-Iṣṭakhri mentions in the *Thughūr* the fortresses of Malatya, al-Ḥadath, Mar'ash, al-Ḥarūniya, al-Kanīsa' (= Kanīsat al-Sawda'), 'Ain Zarba, al-Maṣṣīṣa, Adḥana and Ṭarsūs; al-Dimishqī gives the following as the fortresses on the Mesopotamian frontier: Malatya, Kamakh, Shimsḥat, al-Bira, Ḥiṣn Maṣṣūr, Kaṭat al-Rūm, Ḥadath al-Ḥamra' and Mar'ash, on the Syrian

Tarsūs, Adhana, al-Maṣṣīṣa, al-Hārūniya, Sīs and Aiyās. In the viith (xivth) century there belonged to the marches of the Mamlūk kingdom, the 'Awāṣim and Thughūr (so al-Kalkaṣhāndī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣhā*², Cairo, iv. 228; it would be more correct to give only the Thughūr here), the 8 *niyābat* of Malatya, Dabragī (Diwrigī), Daranda, Abulustain, Aiyās, Tarsūs and Adhana, Sirfandakār and Sīs, and to the Mesopotamian marches the 3 *niyābat*, al-Bira, Kal'at Dja'bar and al-Ruhā. But the name Thughūr, at this time probably only survived in learned tradition.

For the pass of Bailān [q.v.] in the Mamlūk period the usual name was *Thaghr al-Iskandariya* (H. E. Weijers, *Summa operis Durrat al-Aslāk fi Dawlat al-Atrāk*, in *Orientalia*, ed. Juynboll, ii., 1846, p. 323, 429, 451, 464, 468, 489).

Sometimes the frontier of Diyār Bekr [q.v.] is known as *Thughūr al-Bakriya* (Kudāma, *B.G.A.*, vi., p. 254).

According to Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Takwīm*, transl. Reinaud-Guyard, ii/i. 14; ii/ii. 257), the name al-Thaghr or al-Thughūr was also used for the marches in al-Andalus and Mā warā' al-Nahr.

Bibliography: al-Iṣṭakhri, *B.G.A.*, i. 55 sq.; Ibn Hawḳal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 108; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 927; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭīlā'*, ed. Juynboll, i. 228; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 163—171, 184—192; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, index, ii. 707; al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, indices, p. 684; al-Dimishqī, ed. Mehren, p. 214; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales Muslem.*, ed. Reiske, ii. 60; iii. 486 [here: al-Thaghr]; Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 183, note; Ibn al-Shīḥna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fi Tarikh Halab*, ed. Bairūt, p. 178; Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv. 2, 90, 140, 142, 233, 311, 315; Sachau, *S.B. Akad. Berlin*, 1892, p. 319; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 26 sq., 37 sq.; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliph.*, p. 128; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 1923, p. 96. (E. HONIGMANN)

THULĀ, *THILĀ*, a town in South Arabia, at the foot of a reddish range of hills, which branches off from the great chain of Kawkabān, Ḥaḍūr al-Shēkh, Dhī Bin to the east (S. E.) and forms the southern boundary of al-Baun. According to E. Glaser who visited it on Dec. 5, 1883, the town is very clean, and has narrow streets and very high regularly built houses of yellowish-red limestone, which is hewn into neat blocks of about 10 inches by 4 and shows the same character in the whole town. The town is built against the eastern side of 1,000 feet high sandstone cliff, on the top of which is the castle (*ḥuṣn*) el-Nāṣire and is surrounded by a wall with 4 gates, beginning and ending against the cliff; it is at least twice as large as Shibām and one and a half times as large as Kawkabān and after Ṣan'ā', one of the largest and finest towns in the Yemen. The citadel, which was entered through a great archway, which spanned a deep cleft, but was later destroyed, is extraordinarily strongly built and apparently very old. It is said to have been previously called Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb (castle of the Raven), the name of the famous fortress on the coast at the old harbour of Kane (el-Madjdhaḥa). It is one of the finest castles in the Yemen; unfortunately the Turks at the conquest of the country destroyed all the outer works. The entrance gate of the castle

is at a height of 15 feet in an absolutely perpendicular wall, over a ravine 60—100 feet deep. Besides a fine mosque, the castle had also a large dwelling-house in the extreme east on the highest part of the hill, which looks at a distance like a low square tower; beside it a little lower is a higher tower, also square. Water was supplied from 4 or 5 deep well cemented cisterns; 15—20 granaries (*madāfin*) cone-shaped caves, hewn out of the sandstone served as storehouses for provisions; the opening was at the narrow end. They are 18—20 feet deep, are 12 feet at the bottom and not quite 3 in diameter at the opening. The summit of the mountain, on which the castle stands, has on all sides caves hewn out of the rock (*djurf*) with regular dwelling-houses with windows, niches and doors. Some are whitewashed and have 5 or 6 rooms of varying size. They seem to be old and were at one time used as dwellings by the Arab garrison of the fort. West of the above mentioned tower-like square ruined building are several large tombs built on the sandstone with old Arabic inscriptions. A saint (*walī*) is said to be among those buried here.

According to local tradition, there was originally not a town of this name but a group of villages; the latter — said to have been over 40 in number — were under the rule of Thulā down to the Turkish conquest. In C. Niebuhr's time the administrative district of Thulā (he writes Tulla) comprised also the lands to the north like Koḥlān, 'Affār, Ḥadje, Doḥir, Kawkabān (near Ḥadje), Djebel Sherif, Habūr, Sūda and Djebel Shahāra with about 300 villages, and was therefore much more extensive than at the end of the sixth century.

Bibliography: C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien* (Copenhagen 1772), p. 251 sq.; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen Jemen 1883/84* (Manuscript), fol. 61. (GROHMANN) **THULḤ**. [See ARABIA, i. 386^b, 387^a.]

THUMĀMA B. ASHRAS, a theologian, representative of the liberal movement under the early 'Abbāsids. On account of his great learning and intellectual ability he was invited to the court by Hārūn and Ma'mūn, to whom his sharp criticism of conservative views was no doubt also pleasing. This brought upon him the enmity of the conservative school of thought, which began to come to the front again after Mutawakkil and they have endeavoured to belittle his reputation.

To the burning questions of his time he took up an independent position, logically thought out, which often seemed peculiar and arbitrary. The "consequences" of actions, e.g. the turning of a key by a man, are produced neither by man (otherwise he would be able, like God, to bring into existence new realities, i.e. to create) nor by God, for then God would also create sin and moreover be in dependence on the will of the creature. The "consequences" (*mutawallidāt*) are rather subjectless actions and based on physis (*ṭibā'*). The liberal school traced them to *tawlid*, the "engendering" of man, without being willing to call this a "causation". Our knowledge is therefore, according to Thumāma, something originating in time but is without a prime cause (*muhdith*) working in time. Our spirit itself cannot produce it, for then it would be exercising a function of the Deity.

Only the internal activity of the will (*irāda*), excluding all its consequences, is our own special

possession and "free". The world is created by God through his nature (*ṭibā'* = physis), i.e. synonymous with "physical" necessity. It must therefore have been, as *Shahraṣṭānī* rightly observes, produced "eternally" i.e. without beginning, and this is the thesis of *falāsifa*. Our natural reason decides on the ethical value of the moral action (*taḥṣīn al-ʿaḥl*). God cannot arbitrarily establish the moral.

All our intellectual apprehensions are necessary (*ḍarūrī*), and have no connection with chance. He who does not know God in this logically compelling fashion is not bound to obey his commandments; but thereby he also loses the dignity of man's nature and becomes like the beasts. In the next world he will fall into dust. He is not conceded an immortal soul. This is true of Jews, Christians, followers of the *Dahr*, Mazdak (*Zanādika*), "Magians" (fire-worshippers, *Parṣis*) and children, even those of Muslims.

Ibn Murtaḍā in his "Book on the Sects" (*Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed. T. W. Arnold, Leipzig 1902, p. 35 sq.) puts him in the seventh generation, which follows that of al-ʿAllāf (d. 849). He was a pupil of Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir (d. about 840), was regarded as "unique in knowledge and intellectual culture in his day" and was feared as an opponent in disputations. His full name was Abū Maʿan al-Numairī.

Bibliography: (The notices of him all come from the works of his opponents, the conservative theologians): Ḍjī, *Kitāb al-Mawāḥiḥ*, ed. Sørensen, *passim*; *Shahraṣṭānī*, *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed. Cureton, London 1842-1846, p. 49 sq.; Isfarāʿīnī, Ms. Berlin, 4^o, fol. 35 sq.; al-Baghdādī, *Farḥ baina 'l-Firaḥ*, ed. Cairo, *passim*; Ḍjurdjānī, *Definitiones*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, p. 76, 4; M. Horten, *Die Theologie des Islam*, Leipzig 1912, p. 285; do., *Die philosophischen Systeme*, Bonn 1912, p. 309-317; do., *Die philosophischen Probleme*, Bonn 1910, p. 50, 176 etc. (M. HORTEN)

AL-THURAIYĀ, the constellation of the Pleiades. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, the group is made up of two brighter stars between which are three others close together like grapes in a bunch. The group is also called simply *al-Nadīm* "the (group of) stars" and the principal star (*ḡ Alkyone*) is called *Wasaf*, *Ḍjaws* or *Naiyir* *al-Thuraiyā* i.e. middle, heart or bright star of the Pleiades. The word *Thuraiyā* is a diminutive of *ṭharwā* which means "existing in plenty" and would correspond to the Greek *πλεῖας* if this name could be connected with *πλεῖς* and not with *πλεῖν* "to navigate". According to others, the constellation is so called because rain at its rising at the dawn brings *ṭharwā* i.e. great plenty. In any case, from early times the Pleiades have been credited with great influence on the weather and the processes of nature dependent on it. A more popular name for the group is, according to the astronomer Ibn Abi 'l-Riḍjāl (Abenragel, in the xith = xviith century), *Daḍḍāḍjāt al-Samā' ma'a Banātihā*, the hen of heaven with her chickens, also found in the English name Hen and Chickens. The constellation is also regarded as a diadem with jewels and it is mentioned in countless passages in the poets. In the form *Suraya* the word has recently become widely known as the name of the queen of Afghanistan.

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdḍāib al-Maḥlūkāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 35, 43; transl. by H. Ethé, as the *Kosmographie*, p. 75, 90;

L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 146.

(J. RUSKA)

THURAIYĀ, MEHEMMED, an Ottoman biographer, born in Stambul, the son of a certain Ḥusnī Bey (cf. *Sidjill-i 'Oṭhmānī*, ii. 178), adopted an official career and died in his native town as an official in the education service on the 19th *Dhu 'l-Hidjja* 1326 (Jan. 12, 1909). His tomb is in Scutari in the *Ḳarāḍja Aḥmad* cemetery. Meḥemmed *Thuraiyā* has earned lasting fame as the compiler of an Ottoman Dictionary of National Biography, which he called *Sidjill-i 'Oṭhmānī* and published in 4 volumes in Stambul between 1308 and 1315. On the plan, contents and importance of this work to historians cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 386 sq.; the fact that the statements of the *Sidjill-i 'Oṭhmānī* must be used with great caution does not lessen the magnitude of the achievement, which is an astonishing one for one man. Meḥemmed *Thuraiyā* has however not rendered the compilation of an Ottoman biographical dictionary on scientific lines superfluous. Under the title *Nukḥbet al-Wekāʿi* (Stambul 5 parts, comes down to 1267 = 1850) Meḥemmed *Thuraiyā* began but did not finish a collection of public appointments from 1247 (1831) to 1292 (1875) with biographical notes. Among his literary remains were found copies of several biographical works and works on contemporary history which he had begun, which still await publication or utilisation; cf. *G. O. W.*, p. 387.

Bibliography: Meḥemmed Ṭāhir, *'Oṭhmānī Miʿelliflerī*, iii. 36 sq.; F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 385 sqq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

ṬIBB (A.), medicine. This is one of the branches of science in which the Arabs have attained most fame. The Muslims received their knowledge of the subject mainly from the Greeks, first through the intermediary of the Syrians and Persians, then directly by the translation of classical works. Muslim rulers and princes were at all times very eclectic in the choice of their physicians; there were at the court of the caliphs, Jewish, Christian, Mazdaean, Sabaeen and even a few Hindu physicians. Medical science had been much studied in the eastern world in the period that preceded Islām, especially at Alexandria in Egypt and at the school of *Djundisābūr* in Persia which lasted down to the time of the ʿAbbāsids.

The Greek medical authors known to the Arabs were especially Hippocrates and Galen, besides whom may be mentioned Rufus of Ephesus, Oribases, Aëtius and Paul of Aegina. Hippocrates [cf. *ΒΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ*] was translated into Arabic by Ḥunain b. Iṣḥāk, *Ḳoṣṭā* b. Lūḳā, ʿIsā b. Yahyā and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī; they translated his book of "Aphorisms"; his treatises on "Prognostics" and "Epidemics" were later studied and annotated. A large number of the works of Galen were translated into Arabic: the *Ars medica* or *Isagoge* which was later very popular in the middle ages, the *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*, the *De temperamentis*, the *De sanitate tuenda*, three books on the properties of foods, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 14 books on *Therapeutics*, *Methodus medendi*, a treatise on diagnosis, *De morbis et symptomatibus*, another on fevers which was well known in Latin, others again on the pulse, on tumours and several commentaries by Galen on Hippocrates, especially on the book on Epidemics

and on the Aphorisms to which should be added the commentary by the same scholar on the "Timaeus" of Plato, which Ḥunain b. Ishāq translated.

Among Christian physicians, who distinguished themselves at the court of the caliphs was Ibn Māsawaih, physician to Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. He was given by the caliph the task of procuring translations of the books of medicine of the ancients and he taught medicine in Baghdād. In the same period, the family of the Bokht-ishōc was celebrated: one of its members attended Rashīd at the beginning of his reign. They are said to have come from Djundisābūr. 'Alī b. Ridwān, an Egyptian Christian, was physician to the Fātimid caliph Ḥakīm in Egypt. He wrote a commentary on Galen.

A Zoroastrian, 'Alī b. 'Abbās, was physician to the Būyid sultān 'Aḍud al-Dawla and wrote a treatise entitled "The Royal Book," which had the greatest vogue before the *Canon* of Avicenna. The Sabaean Sinān, son of the great geometrician Thābit b. Qurra [q. v.], attended the caliph Kāhīr. It was he who had official medical diplomas instituted: aspirants to the medical profession had to pass examinations and certificates were given them defining within what limits they were to be permitted to practise. In Baghdād alone there were over 800 doctors, who held this certificate, not counting those who, on account of the renown they already had, had been exempted from the examination. Sinān having been persecuted by the Caliph, fled to Khurāsān; he later returned to Baghdād where he died in 942.

These differences of origin among the physicians did not mean that they had serious differences in their idea or practice of their art. A few prescriptions, a few methods on some question or other, may have been peculiar to one or other school. Thus Ibn al-Kīfī tells a story of a prince of the family of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, who had fallen into a lethargy. A Christian physician was sent to attend him and then a Jewish one; they were unable to do anything; a Hindu was then summoned and he succeeded in reviving him. In this case it was "Indian medicine" that triumphed: but one must not conclude that it was quite different from Jewish or Byzantine medicine, nor that it was in any way superior to them.

The Muslim physicians surpassed even the preceding in reputation. Rāzī, so well known in the middle ages in the latinised form Razes, physician, apothecary, surgeon and alchemist, left two principal works — *al-Hawī* and *al-Manṣūrī*, dedicated to the Sāmānid Abū Šāliḥ Manṣūr, on "special" maladies. Al-Rāzī was head of the hospital at Raiy and then of that of Baghdād. The foundation of regularly organised hospitals under official control is a thing that reflects the greatest honour on Muslim science and governments. Historians also mention the hospital of Damascus. There were besides in large towns, a "Chief of the doctors," appointed by the authorities. Among those quoted as having had this title is the second Ibn Zuhr.

The great philosophers of the Hellenistic schools, the "scholastics," were physicians and wrote on medicine. Avicenna was a practitioner with a high reputation. His great work, the "Canon on Medicine", is the largest treatise on the subject produced in the Middle Ages; it was several times annotated in Arabic and became authoritative in the east and then in the west. It is divided into five books.

The first is devoted to the general principles of medicine, the *Kulliyāt*; these generalities are anatomy, hygiene, the diseases which as a rule affect the whole body in opposition to "special" diseases which affect particularly one organ or limb; these are enumerated and studied in Book III, beginning at the head and going down to the feet. General diseases are also dealt with in Book IV; then come different accidents, tumours, poisonings, fractures of limbs. Book II is a treatise on "simples," and V is devoted to "compound" remedies, called *akrābādhin*, i. e. pharmaceuticals.

In the Maghrib, Ibn Bādjdja and Ibn Ṭufail were physicians at the Almohads. Averroes, who succeeded Ibn Ṭufail in this capacity, wrote a *Kulliyāt*, the popularity of which rivalled that of the *Canon* of Avicenna in the Muḥammadan west and then in the Christian world. Muslim Spain also produced the family of Ibn Zuhr, the Avenzoar of mediaeval Latinity.

Arab medical science had an enormous influence in the western world. It passed first to the Jews, especially to Maimonides, whose medical work is very considerable, then to the Christians. This is how Gerard of Cremona came to translate the *Canon* of Avicenna and the *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī* of Razes. The translation of the *Canon* was revised by Andreas Alpagus of Bellona, who also translated the *De Theriaca* of Averroes and the *Practica* of Ibn Serapion. Farragut translated the *Continens* of Razes, and Bonacossa, a Jew of Padua, the "Colliget" (*Kulliyāt*) of Averroes. These translations were published at the beginning of printing.

The pharmacopia and the knowledge of "simples" are represented by the treatise of Ibn al-Baitār of Malaga in addition to the parts of the *Canon* of Avicenna which refer to this subject. The Arabs themselves studied herbs and further developed the knowledge of their medicinal properties from the teaching of Dioscorides and Galen. Through their sailors they were able to introduce into medicine the use of new plants from the Malay Archipelago and China, like camphor, cassia and sandalwood. They developed pharmaceuticals and invented several preparations, syrups, juleps and alcohols.

One branch of study closely allied to medicine, veterinary science, was the subject of a number of special treatises among the Arabs.

Bibliography: Full information on the physicians of the Muslim world is to be found in several Arabic works: Ibn Abī Uṣaibī'a, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller, 1884; the *Ta'rikh al-Ḥukamā'* of Ibn al-Kīfī; the *Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal* of Abū 'l-Faradj, ed. Šāliḥānī; Makḥarī, *Analecta*, for Spanish physicians; the "Canon" of Avicenna, ed. in Arabic at Rome in 1593, at the *Typographia Medicea*, reprinted Bulāḳ in 1294.

European Works: L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 2 vol., Paris 1876; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher*, Göttingen 1840; Donald Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and its Influence on the Middle Ages*, London 1926, 2 vol. with bibliography; Carra de Vaux, *Les penseurs de l'Islam*, vol. ii, chap. ix, Paris 1921; E. G. Browne, *Arabian medicine*, Cambridge 1922.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TIBBU. [See TUBU.]

TIBET, a country to the south of China. Yaḳūt gives the forms Tubbat, Tubbit, and Tabbut,

preferring the first of them. The oldest Arab notices of Tibet and the Tibetan kingdom are probably of Turkish origin. The ruler of Tibet is called *Khākān*; the names *Tüpit* and *Tüpüt-Kaghan* are found as early as the Orkhon inscriptions. A fancied resemblance of *Tubbat* to *Thābit* and *Tubba'* has given rise to stories of the Yaman origin of the Tibetan kingdom; cf. e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i. 686 supra; Gardīzī in Barthold, *Ötlet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 87 sqq. There is much more that is legendary in the Arab notices of Tibet; the story of the inexplicable joy and desire to laugh that overcomes every stranger in Tibet, first found in Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B. G. A.*, vi. 170), is frequently quoted in Muslim literature (cf. Niẓāmī, *Sikandar-nāma*, Cawnpore 1320, p. 226), even in the best account of Tibet we have (in the anonymous *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, text in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. de Russie*, 1924, p. 73), the first that mentions the town of Lhasa (Lhāsā). There is said to have been a mosque in Lhasa and a Muslim community, not however, very large.

The period of the Arab conquests in Central Asia was not that of the zenith of Tibetan power and of Tibet's usually successful wars against China. In the Chinese annals Arabs are often mentioned as allies of the Tibetans and vice versa; Chavannes sums up the relationship in these words: (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 291): "L'appui que les Tibétains prêtaient aux Arabes dans la vallée de l'Yaxartes, les Arabes le leur rendaient en Kashgarie". It was not till the Čen-yuan period (785—805) that the Arabs began a war against Tibet. Henceforth the Tibetans had continually to send armies to the west, so that the Chinese frontier districts suffered less from them than before (E. Bretschneider, *On the Knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs*, London 1871, p. 10). In Arabic sources there is no reference either to the alliance or to the estrangement. According to al-Ṭabarī, the Arab rebel Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. *Khāzīm* was attacked during his rule in Tirmidh (fifteen years: al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1160 infra, till 85=704) by the *Hayātila* or *Habātila* [see CHINA, i., p. 845], by the Tibetans and Turks (in the parallel passage in *Balādhuri*, p. 418, the Tibetans are not mentioned); the attack was repulsed. According to Ya'qūbī (ii. 362; also *B. G. A.*, vii. 301 infra), in the reign of 'Omar II (717—720) an embassy was sent from Tibet to *Djarrāt* b. 'Abd Allāh, governor of *Khorāsān*, with the request that a teacher of the Muslim religion should be sent to that country. *Salīṭ* b. 'Abd Allāh al-*Hanafi* is said to have gone on this errand. In the same source the king of Tibet (p. 479) is mentioned among the kings who submitted to the Caliph al-Mahdī (158—169=775—785). In the last years of the reign of *Hārūn* al-Rashīd (170—193=786—809), the rebel *Rāfi* b. *Laith* was supported in his rising in Samarkand against the government by Tibetan troops (*djumiā*) (*op. cit.*, p. 528). In the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198—218=813—833), the king of Tibet is said to have adopted Islām, and in token of his conversion to have sent to *Khorāsān* his golden idol reproduced on a golden throne. Ma'mūn sent the idol to Mecca (*op. cit.*, p. 550); the governor *Yazīd* b. *Muhammad* al-Makhlūmī during a rebellion struck gold coins from it (p. 544). In Ṭabarī (iii. 815) the "*Khākān*, king of Tibet" is mentioned under the year 195 (810—811) as one of

the enemies of al-Ma'mūn, with whom he had to come to terms before attacking al-Amin. In 196 (811—812) al-Faḍl b. *Sahl* [q. v.] was given the governorship of the eastern provinces from "*Hamadhān* to Tibet" (Ṭabarī, iii. 841).

The Arab geographers seem to have generally understood by *Tubbat*, Little Tibet or Baltistan [q. v.]. There were routes to it from *Khotan* [q. v.] and *Badakhshān* [q. v.] via *Wakhān*. It is to the *Khotan-Tibet* road that the story given by al-Birūnī (*Chronology*, ed. Sachau, p. 271, 8, where *Tubbat* should be read for *bair*) and by Gardīzī (*op. cit.*, p. 88) from *Djaihāni* about mountain sickness refers. On *Djirm* in *Badakhshān* as a frontier post on the road to Tibet see *B. G. A.*, vii. 288 infra. The fullest notices of the road through *Wakhān* are given in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (fol. 25b). As a frontier fort of *Mā warā'* al-Nahr in this direction there is mentioned the "large village" of *Samar-kandāḳ* (probably meaning "little Samarkand") in which Indians, Tibetans, *Wakhānians* (*Wakhīyān*) and Muslims lived. Musk was brought from Tibet to the Muslim world by this route (*B. G. A.*, i. 280 supra, 297 infra). In contradiction to the historians and to his own statement about the frontier defences between Tibet and China (i. 208), *Ya'qūbī* (i. 204) says that no one ever waged war into Tibet.

Probably the first campaign of a Muslim ruler against Tibet was the campaign of the Sultān of Bengal [q. v.] *Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khaldji* towards the end of the viii (xiii)th century (the date 641=1243—1244 given in the text cannot be right as the same source gives the year 607=1205—1206 as the date of this ruler's death); it is described in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣiri* of *Minhādī* al-Dīn *Djūz-djānī* (ed. W. Nassau-Lees and Mawlawis Khadim Husain and 'Abd al-Hai, p. 553; transl. by Raverty, p. 560 sqq.; Elliot, *History of India*, ii. 310 sqq.).

The name Tibet (Tebet, Thebet, Thabet, Thibet) contrary to Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii. 21, probably reached Europe independently of the Arabs through European travellers in the Mongol period, although Tibet (*Tubbat*) is already mentioned in the xiiith century by Benjamin of Tudela (transl. Adler, p. 59): his account, however, probably did not become known in Europe at that time. Benjamin, as is now supposed, only went as far as *Baghdād* (J. K. Wright, the *Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades*, New York 1928, p. 282). He gives only a very confused account of what he picked up in the Muslim world, probably from Jews; for example he says that one can go in 4 days from Samarkand to Tibet.

Rashīd al-Dīn's work on the Mongol empire also contains some references to Tibet. The name *Būri Tabbat* (*Rashīd* al-Dīn, *Trudē Vost. otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, xiii., text, p. 237) not found elsewhere in Muslim writers, is mentioned in the xiiith century by *Plano Carpini* (*Burithabet*) and in Chinese sources (cf. the references in Bretschneider, *op. cit.*). Tibet, already converted to Buddhism in the viiith century, was from the Mongol period of importance for the spread of Buddhism. *Rashīd* al-Dīn expressly says (ed. Blochet, p. 545) that of Buddhist monks (*bakhshī*) those of Tibet enjoyed the greatest prestige.

After the final triumph of Islām in Central Asia and Northern India in the ixth (xvth) century, Tibet was invaded by Muslim rulers under pretext of a holy war, Little Tibet in particular. Towards

the end of the ninth century A. H., all the lands of Bolor (Kāfiristān, q. v.) and Tibet between Badakhshān and Kashmīr [q. v.] were subjected by Mir Wali, general of the ruler of Kāshghar of the house of Dughlāt, Abū Bakr (*Ta'rikh-i Rashidī*, transl. Ross, p. 320 and 403). When Abū Bakr was overthrown by Sa'īd Khān (in 1514) the fortresses built in Tibet (in Ladakh) were abandoned by their garrisons and with their treasures seized by the Tibetans. Under Sa'īd Khān (1514—1533) Tibet, Ladakh and the adjoining territories were invaded, first in 1517 by Mir Mazīd and in 1532 by the Khān himself accompanied by the historian Haidar Mirzā [q. v.] (*op. cit.*, p. 417 sqq.). In 1533 Haidar Mirzā tried to reach Lhasa, which he calls Ursang, where the largest temples were, but was forced to turn back at Askābrak (p. 454), only a week's journey from Lhasa. Ursang is probably the Gursāng of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, where there were large temples of idols. That Gursāng is also mentioned separately from Lhasa is no evidence against this identification: the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* is almost entirely compiled from written sources so that the same name often occurs twice in different forms, apparently from different sources. Later as king of Kashmīr (after 1541) Haidar Mirzā in 1548 undertook a campaign against Ladakh and Baltistān.

All this seems to show that Baltistān in the tenth century A. H. was included in Tibet (according to the *Ta'rikh-i Rashidī*, p. 436 it lay "between Tibet and Bolor") and was not yet a Muslim country. The idea adopted by Cunningham and later writers, including A. Francke (*A History of Western Tibet*, p. 90) that Baltistān was converted between 1380 and 1400 by the ruler of Kashmīr, Sikandar (according to Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 293; 788—813 = 1386—1410/1411), must be rejected.

By the second half of the xvth century, Islām was already a political force in Little Tibet. The ruler of Kapulu, 'Alī Mir Shīr Khān, succeeded in uniting all Baltistān under his rule; the land was cleared of idols and other remains of Buddhism. He later succeeded in conquering Ladakh also, but only temporarily. He was also the founder of Skardo, capital of Baltistān; in the *Ta'rikh-i Rashidī* (p. 405), Askārdū is only mentioned as the name of a pass on the road from Kashmīr which now no longer exists. Baltistān remained the only Muslim land inhabited by Tibetans, and since 1841 has been under the suzerainty of Kashmīr. There are said to be historical works in the language of the Baltīs. They also use a script of their own supposed to date from the time of their conversion to Islām; the characters, probably of Tibetan origin although influenced by Arabic, are written from left to right (Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, iii. 32 sq.; Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 89 sq.). The Baltīs from the first professed the Shī'a; but we learn from the *Bahr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (text in *Zap.*, xv. 235) that in the early years of the xvth century the Sunna gained the upper hand, probably for a short time only. The king (his name is not recorded) who was converted to the Sunnī had his father and brothers slain as heretics. Sunna scholars were sent for from Kāshghar. Thirty years later in 1044 (1634—1635), news of these events was brought to Balkh by a certain Ḥasan Khān who was related to the ruling house.

About 1682 when Central Tibet was under the rule of the Kalmucks [q. v.] the celebrated Khodja Apak (his tomb is still revered in Kāshghar), who had quarrelled with his Khān Ismā'il (1670—1682) went to Lhasa, which he calls "town of Djō" (*Djō Shahri*) after a great statue of the Buddha. At his request the Dalai Lama (in a Turkish manuscript we have the plural form, *Dalailamalar*) gave him a letter of safe conduct to the Khān of the Kalmucks, Galdan Boshoktu. At the head of an army, which included the Khodja, the Khān invaded Kāshgharia. Ismā'il Khān was carried off a prisoner, and the rule given to the Khodja (M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i. 210, 212, 321 and 326; *Zap.*, xv. 250).

In the last few centuries, Tibet has had little contact with the Muslim world, although Muslims went to Lhasa during the period when Europeans were excluded. Every three years an embassy arrived there with presents from Kashmīr. In a plan of Lhasa given by A. Waddell (*Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London 1905) we may note a mosque and a court of law for Muslims from Kashmīr and an inn for Chinese Muslims.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TIBRİZ. [See TABRİZ.]

AL-TIBRİZĪ, ABŪ ZAKARĪYĀ' YAḤYĀ b. 'ALĪ b. MUḤAMMAD b. AL-ḤASAN (Yāqūt adds: b. MUḤAMMAD b. MŪSĀ) b. BISTĀM AL-SHAIBĀNĪ AL-KHAṬĪB, a celebrated Arab philologist born in 421 (1030). Among his teachers the best known was the poet Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri [q. v.]. A copy of the *Kitāb al-Tahdhīb fī 'l-Lughā* of Abū Manṣūr al-Azhārī (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 129; cf. however Bergsträsser, *Z. S.*, ii. 189, No. 24) came into Tibrizī's hands and he required a teacher to expound it for him. He was recommended to the poet. He put the work which was in several volumes in a fodder-sack and carried it himself from Tabriz to al-Ma'arra as he could not afford to ride. His perspiration soaked through the bag and left damp stains in the books. Ibn al-Kiftī [q. v.], as Ibn Khallikān (see *Bibl.*) records with caution from his lost *K. Akhbār al-Nuḥāt*, says he saw some of the volumes in the Baghdād *Waqf* libraries. They looked as if they had been in water. — Among his other teachers and authorities were: Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Ubaid Allāh b. 'Alī al-Raqqī (d. 450 = 1058), Abū Muḥammad (so Ibn Khallikān; Yāqūt: al-Ḥasan b. Radjā' b.) al-Dahhān (d. 447 = 1055), Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Sulaim(ān?) Yāqūt and others Salīm b. Aiyūb al-Rāzī (Shāfi'ī Fakiḥ, in Tyre; cf. Ibn Khallikān, No. 268), Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Saiyārī (? De Slane [s. *Bibl.*] reads in the text al-Sāwī [as does Yāqūt], and also gives the variant al-Saiyādi) al-Baghdādī, Ibn Burhān, al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḥaṣabānī and 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī (*G. A. L.*, i. 287), and the Kaḍī Abū 'l-Taiyib Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭabarī (cf. al-Sam'ānī, 367a, l. 21 sqq.) and Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Tanūkhī (*ibid.*, 110b, l. 42). He also studied in Tyre and Damascus in addition to al-Ma'arra. While still a young man he went to Cairo where he taught Ibn Bābushādh (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 301). He then went to Baghdād where he acted as Kaḍī (this is the correct reading for *Kāḍīn* in the *G. M. S.*, xx. in the MS. of al-Sam'ānī, Stambul Köprülū 1010) and acted as professor of *Adab* subjects and librarian in the Nizāmīya till his death on Tuesday 28th Djumādā

II, 502 (Feb. 2, 1109) [so Ibn Khallikān: Yākūt I, which is wrong, as the day of the week shows]. His tomb is at the Abraz gate. — Among his various pupils a number of sources mention al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, the historian of Baghdad (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 329); but this statement, which goes back to Sam'ānī and is adopted by Yākūt, *Mu'djam* (see *Bibl.*) and Ibn Khallikān must be due to an error as al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was thirty years older than Tibrizī. Ibn Khallikān s. v. Tibrizī refers to his article al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, where he says he gives further particulars of the relations between these two but there is no information in the passage to which he refers (N^o. 33). On the other hand Yākūt himself in the *Irshād* s. v. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī gives a story with an *isnād* going back to Tibrizī. The *nisba* Tibrizī is not given: but there can be no doubt that our Tibrizī is meant by Abū Zakariyā' Yahya b. 'Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Lughawī, especially as the link in the chain is Abū 'l-Faḍl Nāṣir al-Salāmī, apparently the father of Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Salāmī, the pupil of Tibrizī, which is probably only a slip for the name of his son, since M. b. N., besides being a pupil of Tibrizī, is also known as a teacher of al-Sam'ānī (cf. Bergsträsser, in *Z. S.*, ii. 205, N^o. 154) while his father is in the first place quite unknown and could hardly have also had the *kunya* of Abū 'l-Faḍl, but secondly because the poverty of the narrator which occasionally crops up in the story agrees very well with the poverty of Tibrizī, which we know of from the story of his journey to al-Ma'arra. Tibrizī must thus have come to Damascus in 456 and studied *Adab* under al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī; the story of his thirst for knowledge is told in detail. Tibrizī lived in the minaret of the great mosque (this also is evidence of his poverty). One day al-Khaṭīb visited him in his abode and they talked for an hour. Just before leaving al-Khaṭīb gave him something wrapped up in paper as a present with the request that he should buy pens with it. When Tibrizī unfolded the packet, he found it contained 5 Egyptian dinārs. Al-Khaṭīb visited him a second time and gave him money of the same value as or even higher than on the first occasion and asked him to buy paper with it. This story of Yākūt's which is corroborated in his own article on Tibrizī in the *Irshād* is certainly correct in contrast to that in the *Mu'djam*, so that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was really Tibrizī's teacher. Otherwise al-Baghdādī would certainly have devoted an article to him in the *Tārīkh Baghdad*. Tibrizī's pupils were: Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Salāmī (467—550 = 1074—1155, cf. above), Abū 'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-Khair b. Muḥammad b. Sahl (in al-Maḥḥarī, i. 895: Sa'd) al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī (al-Ghazzālī's pupil, d. 541 = 1146 in Baghdad), Abū Ṭahir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindjī (462—548, lived in Merw) and lastly al-Djawālīkī [q. v.], his successor in the Nizāmīya. His conduct was not of the best (he is said to have drunk wine, worn silk garments and a turban trimmed with gold so that he must have later become prosperous); but his scientific authority is undisputed.

His works that are known by name are all of a learned nature; but Ibn Khallikān quotes two verses by him and a poem of al-'Imād al-Faiyād to him with his answer. In the list given below of his works, those already mentioned in Brockel-

mann (*G. A. L.*, I, 279 f.) are only given again when further remarks can be made on them.

On the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām [q. v.] Tibrizī wrote 3 commentaries, first a short one on each *bait* and then one on the whole work. The second has been edited by Freytag. On the sources cf. Freytag's preface. Yākūt had an autograph copy of Tibrizī's commentary on the *Mu'allafāt*. He also annotated the *Diwān* of al-Mutanabbī (*G. A. L.*, i. 88), the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, the *Kaṣida Bānāt Su'āa* (on the edition s. the art. KA'B B. ZUHAIR), the *Maḥṣūra* of Ibn Duraid [q. v.], the *K. al-Lam' fi 'l-Nahw* of Ibn Djinī [q. v.], also according to Ḥadjdjī Khalifa the *Nihāyat al-Wuṣūl ilā 'l-Ilm al-Uṣūl* of an unidentified Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Sa'atī al-Baghdādī (the author of this name in Brockelmann lived later than Tibrizī, i. 382), and the *Qur'ān*. The same authority also says he edited the *Kitāb Iṣṭilāḥ al-Manṭiq* of Ibn al-Sikkīt [q. v.] in a corrected version under the title *al-Tadḥīb* (MS. Stambul, 'Aṭif, N^o. 2716; cf. Rescher, *M. F. O. Beyrouth*, 1912, p. 495), pr. Cairo, n. d.; but there is also a commentary printed in Bairūt (1895 sq.) by him on the *K. al-Alfāz* of the same author. An abstract of the *Kāfī fi 'l-Mai al-'Arūq wa 'l-Kawāfi* is perhaps contained in the collected volume *Madimū' min Muḥimmāt al-Mutūn*, Cairo 1323, p. 550 sqq. where no author is named but, according to Brockelmann, Index s. v. *Kāfī*, at least two others are possible authors of it. Attention has been called by Rescher, *Z. A.*, xxvii., p. 156 to another prosody entitled *Risāla fi 'l-'Arūq* in the Stambul MS. Ḥamidiye, 1127, which does not seem to be identical with the two mentioned by Brockelmann. A MS. of his commentary on the *Diwān* of Imra' 'l-Kais is mentioned by Rescher, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxviii. 63; but the sources say nothing of this work. Of other works, now unknown, by Tibrizī Ibn al-Anbārī and Yākūt mention: *Maḥāṭil al-Fursān*, Ibn Khallikān: *Tahdhib gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, Yākūt: *Muḥaddima fi 'l-Nahw*.

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AL-TIBRIZĪ. [See MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAIN B. KHALAF.]

TIBRIZĪ, commonly called SHAMS-I TIBRIZĪ (SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. MALIKDĀD-I TABRIZĪ, according to Džāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed. Lees, p. 535), a Šūfī, was the spiritual guide of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, who composed in his name the greater part of the collection of mystical odes known as the *Diwān-i Shams-i Tabriz*. Born in Tabriz [q. v.], where his father carried on the trade of a cloth-merchant, he is said to have studied Šūfism under Shaikh Abū Bakr Zanzil-bāf (Sallabāf), Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn Sindjāsī, and Bābā Kamāl Džundi. Afterwards he became a wandering derwish, and in 642 arrived at Kōnya. So profound was the impression made by his enthusiastic personality on Djalāl al-Dīn that the disciples of the latter, bitterly resenting their master's devotion to his beloved friend and *murshid*, caused Shams-i Tibrizī

to leave the city. It is said that after spending some time at Damascus he returned to Kōnya in company with the poet's son Bahā al-Dīn Sulṭān Walad, who had been sent in search of him. In the month of Shawwāl 643, he vanished mysteriously. The stories which represent him as having been put to death by the myrmidons of the government or murdered by a band of conspirators, amongst whom was one of Djalāl al-Dīn's sons, are not confirmed by the best authorities, namely, the *Mathnawīyāt* of Sulṭān Walad and the *Risāla-i Sipahsālār* of Faridūn b. Aḥmad, an account of Djalāl al-Dīn and his successors written in Persian circa 720. Some modern scholars hold the view that Shams-i Tibrizī never existed save in the poet's imagination: "c'est son propre génie inspirateur" (Riḍā Tawfiq, in *Textes Houroufis*, G. M. S., ix. 270, note 1); but even if we suppose the dates and other circumstantial details given by the biographers to be fictitious, such a theory rests on frail foundations. It is impossible to regard the case of Shams-i Tibrizī as unique: the terms of "deification" which the poet applies to him in the *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabriz* are entirely parallel to those used of Ḥusām al-Dīn in the *Mathnawī* and of another dear friend, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb, in some of the odes. So far as the evidence of language is concerned, these three inspirers of Djalāl al-Dīn stand or fall together; and that evidence can with more reason be interpreted in a different way. To readers of Dante it will not appear strange that the great Persian mystic should have clothed his feelings of intimate spiritual relationship and personal affection in words which reflect the ideas of a pantheistic philosophy.

Bibliography: Faridūn b. Aḥmad, *Risāla-i Sipahsālār*, Cawnpore 1901, p. 63 sqq. = p. 164 sqq. of the Turkish translation by Miḥdāt Bahārī Ḥusāmī, Constantinople 1913; Aslāki, *Manāqib al-ʿArifin*, transl. by C. Huart in *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918 and by J. W. Redhouse in *The Mesnevi*, Book I, London 1881; R. A. Nicholson, *Selected Poems from the Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabriz*, Cambridge 1898. (R. A. NICHOLSON)

AL-TIDJĀNĪ, an Arab author of Tūnis. Practically nothing is known of his life. His name is not even handed down in a single form. The manuscripts of his *Rihla* (see the works by Rousseau and Bel quoted below) all seem to call him Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh; so he is also called in Ibn al-Khaṭīb Ibn Kunfūdh (*G. A. L.*, ii. 241), *al-Fārisiyya fī Mabādī 'l-Dawla al-Ḥafsiyya* (in Cherbonneau in *J. A.*, iv., 17, 1851, p. 53, transl., p. 64). In his *Tuhfat al-ʿArūs wa-Nuzhat al-Nufūs* on the title page we have Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad; this is what Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 2623 also writes and al-Zarkashī, *Ta'rikh al-Dawlatayn al-Muwahhidiyya wa 'l-Ḥafsiyya*, Tūnis 1289, p. 51, except that the latter calls him Ibn Ibrāhīm. The sources also differ regarding the quantity of the first syllable of the *nisba*. That there is no question of more than one author of the two surviving works attributed to Tidjānī is made certain by two circumstances. In the first place al-Zarkashī, who uses the form of the name found in the *Tuhfa* as well as Ibn al-Khaṭīb who uses the form of the *Rihla* tells us what we also know from the *Rihla* that al-Tidjānī had dealings with the Ḥafsid emir Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā' b. Abi 'l-Abbās Aḥmad al-Liḥyānī (711–717 = 1311–1317). In the second place the authors of the

works quoted in the *Tuhfa* come down to a period which make it clear that the author must have written at the beginning of the viiith (xivth) century.

Of his life we only know that he made a journey with his royal master through North Africa, which he describes in the *Rihla*. It began in Tūnis towards the end of Djumādā I 706 (beg. December 1306) and his fellow-travellers were on the *ḥādjdī* to Mecca. Al-Tidjānī had however to separate from the caravan at the beginning of Muḥarram 709 (June 1309) because an illness forced him to return home. They had not got much beyond Tripolis, as long halts were made everywhere. These long delays were all to the advantage of the book of travels. Everything that was of any interest in a comparatively small stretch of country could be noted down. The *Rihla* thus became a regular mine of geographical, scientific and particular historical information about the country passed through; extracts are also given in it from authors, whose original works must now be regarded as lost, and copies of documents. When the prince became amir, al-Tidjānī became one of his highest officials. The year of his death is not known, nor that of his birth.

There is not yet a complete edition of the *Rihla*; long extracts are given in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-sicula*, 1857, ch. 45. A short extract with translation has been published by A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghānya* (*Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger*, xxvii., 1903), appendix. A translation of extracts from the whole book was given by A. Rousseau in *J. A.*, iv. 20 (1852), p. 57 sqq.; v. 1 (1853), p. 101 sqq., 354 sqq. The selection is however quite arbitrary; the reconstitution of the text is defective and the translation to be used with great caution. The text can be checked for several passages in Ibn Khaldūn's *Ibar*.

Al-Tidjānī's other book is a compendium on love and marriage. In 25 chapters it gives advice on the choice of a wife with very full description of the marks of beauty arranged according to parts of the body and on their treatment and on married life with means to heighten its enjoyment, all in the form of traditions and extracts from writers, roughly in chronological order. Theologians and jurists are quoted at great length but more with regard to ethical paraenesis than the regulation of the *Fikh*. Manuscripts and texts of the book are given in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 257.

Bibliography: given in the article; cf. also M. Amari, *Stori dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, i., 1854, p. L. and the works quoted by A. Bel, *op. cit.* (M. PLESSNER)

TIDJĀNĪYA (the forms TIDJĀNĪ, TIDJĀNĪ occur also), order founded by Abū 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār b. Salīm al-Tidjānī (1150–1230 = 1737–1815).

1. Life of the Founder. This person was born at 'Ain Mādī, a village 72 kil. W. of Laghuat, 28 E. of Tahmut. His family were the Awlād Sidi Shaikh Muḥammad, and his parents both died of plague in 1166 (1753). After pursuing his studies at his native place, he went to Fez in 1171 (1758) to continue them, thence to Abyad, where he stayed five years, thence in 1181 (1768) to Tlemsen, whence in 1186 (1773) he went to Mecca and Medina; thence to Cairo. At all these places he heard shaikhs, and at the last of these at the suggestion of one Maḥmūd al-Kurdi he founded a new order, having previ-

ously been admitted to the Kādīriya, Taibiya and Khalwatiya; of the last of these his own is regarded as a branch. He then returned to the Maghrib, and after visiting Fez and Tlemsen went to Bu Semghun in the Ṣaḥara in 1196 (1782), an oasis S. of Geryville, where he believed himself to have received a commission from the Prophet to proceed with the propagation of his Order. A disciple, 'Alī Ḥarāzim, suggested to him to return to Fez, whither he went in 1213 (1798), and was given possession of the palace Ḥawsh al-Marāyāt. Though much of the remainder of his life was spent in travelling, in order to regulate the affairs of his Order, Fez remained his headquarters till his death, and he was buried in his Zāwiya in that city.

2. *Doctrines and Practices of the Order.* The members of the Order are called *Aḥbāb* "friends", and they are strictly forbidden to join any other *ṭarīqa*. Their *dhikr* consists (as usual) in the repetition (usually a hundred times) of certain formulas, at particular times of day; these are translated by Depont et Coppolani, p. 417. Their most important doctrine is that of submission to the established government, whence ever since the French conquest of Algeria they have been ordinarily on good terms with the French authority.

3. *History of the Order.* On the death of the founder in 1230 his two sons (Muḥammad al-Kabir and Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr) were left in charge of one Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad at-Tūnisī, who was succeeded as guardian by al-Ḥādīdj 'Alī b. 'Īsā, himself head of a Tidjdjānī Zāwiya at Temasin and nominated by the founder chief of the order. They were brought by the latter to 'Ain Mādī, the palace which had been occupied by their father in Fez having been seized by a new Amīr, Yazīd b. Ibrāhīm. After a time 'Alī b. 'Īsā left the two sons in charge of the Zāwiya at 'Ain Mādī, and returned to Temasin. It would seem however that a split had occurred in the order even in the founder's time, the dissidents, who were called Tadjādjina, having been expelled by him from 'Ain Mādī. In 1235 (1820) these dissidents invoked the aid of Ḥasan, Bey of Oran, who besieged 'Ain Mādī, but was induced by a heavy payment and the failure of an attempted storm to retire. Two years later the Bey of Titteri attacked the settlement, but unsuccessfully. These military achievements encouraged the two sons of the founder to take the offensive against the Turks in Mascara; they failed however both in 1826 (1241—1242) and 1827, and on the latter occasion Muḥammad the Elder lost his life.

Under the direction of Sidī 'Alī b. 'Īsā, who remained at Temasin, the younger Muḥammad, now in sole charge at 'Ain Mādī, proceeded with the propagation of the Order, especially in the Ṣaḥara and the Sūdān. Great success attended these efforts, but though the power and wealth of the community increased, neither 'Alī nor Muḥammad ventured on any military operations. Hence when after the French invasion of Algeria the Derkāwī *Muḥaddam* desired the aid of the Tidjdjānis in the Sacred War, it was refused.

In 1836 (1251—1252) the Amīr 'Abd al-Kādir, who aimed at the expulsion of the French, endeavoured to enlist their services; the Tidjdjānī chief replied that it was his purpose to live in the calm of a religious life, and after a long and fruitless correspondence the Amīr in 1838 (1254)

presented himself at the head of an army before the walls of 'Ain Mādī, and demanded the submission of the Tidjdjānī chief. This was refused, and in spite of the inequality of the numbers the latter held out for eight months, wherein various expedients for reducing the place were tried by the Amīr and frustrated by the astuteness of the Tidjdjānī and his advisers. When the Tidjdjānī found the place no longer defensible, he took refuge in Laghuat. The reputation of the Order was vastly increased owing to the length of their resistance, and in the following year (1840) he offered his moral and material aid against the Amīr 'Abd al-Kādir to the French Marshall Valée. 'Alī b. 'Īsā, who remained at Temasin, also declined to join resistance to the French, and on his death in 1844 left the control of the Order to the surviving son of the founder, who died in 1853, when the son of the son of 'Alī b. 'Īsā, Muḥammad al-'Ā'id, succeeded.

The sons of the third Master of the Order, Aḥmad and al-Baṣhīr, were of tender years at the time of his death, and fell under the charge of one Raiyān al-Maṣharī, who aimed at rendering the Zāwiya of 'Ain Mādī independent of Temasin, a policy which caused the relations between the two Zāwiyas to be strained, though it did not result in a definite split. In 1869 the two became suspected of disloyalty to the French, and were arrested and sent to Algiers. They succeeded however in making their peace with the French authorities, and the heads of the Order have ever since maintained a friendly attitude towards them.

4. *Distribution of the Order.* Although the missionaries of the Order in the period of its greatest prosperity obtained adherents in Egypt, Arabia and other parts of Asia, its main expansion has been in French Africa. One Muḥammad al-Ḥafīz b. Mukhtār b. Ḥabīb, called Baddī, who visited the founder in Fez about 1780, received instructions to spread it among the Ṣaḥarians of the extreme South of Morocco: "Returning home via Shingueti and Tijikja, he conducted the most active propaganda in favour of the Tijjani Order, and by 1830, about the time of his death, he had the satisfaction of leaving the whole tribe Ida Ou 'Alī affiliated to it" (Paul Marty, *R. M. M.*, xxxi. 239). Under his successor, who died in 1807, this attachment steadily increased. To the Meccan pilgrimage, faithfully observed by this community, there was added the practice of pilgrimage to Fez, to visit the tomb of the founder, and this is ordinarily performed before the visit to Mecca. The Order was propagated in French Guinea by one Ḥādīdj 'Umar after his return from Mecca to Dinguiray, which in consequence became one of the most important religious cities in this region; "the Tijjani doctrine supplanted almost everywhere the Qadiriyyah traditions" (*ibid.*, xxxvi. 202).

5. *Literature of the Order.* The most important collection of their doctrines and practices is called *Diawāhir al-Ma'ānī wa-Bulūgh al-Amānī fī Fa'id al-Shaikh al-Tidjdjānī* known also as *al-Kunnāsh* (Cairo 1345). This work, which is said to have been dictated by the founder to Ḥarāzim, is the chief source of the former's biography; other works are enumerated by Depont and Coppolani, p. 418 n., and Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p. 377. A biographical dictionary of eminent members of the order called *Kashf al-Ḥidjāb 'an man talāḳa ma'a*

'l-*Tidjānī min al-Aṣḥāb* was composed by Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-'Aiyāshī Sukairidj (Fez 1325 and 1332).

Bibliography: R. A., 1861 and 1864 (articles by Arnaud); L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 416—451; Depont et Coppolani, *Confréries*, p. 413—441; L'Abbé Rouquette, *Les Sociétés secrètes chez les Musulmans*, 1899, p. 311—372; P. Marty, in R. M. M. (cited above); Henri Garrot, *Histoire générale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1910. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

TIDJĀRA (A.), trade, commerce; *maṣḍar* from *tadjara*, "to trade", which again is a denominal verb from *tādjir* "a merchant". Like many terms in Arab commercial language, *tādjir* is an old Aramaic loanword (cf. e.g. Syr. ܬܕܝܪ and ܬܕܝܪܐ "merchant", derived from the verb ܬܕܝܪ, which again comes from ܬܕܝܪ "price, reward")

which is found as early as the pre-Muḥammadan period. Apart from the fact that the root *t-d-j-r* has remarkably few derivatives in Arabic, the fact that the word *tādjir* originally had the limited meaning of "wine-merchant" suggests its foreign origin. The earliest Aramaic merchants with whom the Arabs came into contact must actually have been wine-merchants; once adopted into Arabic the meaning was gradually extended to include any merchant. The uncertainty about the form of the plural is another indication of foreign origin; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *Nihāya*, s.v., in addition to the regularly formed Arabic plurals *tudjājar* and *tudjār* also gives the form *tudjār* (cf. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 181 sqq.).

This is not the place to write a history of commerce in the lands of Islām, especially as the necessary preliminary work has hardly been touched (cf. e.g. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, Heidelberg 1922, p. 441 sqq.). Nor shall we attempt to characterize the spirit of Muslim commerce or its usages, but rather deal primarily with the problem, what position Islām as a religion adopts with regard to commerce, and how its attitude is expressed in Ḥadīth particularly, and in ethical works. On the legal aspects of the whole question cf. the article BAṬ.

a. That Muḥammad, who himself belonged to the merchant class, was favourably disposed to trade was natural in a commercial republic like Medina, whose prosperity entirely depended on trade. At least so we must interpret one of the oldest sūras of the first Meccan period, Sūra cvi., the time of the origin of which is just before the conflict with the Meccan aristocracy: "As often as the Quraysh equip their winter and summer caravans, they shall worship the Lord of this House (i.e. the Ka'ba)". But even in this period Muḥammad raises a warning voice against the evils which were beginning to be associated with trade; trade is to be conducted according to law and justice. "Woe to those who give short measure" says Sūra lxxxiii. 1 sqq.: "who, when they receive good measure from other men demand the full measure and when they measure out or weigh out to them, defraud" (cf. Sūra lv. 6—8; and from the third Meccan period Sūra vi. 153; vii. 83). At a later period this attitude of the Prophet underwent a certain change, which must date from the Meccan period, although there is only

evidence of it in the Qur'ān from the Medina period. Under the influence of Christian ascetic ideas, his attitude to trade was modified; he does not condemn it, it is true, but he now sees in it something which may detain believers from the worship of God and from performing the ṣalāt. This is most strongly marked in the description of the monastery in the Medina Sūra xxiv. 37: "Men whom no trade nor purchase keeps from the thought of God, from performing the ṣalāt and from paying the *zakāt* from fear of the day on which hearts and eyes shall be full of trouble". In any case, one can deduce from this passage that the Prophet was fully conscious of the deleterious influences of trade on religious life. The result of this train of thought was in the Medina period an express prohibition of trading during the Friday service, in Sūra lxii. 9—11: "O ye who believe, when ye are called to the ṣalāt on Friday, hasten to the worship of God and cease trading; this is better for you, if ye knew it; and when the ṣalāt is over, then disperse yourselves in the land and strive after the benefits given by God and think often of Him that ye may prosper, and when they see trading and empty chatter, they turn to it and leave thee standing. Say: What is with God is better than chattering or trading and God is the best provider". On the other hand, the Prophet in the latest Medina period expressly permitted trading during the pilgrimage (Sūra ii. 194). And yet he emphasises at the same time once more that family and clan, goods and chattels and stock in trade are not to be preferred to God and his Prophet (Sūra ix. 24). To this late period also belong the well known Qur'ānic regulations for the conclusion of agreements (Sūra ii. 282 sq.).

b. This attitude, on the whole well disposed to trade, is also that of Tradition although it attacks with the greatest vigour speculation and other dishonest dealings. Trade is regarded as profitable and honourable, more remunerative than cattle-rearing or manual labour (*Kanz al-'Ummāl*, ii., N^o. 2411, 4227, 4742). The honourable merchant enjoys great esteem "the trustworthy, just, and believing merchant shall stand at the day of judgment among the witnesses of the blood", we are told in one tradition (Ibn Mādjā, *Tidjārāt*, Bāb 1); he enters Paradise. The dishonest merchant on the other hand must expect punishment: "On the day of resurrection the merchants will be classed with the liars, except him who has trusted in God and has been pious and righteous", we are told in another tradition (Ibn Mādjā, *Tidjārāt*, Bāb 3). The prejudice of certain pious circles against the merchant class is even more sharply expressed in another tradition which is however quite isolated: "The Prophet said: Merchants are liars. Then some one said to him: O messenger of Allāh, has not God permitted buying and selling? He replied: certainly, but they talk and lie, they swear and do wrong" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 428, cf. 444). On the other hand, it is regarded as something pleasing to God to gain profit from trading for the support of one's family; thus in one tradition in Zaid, *Maḍimū' al-Fiḥh*, ed. Grifini, N^o. 539 (cf. N^o. 544) we read: "If thou makest a profit from what is permitted, it is a *djihād* (i.e. like fighting on the path of Allāh) and if thou usest it for thy family and thy relations, it is alms (*ṣadaqa*); and truly a permitted

dirham which comes from trade is better than ten otherwise gained". In trading it is recommended to be generous and conciliatory; one should give full weight and measure and in weighing give overweight. The morning is recommended as particularly blessed and profitable for trading. One should be careful to avoid deceit and deception, which cancel the blessing (*baraka*) that rests upon trade. Defects in the goods should be pointed out to the purchaser. "If any one sells defective goods without pointing this out, God will hate him for ever and the angels will for ever curse him (Ibn Māḍja, *Tidjārāt*, Bāb 45)". But if one has been guilty of such faults in trading, he can atone for it by alms (*ṣadaqa*). The Prophet is further said to have condemned the adulteration of goods, especially the adulteration of foodstuffs.

Trade is to be carried on by mutual agreement, but never under compulsion. An agreement already made can only be cancelled if buyer and seller have not yet separated; in this period it can also be cancelled by tacit agreement (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 536). A further sale can only be effected when one has obtained possession of the goods (*ḥabq* or *istifā*); the traditions in this connection speak only of foods [*ṭaʿām*] but we are told by commentators that foods are only taken as examples and in fact one tradition talks of a *bai* in quite general terms [Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 402]. If in disputes between the contracting parties neither is able to prove his point, the purchase either remains valid and the assertion of the seller is taken as authoritative — or both must abandon the transaction. If there are two claimants to be the purchaser, the first is held to be the actual purchaser.

The traditions in general have nothing to say against business being arranged for a definite date or on credit (*nasīʿatan*). But no increase of price must take place nor is a reduction allowed if payment is made at an earlier date (Mālik, *Buyūʿ*, tr. 81). The making of a deposit on a credit transaction is also allowed as the Prophet once purchased provisions on credit and left his iron body-armour as a pledge.

Tradition frequently objects to a practice of traders of protesting the quality of their articles with oaths; e.g. one tradition says: "Swearing furthers the disposal of goods but diminishes their blessing" (Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, Bāb 26). According to another tradition, Sūra, iii. 71 was revealed in this connection; this verse has however nothing to do with the swearing of oaths when selling; its associations are other and purely religious.

A series of articles are excluded by Tradition from buying and selling: firstly all that is not one's own property (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 189, 190); secondly a series of articles the use of which is forbidden or which are considered unclean — wine, swine, dogs, cats, idols (*aṣnām*) and *maita* [q. v.] and also water; water according to a tradition is one of the three things which are *res communes*, the price of which is *ḥarām* (Ibn Māḍja, *Ruhūn*, Bāb 16).

Tradition strongly condemns a practice still very prevalent in the east: haggling or bargaining; in selling also one should not outbid his fellows. Tradition also condemns the raising of prices (*naḍjsh*) and speculation in or holding up of foodstuffs (*iḥtikār*; on the expression, cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 189). Anyone who holds up food sup-

plies and thus raises prices "is a sinner" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 351). "Him who holds up food supplies, God will punish with leprosy and bankruptcy" (Ibn Māḍja *Tidjārāt*, Bāb 6); "the speculator is accursed" (*ibid.*); according to other traditions, he "will be thrown into the deepest hell-fire" (Ṭayālisi, N^o. 928). On the other hand, the prophet is said to have declined as an injustice to fix prices for foodstuffs in a time of scarcity (Ibn Māḍja, *Tidjārāt*, Bāb 27 etc.). Generally speaking however, Tradition condemns any speculation in foodstuffs. It is forbidden to buy or sell provisions wholesale without fixing weights and measures (*ḍuṣāf*); food should not be sold again in the same place as it is purchased in but only in the particular market-place intended for the purpose. One should not go out to meet caravans to purchase goods (*talakki*); the townsman should not purchase from the man from the desert in order to sell again in the town at a profit; brokering (*simṣar*) is therefore condemned.

Finally may be mentioned a whole series of branches of business and practices which are described by Tradition as forbidden:

1. In the first place it forbids the conclusion of two transactions in one contract e.g. one portion of the goods on credit and another for cash (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 398).

2. *Baiʿ al-ʿurbān*: a form of sale in which an earnest-money (*ʿurban* or *ʿurbūn* < ערבון < ἄρραβών; cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 190) is given which belongs to the vendor if the transaction is not carried through (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal however considers earnest-money permissible; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s. v.).

3. Auction (*baiʿ al-muzāyada*); in three cases it is permitted however: in direct poverty, in sickness or when deeply in debt.

4. *Baiʿ al-muzābana* (presumably also of Aramaic origin; cf. Fraenkel, p. 189), i. e. when any goods the weight, size or number of which is not known is sold in bulk for a definite measure, weight or number of another commodity, e.g. the still green fruit of a palm-tree for a definite measure of dates or the seed for a definite amount of provisions. The unreal and speculative in this transaction is seen by Tradition in the fact that the yield which cannot yet be defined may bring the purchaser more or less than he has given for it (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 64). This rule is in the direction of the prohibition of profiteering. — But according to one tradition of the Prophet, an exception was allowed, the *baiʿ al-ʿarāyā*; according to this, a poor man who does not possess a palm-tree of his own, in order to procure his family fresh dates may purchase for dried dates the fruit of a palm on the tree, but it has to be valued. In the opinion of several traditionists, this transaction is limited to cases where not over five *wasḳ* are involved while ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ transmits a tradition according to which the Prophet prohibited even this (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 183).

5. *Baiʿ al-muʿāwama*, is the purchase of the yield of palm-trees for two or three years in advance. This is a question of the sale of things which are not yet in existence at the time of the contract.

6. *Baiʿ al-munābadha*. In this the exchange is irrevocably concluded by the two parties handing over the goods without seeing or testing them beforehand. Another form of this transaction is

baʿ al-ḥaṣāt (cf. Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *Nihāya*, s. v.) or *baʿ ilkāʾ al-ḥadjar* (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 59, 68, 71) when, as a sign of the conclusion of the agreement, a small stone is handed over in place of the goods (cf. Muṭarrizi, *Mughrib*, s. v. *nabadha*).

7. *Baʿ al-mulāmasa*. In this the transaction is also concluded without the goods being seen or examined beforehand, the covered goods being simply touched with the hand.

8. *Baʿ al-gharar*: "dangerous or hazardous trading". For this kind of transaction the traditions give a series of examples, e. g. the milk in the udder, an escaped slave, booty before its division, fishes in the water etc. (cf. e. g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 302, 388; iii. 42). The commonest example is the very complicated case of *baʿ ḥabal al-ḥabala*, namely the sale of a pregnant she-camel for slaughter with the prospect that it may produce a female young one, which will again bear young.

All these transactions are condemned by Tradition on account of the element of uncertainty in them. On money-changing (*ṣarf*) and the prohibition of profiteering (*ribā*), see these articles. The above transactions are in all the older collections; a still larger number with a great wealth of detail are given in the later collections, e. g. *Kanz al-Ummāl* (cf. Ritter in *Isl.*, vii. [1917], 28 sqq., where a series of such traditions is translated).

c. In the traditions of the first three centuries an open and honourable attitude in business is demanded of the merchant; he is to treat his customers "like his brother" and refrain from cheating them in any way. Tradition therefore also condemns any business in which there is an element of uncertainty, in which chance can play any part, so that no one may suffer injury. These fundamental principles of Muslim commercial ethics have found their classical expression in Ḡhazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, Cairo 1326, ii. 48 sqq. According to Ḡhazālī (d. 505 = 1111), one should strive to earn one's living with a view to the next world. To him the acquisition of a livelihood is a means of attaining bliss, the world is a field sown, a preliminary to the next world. But Ḡhazālī does not regard trade as absolutely better than any other means of earning one's living. "Through trade", he says, "one can either attain a sufficiency or wealth and superfluity". He condemns the accumulation of wealth, in so far as it is not applied to good purposes. But if the merchant obtain a sufficient livelihood for himself and his family, it is at any rate better than begging. But certain types of men do well to refrain from any such activities, for example, the pious, the mystics, the learned and the officials. Ḡhazālī then gives his views on the ethics of commerce of which only a brief résumé can be given here.

Even if a business is legal and irrefragable, yet it may be immoral and injurious to others; for not every prohibition makes the agreement invalid. Ḡhazālī then distinguishes two kinds of business, those that injure the community and those that only injure the individual. To the first group belong speculation in foods, especially in corn (*ihṭikār*), and the putting into circulation of false coins. In the case of false money the merchant has to pay attention to the following points: 1. If he takes false money, he should throw it down a well. 2. He must acquire a thorough knowledge of the coins current in

the country. 3. If he pays another false money with the latter's consent, he is not free from guilt, as the other may put them into circulation again. 4. If he takes false money to oblige some one, he will only participate in the blessing which rests upon a good feeling in trade, if he does it with the intention of throwing the false money into a well.

Ḡhazālī then deals with the conduct of business, which is only injurious to the individual. The guiding principle in trade is that one should only do to a fellow Muslim as he would be done by. Therefore 1. the seller should not praise the wares and not emphasise his statements by oaths; he must only emphasise such qualities in the goods as the customer cannot know without further trial, e. g. the capability of a slave; 2. he should tell all the faults of the goods, he should for example not show only the good sides of a material, he should not exhibit materials in a dark room etc.; for this is deception and neglect of the "good counsel" to which his brother is entitled. The merchant must remember two things, firstly that though he can dispose of his goods by concealing defects, he thereby loses the blessing which rests upon trading, and secondly that the benefit of the goods of this world ceases with the end of life and that only the injustice and sin remain, which were committed in trading; 3. the merchant must give just and full weight and measure; 4. he must quote the correct price of the day.

Ḡhazālī then deals with the showing of little kindnesses and civilities in trading, i. e. one should allow the other an advantage which he is not strictly compelled to do. Such little civilities are: 1. if the seller refuses a price offered which is much above the market price; 2. if the purchaser allows himself to be charged too much when the vendor is a poor man; 3. if in the collection of arrears, one allows a remission or prolongation of the period; 4. if the debtor brings the money to his creditor to save him the trouble of coming for it; 5. if at his request the contracting party is allowed to annul an agreement to purchase that has been concluded; 6. if one sells to the poor on credit and only demands the price, when it is possible for them to pay or keeps no record in one's books of the debt and leaves the payment completely to their pleasure.

The merchant however in his pursuit of profit should not neglect the salvation of his soul. The merchant should therefore 1. begin his transactions with good intention (*niya*) and good faith (*ʿaḥida*); 2. he should conceive of trade as a "social duty", as a *farḍ al-kifāya*, as his trade is only a part of the complicated system of the whole; 3. he must not let the market of this world distract him from the markets of the next world, i. e. from visiting mosques and performing the ṣalāts; 4. in entering the market and in it itself he must often think of God; 5. he must not be too eagerly set on the market and trading, not be the first to enter it and the last to leave it and must not cross the sea; 6. he must not only avoid what is forbidden, but also avoid all doubtful and suspicious business; he should enquire after the origin of goods and not deal with notorious swindlers or thieves; 7. he must carefully watch his words and deeds in business, as on the day of judgment he will be called to account for them.

According to Ghazālī, the market for the merchant is the scene of his *djihād*, his "holy war" where he has to wage a war against his own ego in his intercourse with his fellow-men. Since for Ghazālī, commerce is a preliminary and a preparation for the next world, he therefore discards the ascetic ideal of fleeing from the world for the ordinary mortal as an evasion of the struggle.

Similar views, although not always of such high moral worth as in Ghazālī, are found throughout *adab* and *akhlāk* literature. For example, Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, the biographer of the Shāfi'ī jurists (d. 771 = 1370), in his *Mu'īd al-Ni'am* discusses the merchant in several passages. In these he no doubt takes typical cases of his age. Thus the paper merchant should give preference to those of whom he knows that they buy the paper for the preparation of religious works (*kuṭub al-ilm*). On the other hand, he should not sell paper to those of whom he suspects that they will use it for the preparation of heretical works, false documents, increases of taxation etc. (ed. Myhrmann, London 1908, p. 188; transl. Rescher, Constantinople 1925, p. 138). The bookseller must not sell religious works (*kuṭub al-dīn*) to people who will destroy or criticise them. He further must not deal in works by heretics or by astrologers nor in fabulous works like the *Sirat 'Antar*, nor must he sell copies of the Qur'ān or works on Tradition and Law to unbelievers (cf. thereon al-Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, iv. 132 and Heffening, *Fremdenrecht*, p. 49, note 5, where the "keine" should be deleted before "hanaf. Werke"). Lastly the dealer in lands must take care that he does not sell *wakf* estates (ed. Myhrmann, p. 205; transl. Rescher, p. 150 sq.).

d. A more selfish morality on the other hand is championed in the book ed. and transl. by Ritter, *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsīn al-Tidjāra*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl Dja'far b. 'Alī al-Dimishkī (of the vith/viith = xiith/xiiith centuries). The book consists of two parts, one dealing with the merchant and the other with his goods. On the subject of merchandise there are many other works, some independent and some in the well known Muslim encyclopaedias, on which see Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 17 sqq. Here we are mainly concerned with the sections on the merchant. The classes of merchants distinguished are: 1. The wholesaler (*khazān*). He endeavours to purchase his goods under the most favourable conditions in order to sell them again, when there is a scarcity of them and the price has gone up. He must therefore keep accurately informed about the position of the market at the places of production and the security of the roads thither so that he does not let the best time for buying and selling pass him. A purchase of larger consignments is recommended to be carried through in four instalments at intervals of 15 days so that no loss may be suffered by a sudden change in price or by some other unforeseen circumstance. The wholesaler must also take account of the state of the government of the country, whether it is just and strong or if it is just but weak or tyrannical. — 2. The travelling merchant (*rakkād*). He must take especial heed as to what goods he buys and must exercise great caution; for his journey may be prolonged or some unforeseen accident may happen to him, like danger on the road, which will delay him so that he must again sell the goods in the

place where he has purchased them and thereby suffer considerable losses. He must also know the average prices, which the goods he is buying will attain in his native land as well as the tariffs, lest he throw away his profit even before purchasing in a foreign country. He should also look out for a reliable agent, and a suitable warehouse etc. at his destination. — 3. The exporting merchant (*mudjahhiz*). Here we have to deal with agencies. He must have a reliable agent in the place to which he is exporting; to him he sends the goods under reliable care; the agent then has to sell the goods and buy others, sharing the profit.

Besides much other valuable advice for the merchant and warnings against swindlers and deceivers, al-Dimishkī's work also contains discussions of questions of economic theory such as the fixing of the market price, the "average price" about which the merchant must keep himself accurately informed. How far all this is connected with economic views of the ancients has not yet been investigated.

Ibn Khaldūn in the chapters on trade in his *Muqaddima* (Cairo 1317, p. 441 sqq.; transl. in *N. E.*, xx. [1865], p. 348 sqq.) expresses himself in similar terms. He also classifies his observations under the heads of the wholesale and the travelling merchant, while he apparently omits the export merchant. He defines commerce as the art of increasing one's fortune by buying goods and selling them again at an increased price, either by storing them and awaiting an increase of price, or by taking them to another country where the price is higher.

Ibn Khaldūn's verdict on merchants in general is of interest; for the trade of merchant, one requires to have much skill, to praise his goods unduly, to deal cunningly and stubbornly with his customers, all things which affect a man's sense of honour and justice and unfavourably influence his character. It is the small trader who succumbs more readily to this influence as he has to deal with his customers day in and day out. It is otherwise with the merchant who through some favourable circumstance has risen rapidly to wealth and fortune and has attained a position of esteem; he is rather protected from the evil influences of trading as he can leave the actual dealing to his employees and has only to supervise them and give them general directions.

e. The question raised in the beginning of this article of the attitude of Islām to trade is one aspect of the problem, several times discussed in recent years, of the possibilities of the economic development of the lands of Islām. Until shortly before the world war the possibility of development was denied, as is still frequently done in missionary circles. W. Barthold in his introductory essay to the *Mir Islama* may be regarded as the first to show the untenability of this view on historical grounds. Following Max Weber's religious and sociological studies, C. H. Becker, R. Junge and more recently Alfred Rühl have dealt with this question and come to the conclusion that Islām has never been hostile to economic development. But the Oriental mind thinks of economic problems quite differently from the Western, which is the result of the peculiar conditions of the east, especially certain racial characteristics and the dry climate prevailing almost everywhere with the

supreme importance of the question of water supply. These conditions produced a much closer bond of union between the individual and the community. The prevailing principle is not competition but cooperation. From these circumstances one can understand the fundamental principle of Muslim commercial ethics, that the merchant must treat his customers like his brother. To this strongly marked feeling of being a member of a community is added religion, which for every Muslim is the main guiding principle of all his dealings. Even business must submit to its control and cannot take up an independent position with a morality of its own.

In spite of this however, Muslim lands will be quite capable of adopting modern business methods; Islam in the past has often displayed its adaptability and capability of development and various Muslim lands like Turkey and Egypt are at present making up for what they have long neglected in various fields: figures like Ziyā Gök Alp and Muḥammad 'Abduh are milestones on this path of progress.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article: the *Kitāb al-Buyūʿ* or *Tidjārāt* in the works on tradition; references in Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, s.v. *barter*; Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Isl.*, xvii. (1917), p. 1 sqq.; the essay by Barthold is transl. into German in *W.L.*, i. (1913), 138 sq.; C. H. Becker, *Islam und Wirtschaft*, in *Archiv f. Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient*, i. (1916), 66 sqq. [= *Islamstudien*, i. (1924), 54 sqq.]; R. Junge, *Das Wirtschaftspröblem des näheren Orients*, in *Archiv f. Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient*, i. (1916), p. 1 sqq.; do., *Das Problem der Europäisierung orientalischer Wirtschaft*, Weimar 1915, p. 108 sqq., 260 sq. (deals with Russian-Turkestan); Alfred Rühl, *Vom Wirtschaftsgeist im Orient*, Leipzig 1925 (deals with Algiers). Cf. also R. Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islam*, Leipzig 1928 (= *Morgenland*, H. 15).

(HEFFENING)

TIDORE, a small volcanic island west of Halmahera in the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago. For administrative purposes it belongs to the residency of Ternate but is not under the direct authority of the Dutch East India government; along with various other small islands and a part of Halmahera it forms an autonomous district also called Tidore, formerly under a sultān, since 1909 under a council of notables. The population is in every way very like that of Ternate [q.v.]. From Portuguese sources it may be deduced that Islām was introduced into Tidore about 1430; according to native tradition, an Arab named *Shāikh* Maṣṣūr was the first to teach Islām here and Tjiliati (also Tjiliatu and Tjiri Liliatu) about 1495 was the first ruler to be converted, when he took the name *Djamāl al-Din*.

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AL-TIFĀSHĪ, *SHIHĀB AL-DIN* ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. YŪSUF, d. 651 (1253), is the author of the *Kitāb Aḥsār al-Aḥkār fī Djawāhir al-Asdjār*, one of the best known works on jewels which he describes — in all 25 kinds — according to their origin, provenance, natural and magical properties, defects and merits, price and appre-

ciation of particular varieties. An edition and translation of the book which exists in good manuscripts is a great desideratum, as that by Count Raineri Biscia of 1818 (new edition 1906) no longer suits modern requirements. — Nothing is known of a second mineralogical work of which there is a manuscript in Paris. To Tifāshī are also ascribed some writings of an obscene nature.

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(J. RUSKA)

TİFLİ (AḤMAD ČELEBİ T.), an Ottoman Turkish poet and meddāh of the xviiith century. *Shākhī* in the *Shakā'ik dheeli* says he was born in Constantinople but the other sources say he belonged to Trebizond. He was the son of a certain 'Abd al-'Aziz Efendi and wrote poems while still a mere child, hence his soubriquet of Tifli. Of a very keen wit he acquired a reputation as a meddāh and nedim rather than as a poet. In this capacity he was a member of the entourage of Murād IV and was very well off, as a result of the income granted him from the customs and ewkāf. All the sources record that he used to recite the *Shāhnāma* in the circle of Sultān Murād and that he composed witty and amusing stories (to gain an idea of the importance and place of the *Shāhnāma-khwān* and *ḥiṣṣa-khwān* in the palaces of India, Persia and Asia Minor, cf. Köprülü Zāde Fu'ād, *Türkiyāt Medjmu'ası*, i. 4—5, 10—12). Ewliya Čelebi who confirms these statements adds that he was called Leklek Tifli on account of his height (i. 671). Although he belonged to the Melāmiye-i Bairāmīye order and was an adept of Idris Mukhtafī (MS. of Mustakim Zāde, *Menāḥib-i Melāmiye-i Bairāmīye* in my private library), he led a dissolute life. According to the *Medjmu'a* of Suleimān Fā'ik Efendi, he lived in the vicinity of Koḍja Muṣṭafā Pasha. The anecdotes about his relations with the poets of his time are famous. We know from Şafā'ī that Tarzī Mehmed Čelebi of Eski Zaghra wrote two satirical treatises in verse called *Waṣīyet-nāme* and *Dhille-nāme* and represented them as the work of Tifli. There is a copy of the *Waṣīyet-nāme* in my own library. He is also mentioned by the poet Guṣfī of Edirne in his amusing rhymed biographies of poets. He died in 1071 (1660—1661) and was buried near Hazeret-Bāli outside Siliwri Kapı. His *ta'rikkh* was engraved on his tomb-stone by his relative Nazmī Mehmed Efendi. The celebrated poet Nā'ili Kādim also wrote a *ta'rikkh* on his death (the *ta'rikkh* of 1070, given by 'Āṣim in the *Dhail Zubdat al-Aḥsār* and by *Shākhī* as well as the *ta'rikkh* of 1074 given by Şafā'ī are wrong. Hammer, *Osmannische Dichtkunst*, iii. 449, gives the date 1074 on the authority of this last source and Rieu repeats it in the *Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 198). Tifli — who according to Şafā'ī wrote a *Diwān* — is not however quite negligible as a poet. Biographers like

Shaikhī, Rizā, 'Āṣim and Ṣafā'ī include him among the poets. There is a *Diwān* of his in the British Museum but it contains only his *ghazeliyāt* (Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 198; Add. 7933, fol. 18—53). In the *medjmi'a* dating from this period we have several of his poems (Flügel, *Katalog der orient. HSS. Wien*, i. 721).

It is to his quality as a *meddāh* and *nedīm* that he owes his great fame. The sources of the xviii century are all agreed in this respect and Mirzā Zāde Sālim, author of a *tezkeri* in the xviii century, in order to emphasise the skill as a *meddāh* of his contemporary Kirimī says that he was a teller of stories as skilful as Tiflī, which shows that the latter's fame still survived (*Tezkeri-i Sālim*, Constantinople edition, p. 568). Suleimān Fā'ik Efendi, author of the *Medjmi'a*, says he was the first and oldest of the 'Oṯmānlī *meddāh's* but this is wrong, as my investigations on this subject have shown. We may however regard Tiflī as the most famous of the 'Oṯmānlī *meddāh's*. In some old *medjmi'a*, we find fragments of his work and anecdotes about Tiflī and Sulṭān Murād have been kept alive to the present day. In the story of *Şānşār Muşafā* contained in N^o. 1208 of the library of the University of Stambul and in another copy in my private library, Sulṭān Murād and Tiflī appear as the *dramatis personae*. In the story of *Khančarlı Khānım*, also one of the oldest stories of *meddāh's*, Tiflī and Sulṭān Murād play a part ('Alī, the editor of the *Djiride-i Hawādiṯ*, has republished this old story at the *Djiride-i Hawādiṯ* press under the title *Khančarlı Khānım Hikāye-i gharibesi*. On the life of this 'Alī and a résumé of the story cf. the article *Meshāhūr-i Medjhiye* by Ibn al-Amin Maḥmūd Kemāl in *T. O. E. M.*, N^o. 96, 1928). It may be asked if these stories which are of an extraordinary value for a knowledge of the social life of old Stambul, were really composed by Tiflī himself, or if later *meddāh's*, remembering the great fame of Tiflī, adapted them and introduced Tiflī into them. No definite answer can be given, but these stories of *meddāh's* show in any case what a great reputation Tiflī had acquired.

Bibliography: (besides the works above mentioned): the addition of *Shaikhī* to the addition of the *Shaḳā'ik*, entitled *Waḳā'i' al-Fuḳaḳā'* (there are a number of copies in the libraries of Constantinople. The author's son completed his father's work and added the biographies of the 'ulamā' and *shaikhs* from 1131 to 1143; there is a copy in the Aya Sofiā, N^o. 3198); Rizā, *Tezkeresi*, Constantinople 1316, p. 63; Ṣafā'ī, *Tezkeresi*, library of Es'ad Efendi, N^o. 2549; Seirek Zāde Mehmed 'Āsim, *Dhail Zubdat al-Aṣḫār*, in my private library; Gufti, *Tezkeresi*, in my private library; *Medjmi'a* of Suleimān Fā'ik Efendi (on this *Medjmi'a* and the different manuscripts of his works cf. *Türkiyāt Medjmi'ası*, i. 35); Mehmed 'Alī 'Aini, *Hādidi bairām weli*, Constantinople 1343, p. 127; Köprülü Zāde Mehmed Fu'ād, *Türkiyāt Medjmi'ası*, i. 31—34.

(KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE MEHMED FU'AD)

TIFLIS, the capital of Georgia and also the eastern part of Georgia (Kharthlia).

The Name. In Georgian the town is called Tphilisi or Tbilisi which is usually explained as derived from *tphili* "hot" (referring to the hot springs of Tiflis), in Armenian Tphkhis (Tphitis),

in Arabic Taflis (Balādhuri: Taflis). Among similar names we may note the town Θιλβίς or Θάλβις mentioned by Ptolemy v., ch. 11 to the N. E. of Abania, i.e. in Daghestān and the place called Taflis to the south of Lake Urmia [cf. Qudāma, p. 213: the road running from Dainawar to Ādhar-bāidjān forked at Barza (= Saḳkiz? q.v.). Taflis lay 2 farsakhs north of Barza on the road to Urmia].

Before Islām. The old capital of Georgia was at Mtskheta (Ptolemy, *Geography*, v., ch. x., Μεσσητα = *Μεσσητα) which the Arab geographers by a popular etymology sometimes call Masdjid Dhi 'l-Karnain (Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ii. 56; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 186). According to the Georgian Chronicle the Persian *eristhaw* ("ethnarch") sent against Waraz-bakar (379—393?), king of Georgia (of the Khosroid dynasty descended from the Sāsānians), built Tiflis "between the Gates of the Caucasus" (between Darial and Darband) "to serve as a bulwark against Mtskheta" (Brosset, *Histoire de la Georgie*, i. 140).

During the wars of king Wakhtang Gurgasal (446—499?) with the Persians, the fortress (*kala*) and the village (*sopheli*) of Tiflis were destroyed. Wakhtang laid the foundations of a town at Tiflis and his son Dači (499—514) completed its walls (*op. cit.*, p. 180, 196, 201).

After 523, the Persians, having suppressed the ruling dynasty of eastern Georgia, maintained a Persian *marzpan* in Tiflis, beside whom representatives of the Georgian nobility had a nominal share in the administration of the country (Brosset, i. 226; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 397, 431—432; Djawakhow, *Khrist. Vostok*, i. 110). The governor of Mtskheta was under the *marzpan*. Theophanes of Byzantium (vith century) is the first Byzantine author to mention ἡ Τίφλις (Τιφλίς) μητρόπολις under the year 571 (Theoph. byz. apud Photium, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, ciii. 139; cf. Muralt, *Essai de chronologie byz.*, St. Petersburg 1855, i. 156).

The wars with the Turks and the Byzantines having detracted the attention of the Persians from Iberia, the Georgians asked the Byzantine emperor to give them a king and the Bagratid Guaram (575—600) was set up at Mtskheta. To this king tradition attributes the "restitution of the foundations of the church of Sion in Tiflis" (i. 222).

After the victory gained over the Byzantines by king Khusrav Parwēz (after 606), the son of Guaram, Stephanos I (who was content with the title of *eristhaw* = ethnarch), joined the Persians. Later when in 624 Heraclius and his Turkish allies laid siege to Tiflis, Stephanos defended the town bravely. Heraclius appointed as *mithawar* (chief) Adarnases of the old Khosroid family and associated with him the *eristhaw* Djibghu (Theophanes: Ζιββηλ; according to Marquart: Thong Yabghu Khakan). The citadel (*kala*) was taken and Stephanos slain.

The Arab conquest. The Arabs confounded Armenia and Georgia (cf. Balādhuri, p. 194; and Yākūt, ii. 58 where Djurzān is a *nāhiya* of the country of Arminiya). According to the Georgian chronicle (*Kharthlis tsḳhowreba*), the Agarians invaded Somkhetia ["Armenia", a rather ambiguous term, for "Somkhetia of Kharthlia" began to the south of the river Khram, about 20 miles S. of Tiflis] in the reign of Stephanos II (639—663?), son of Adarnases, who lived in Tiflis. On the death of this king, his sons Mir and Arčil

withdrew to Egris (Mingrelia, the land north of the Rion and to the west of Imerethia as far as the Black Sea). In the period of their joint reign (663—668) Georgia was visited by the ferocious Murwan Kru ("M. the Deaf") sent by the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* Eshim (= Hishām whose dates are actually 105—125 = 724—743!). Such mistakes and anachronisms may be explained by the fact that at this period the national life of Georgia had taken refuge far to the west in lands not easily accessible from Ćorokh (Klardjethia). The thread of events may however be pieced together from Arab and Armenian statements [cf. the article ARMENIA].

In reality Arab expeditions penetrated into Transcaucasia in the reigns of the early caliphs. According to Ṭabarī, i. 2666, in 22 (643) Surāka having made peace with Shahar-Barāz (king of the Bāb al-Abwāb) sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama against Tiflis. To the same year Ṭabarī, i. 2674, puts the peace with the people of this town but it was actually made in 25 (645) in the reign of 'Othmān (al-Ya'qūbī, p. 194; Balādhuri, p. 198). When Ḥabīb b. Maslama had conquered Armenia [q.v.] he turned his attention to Georgia. A Georgian ambassador (Nkly = Nicolas? Tily = Theophilos?) appeared before him to testify that the *batrīk* of Ḍjurzān and his people were well disposed. Ḥabīb's answer (cf. the versions in Balādhuri, p. 201 and Ṭabarī, i. 2674; Yāqūt, i. 857 rather follows Balādhuri) was addressed simply to "the inhabitants of Tiflis, in (the rustāk of) Mandjalīs (now Manglis) in al-Ḍjurzān (= Georgia) in the land of Hurmuz".

Ḥabīb guaranteed the people the exercise of their religion, but he sent to Tiflis the learned 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḍjaz' to expound the law of Islām and indeed the people of the town were soon converted to Islām.

After reducing Tiflis, Ḥabīb extended his conquests or his treaties of peace over other regions inhabited by the Georgians and their neighbours (Balādhuri, p. 202—203; cf. the attempt to analyse them in Ghazarian, *op. cit.*). Among these the Ṣanāriya gave a prominent part (Ptolemy, v., ch. viii., § 13: *Σαναριῶτες*; in Armenian: Tsanarkh), a very warlike Christian people who lived in Kakhethia and the high Alazan and who, according to the hypothesis of N. Y. Marr, were identical with the modern Thush, whose language is related to that of the Čechens (cf. *Izv. Akad. Nauk.*, x/xii., 1916, p. 1379—1408).

From the time of Ḥabīb's expedition to the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232—247) the Ḍjurzān (eastern Georgians) and the Abkhāz (q.v., here in the wide sense of "western Georgians of the valley of the Rion", i. e. of Imerethia) paid tribute to the Arab military commander in Tiflis (*Murūdj*, ii. 65; Yāqūt, ii. 583). Of the time of Yazid II (101—105) we have a letter in which Ḍjarrāh b. 'Abd Allāh confirmed to the Ḍjurzān the guarantees given by Ḥabīb b. Maslama (Balādhuri, p. 202; there is a reference there also to the rustāk of Mandjalīs, but several place-names are still unidentified).

As to the "Murwan Kru" of Armenian and Georgian tradition, two personages seem to have been confused in this figure (Marquart): Muḥammad b. Marwān of whom the Georgians seem to have heard the Armenians speak, and his son Marwān b. Muḥammad who (in the reign of Hishām, 105—125) was fighting mainly in Daghestān but whose

expedition against the "Gate" of the Alān must have passed through the region of Tiflis. His headquarters were at Kisāl(?), 20 farsakhs from Tiflis and 40 farsakhs from Bardha'a (probably Kesala below Ta'ūs, which satisfies the description; cf. below). A dirham is known of 'Abd al-Malik struck at Tiflis in 85 (704).

The 'Abbāsids. In 141 (758) the Khazars under Ra's Ṭarkhān invaded Armenia (Ya'qūbī, ii. 446). Ṭabarī (iii. 328), speaking of the same event under 147 (764), says that during the invasion of Astār Khān al-Khuwārizmī (*sic*) many Muslims and *dhimmī* were made prisoners and the Turks entered Tiflis. Ya'qūbī immediately after 141 mentions a rising of the Ṣanāriya. The latter were defeated by 'Amīr b. Ismā'il who then returned to Tiflis and executed his prisoners there.

Another Khazar invasion took place in 183 (799). Their king came as far as the bridge over the Kur and ravaged the country but the taking of Tiflis is not mentioned by the Arab writers (Ya'qūbī, ii. 518; Ṭabarī, iii. 648) while the Georgian chronicle says that in the joint reign of the brothers Ioane and Ḍjuansher (718—786?) the Khākan's general Blučan (in Armenian Bul'ān) took Tiflis and conquered Kharthlia.

Of the governors that Hārūn al-Rashīd (170—193 = 786—809) sent to Armenia the harshest was Khuzaima b. Khāzim (Balādhuri, p. 210). The Georgians called him Cī'um-Asim. Ya'qūbī, ii. 210 confirms the cruelty of his second governorship. The Ḍjurdjān (read Ḍjurzān) and the Ṣanāriya rebelled. Khuzaima's general Sa'īd b. Haiṭham defeated them, drove them out of the country and then returned to Tiflis.

Under al-Ma'mūn (198—218) a certain Muḥammad b. 'Attāb established himself in Armenia. In 214 (829) he conquered the land of the Ḍjurzān and the Ṣanāriya joined him (Ya'qūbī, ii. 540, 565—566). Khālid b. Yazīd gave the *amān* to Muḥammad b. 'Attāb and defeated his allies, the Ṣanāriya, but the disturbances in Arminiya went on (Ya'qūbī, ii. 566; Balādhuri, p. 210—211). In 215—239 (830—853) Ishāk b. Ismā'il carved himself out a principality in Georgia.

Ishāk b. Ismā'il. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 65, he was of Kuraish origin. His father Ismā'il was the son of Shu'aib, a client of Marwān II (126—132 = 744—750); he had settled in Georgia in the time of the caliph Amīn (193—196) and had had skirmishes with the walī Asad b. Yazīd (Ya'qūbī, ii. 528). The uncle of Ishāk, 'Alī b. Shu'aib mentioned in the Georgian chronicle, i. 260, 265, is said to have received Tiflis from Khālid, probably after Muḥammad b. 'Attāb. But already in the governorship of Ḥasan Badghisī, the second successor of Khālid, we find the name of Ishāk. When the Byzantine troops of Theophilos (829—842) reached Wanand (near Kars) they "were cut to pieces by Sahak, son of Ismael" (cf. Stephen Asolik, ii., ch. v., transl. Dulaurier, p. 171). As a result of such exploits the caliph Wāṭhik (842—847) recognised Ishāk as lord of Armenia, but this did not last long. Muḥammad, son and successor of Khālid, defeated Ishāk and drove out the Ṣanāriya. According to the Georgian chronicle, the Georgian princes (who had less fear of the central government so far away) supported Muḥammad against Ishāk and his allies, the people of Kakhethia and the Ṣanāriya.

Finally in the reign of al-Mutawakkil the Turk

Bughā al-Kabīr al-Sharābī was sent to Armenia. In Rabi' I 238 (autumn 852), he left Dabil for Tiflis. Bughā watched the operations from the high hills beside Sughdabil (the reference is to the heights of Makhatha to the north of Isani = Sughdabil; cf. the description of Tiflis below).

Ishāk made a sortie but Bughā's *naffā'in* (throwers of Greek fire) set fire to the town. Ishāk's palace was burned. He and his son 'Amr were taken prisoners by the Turks and the Moors. Ishāk was decapitated and 50,000 (?) men lost their lives in the destruction of the town by fire. The Moors took the survivors prisoners and spoiled the dead. Ishāk's wife, daughter of the lord of Sarir (= the principality of the Avars in northern Daghestān), was at Sughdabil, which was defended by the Khuwaithiya (people of Sasun; cf. MAIYĀ-FĀRIKĪN). Bughā granted them the *amān* on condition that they laid down their arms and continued his operations in the direction of Djardmān and Bailakān (Tabarī, iii, 1114—1116; cf. Thomas Artsruni, iii, ch. 9—10, ed. Brosset, St. Petersburg 1874, p. 140—150. A Georgian inscription on the church of Ateni gives the Muḥammadan date 239 for the taking of Tiflis by Bughā; cf. Djawakhow, *Khrist. Vostok*, 1912, i, 284). The destruction of the Muslim principality of the former clients of the Omayyads, which was a focus around which local elements gathered, was an irreparable mistake for the caliphate. The Arab authors (Mas'ūdī, ii, 67; Yāqūt, ii, 58) date the decline of Arab power in the Caucasus from this. Bughā was soon recalled; cf. Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 266—268 and Thomas Artsruni, *ibid.*

There was an 'Abbāsīd mint for dirhams at Tiflis till 922 (pieces are known of 210, 248, 250, 294, 298, 304, 307, 311, 312, 314, 330, 331); cf. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des khālifis orientaux*, St. Petersburg 1873 and especially Pakhomov, *op. cit.*

The aid which Bagrat (826—876) had lent to the caliph against Ishāk did not bring the reward desired by the eastern dynasty. The rival dynasty called of Abkhazia (cf. the explanation of this term above) seized Kharthlia. Thus Mas'ūdī (writing in 332 = 942), *Murūdī*, ii, 69, 74, says that the Kur left the possessions of Djurdjīn (Bagratid of the lateral line, d. 941; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 176) crossed the land of Abkhāz (sic) and arrived in front of Tiflis, the inhabitants of which although surrounded by infidels on all sides still retained their courage and were numerous. The founder of the Armenian Bagratid kingdom Ashot (885—890 A. D.?) also intervened in the affairs of Kharthlia (Brosset, i, 270, note 12). Mas'ūdī gives Masdjīd Dhi 'l-Karnain (= Mtskheta) as the residence of the king of Djurdzān [*al-ṭanbaghi*, ingeniously emended by Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 186 to the Armenian **mambaghi* > *mamphali*, a Georgian title].

The Sādjids, the Sālārīds and the Shaddādīds. In the meanwhile there arose in Ādharbāidjān the first Muslim dynasty that owned the suzerainty of Baghdād, the Sādjids (276 or 279—317; cf. this article and R. Vasmer, *O monetakh Sadjidow*, *Izvestia Obshch. izuč. Azerb.*, Baku 1927, N^o. 5, p. 22—51). Abu 'l-Kāsim Yūsuf went to assist the isolated Muslims in the north. In 912 (?) he came to Tiflis the amīr of which was called Dja'far b. 'Alī (cf. below) and seized the fortresses of Uđjarmo and Bo'orma (on the upper Iora) (cf. Brosset, i, 275, note 2). The

chronicle also mentions another expedition (between 918 and 923) of the "Saracens called Sadj" in the course of which Mtskheta was taken. The Muslim sources are silent about these expeditions. Immediately afterwards the chronicle mentions the appearance of the Sālārīds [q. v.] at Bardha'a and in Ādharbāidjān.

Bagrat III and Bagrat IV. The series of reigns "shows the greatest confusion" (Brosset) until the king Bagrat III (980—1014?) reunited Kharthlia, Abkhazia, Tao (on the Čorokh) and Ardanudj. In his time the Shaddādīd [q. v.] Faḍlūn invaded Armenia but was defeated by the Georgians and Mtskheta was always regarded as the royal city although the rulers resided in Kutais (Khu-thathisi). In 1030 (421) the Georgian and Kakhethian notables, with the help of the amīr Dja'far of Tiflis, undertook an expedition against the Shaddādīd Phadlun (Faḍlūn of Gandja). But when the latter died, Liparit Orbeliani, the powerful lord of Thrialet (on the upper Khram), captured Dja'far by a ruse and only released him on the appeal of the young king Bagrat IV (1027—1072), who evidently did not wish Tiflis to be annexed by the turbulent Liparit. Dja'far was re-established at Tiflis but a few years later the king himself laid siege to Tiflis. The siege had lasted for two years when suddenly the king at the suggestion of Liparit made peace with Dja'far. After the death of the latter the elders (*ber*) of Tiflis offered the keys of the town to Bagrat, who occupied the citadel Dār al-Djalāl and the two "towers" Ts'kalkin and Thabor (cf. the description of Tiflis below). The inhabitants of the Isan quarter on the left bank of the Kur however destroyed the bridge and Bagrat had to turn his ballistas upon them.

The Saldjūks. In 1048 the troops of Ibrāhīm Yanāl (in Georgian Bahram-Lam) appeared for the first time in Basian (Pasin on the upper waters of the Araxes). In 1053 (?) the Saldjūks undertook an expedition against Gandja but a counter-movement by the Byzantines who were allies of Bagrat IV saved the town. Thereupon the people of Tiflis again invited Bagrat but as a result of Liparit's intrigues, the Byzantines kept Bagrat prisoner in Constantinople for three years. Then Bagrat recovered the greater part of his fortresses, when suddenly Alp Arslān (1063—1079) invaded Georgia (Brosset, i, 326). On Dec. 10, 1068, Alp Arslān accompanied by the kings of Armenia and Kakhethia (Aghsarthan, son of Gagik, of the dynasty of *Korikon* [Chorepiscopi] which ruled from 787 to 1105) as well as the amīr of Tiflis marched against Bagrat. All Kharthlia was occupied and many Christians slain or taken prisoners. The Shaddādīds were given compensation. Tiflis and Rustaw were given to Faḍlūn of Gandja and Ani to Manučīr b. Abu 'l-Aswār. In the spring of 1069, Bagrat returned to Kharthlia. Faḍlūn encamped at Isan (a suburb on the left bank) and with 33,000 men ravaged the country. Bagrat defeated Faḍlūn who took the road through Kakhethia but was taken prisoner by Aghsarthan. At the price of conceding several fortresses on the Iora, Bagrat ransomed Faḍlūn and received from him the surrender of Tiflis where in the meanwhile a certain Sithlaraba (Saiyid al-'Arab?) was proclaimed amīr. This plan failed for Alp Arslān obtained the liberation of Faḍlūn. Giorgi II, son of Bagrat (reigned 1072—1089, lived to 1125), lived in Kutais. In Kakhethia Aghsarthan retained

his possessions on condition that he adopted Islām.

Dawid II. The revival took place under Dawid II Aghmashenebeli (the "Restorer") who took the title of king "of Kharthlia and Abkhazia" (1089—1125?). Dawid brought into Georgia through the pass of the Alans (Darial) 40,000 Kipčaks (Polovtsi) and 5,000 slaves converted to Christianity. In spite of their unruliness (Brosset, *op. cit.*, i. 379) these warlike elements enabled Dawid to throw off Saldjūk domination. He ceased the payment of the *kharađj* and put an end to the seasonal migrations of the Turks into Georgia. He gave his daughter Thamar in marriage to the *Shirwānshāh* [q.v.] Akhsitān (in Georgian Aghsarthan) and treated him as his vassal.

The capture of Tiflis in 515 (1121). On the complaints of the Muslims of Tiflis the Saldjūk Mahmūd b. Muḥammad (1118—1131) sent an expedition into Georgia in which the Urtukid Nađim al-Dīn Ghāzi, the Mazyādiid Dubais b. Šadaqa (Durbez of the Georgian chronicle) and the brother of the Sultān Tughrl (lord of al-Arran and Nakhčewān) with his atābeg Kun-toghdī all took part. On the 18th August 1121 this army entered Thrialet and Manglis but was destroyed by Dawid and his Kipčaks, after which in 515 (1121—1122), Dawid stormed Tiflis so that the town might become "for ever an arsenal and capital for his sons"; Brosset, i. 365—367 and *Additions*, i. 230, 236—241; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x. 398—399 [= Defrémery, *Fragments*, p. 26]; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Tārīkh Ḥalab*, in the *Recueil des hist. des croisades*, iii. 628; Yāqūt, i. 857 (Taflis). The Arab historian al-ʿAīnī (1360—1451) who utilises sources, some of which are no longer accessible (Brosset, i. 241), admits that Tiflis was burned and pillaged but, contrary to the other sources which emphasize the atrocities committed by Dawid (Matth. of Edessa in Brosset, *Add.*, i. 230), says that the king respected the feelings of the Muslims more than Muslim rulers had done; Dawid is also said to have promised to strike coins with Muslim legends; the coins however of the king (cf. Pakhomow, *Monet* etc., p. 77—81) bear the image of the Virgin. Great caution in dealing with the Muslims was necessary because as the Georgian chronicle acknowledges, the fighting between Muslims and Christians was still very bitter (cf. Brosset, i. 380).

The Banū Djaʿfar. Dawid succeeded in Tiflis to the Banū Djaʿfar of whom it is not known whether they were of Arab or purely Georgian origin. While the Georgian Chronicle (i. 367) puts at 400 years the period of Muslim rule in Tiflis, al-ʿAīnī gives the Banū Djaʿfar alone a period of 200 years. Indeed, we have seen that about 300 (912) the amir of Tiflis was already called Djaʿfar [b. ʿAlī] (Brosset, i. 275). His successor struck coins at Tiflis; dirhams are known of Maṣṣūr b. Djaʿfar, dated in 342 and 343 (with the name of the caliph al-Muʿtī li ʿllāh), and of Djaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr, dated 364, 366 (al-Tāyī li ʿllāh). In the time of Bagrat IV (1027—1072) the amir of Tiflis was called Djaʿfar (his father ʿAlī had carried off the property of the Sweti-Tskhoweli church of Mtskheta). The Chronicle calls him Mukhath Gwerd Djaphar (Mukhath Gwerd is a place near Mtskheta). During the 40 years before the conquest of Tiflis by Dawid, the town was governed by the young members of the Banū Djaʿfar family, each of whom in turn held power for a month (al-ʿAīnī).

The strong kings. The reign of Dimitri

(1125—1154) was occupied with a civil war with the Orbeliani family. The Muslim rulers contemporary with him were: in Ādharbāidjān, the atābeg Ildigiz (in Georgian Ildiguz); at Anī, the scions of the Shaddādis; at Khilāt, Zahir al-Dīn Shāh-i Arman (1128—1183); at Erzerum, the amir Saltuk b. ʿAlī, whom the Georgians defeated near Anī in 548 (1153); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 126 sub anno 548 (1157); Münedjdim-bashī, ii. 577; Defrémery, *Fragments*, p. 40. It was Dimitri who, taking advantage of the earthquake in 1139 at Gandja, carried off the famous iron gate of this town and took it to the monastery of Gelathi (cf. Fraehn, *Mém. Ac. St. Pétersbourg*, with series, *Sc. morales*, vol. iii, p. 531). The position in Tiflis is described by Ibn al-Azraq, historian of Maīyafāriqin [q.v.] who visited Tiflis in 548 (1153). He says the Muslims were in a favoured position. Every Friday Dimitri came to the mosque and sat on a dais (*dakka*) opposite the *khafib*; cf. Amedroz, *Three Arabic MSS.*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 791 (al-Azraq may have been the source used by al-ʿAīnī).

Under Giorgi III (1156—1184) the Muslim kingdoms around Georgia remained the same and the king conducted vigorous campaigns against Erzerum, Anī, Dwin, Nakhčewān, Gandja, Bardhaʿa and Bailakān. To assist his cousin the *Shirwānshāh* Akhsitān, son of Thamar, Giorgi's aunt, the king even went to Darband (cf. Brosset, i. p. 383—403 and *Add.*, i. 253—257, 266; Ibn al-Athīr under the years 556, 557, 559, 561, 569).

The reign of Thamar (1184—1211 or 1212), the "Sun of Kharthlia", is the culminating point in the history of Georgia, now on the threshold of terrible trials. Having forced the diadochi of the Saldjūks to accept peace, the Christian kingdom now assumed the offensive and surrounded itself with Muslim vassals. Thamar played an important part in the creation of the empire of the Comnenoi of Trebizond (Kunik, *Osnov. Trapez. imperii v 1204. Učen. Zap. Akad. Nauk*, 1853, vol. ii, p. 705—733). The troops operating from Erzerum and Erzindjān inflicted defeats on the Ildigizids of Ādharbāidjān. The sack of Ardabil by the Georgians (Brosset, i. 469—473) finds confirmation in the *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Šafawiya*, Berlin 1843, p. 43; cf. Khanykow, *Mél. Asiatiques*, i., 1852, p. 580—583. The Chronicle also mentions in 1210—1212 an expedition through the whole of northern Persia as far as Romguaro (= Ramdjār near Nishāpūr!), but beyond Tabriz the stages in this march seem to be quite fanciful (Brosset, i. 469—473). In spite of the brilliant success of the generals Zakharé and Iwané of the Mkhargrdzel family (Armenian of Kurd origin; cf. Brosset, *Add.*, i. 267), the Georgian victories were not lasting and of all her conquests, Thamar could only retain Kars (Brosset, i. 467). At home also (Djawkhow) the growing power of the feudal lords demanded the attention of the queen. Muslim customs penetrated into Georgia; the general Iwané was given the title of *Atābeg* ("used among the Sultāns"; Brosset, i. 474). In the reign of Thamar, we find mention of a rebel, Gozan son of Abu ʿl-Ḥasan, "amir of Tiflis and Kharthlia" (is this a scion of the Banū Djaʿfar?).

The Mongols. The son of Thamar, Giorgi III Lasha ("splendid" in the Abkhazian language) who ruled from 1212—1223, levied the *kharađj* of Gandja, Nakhčewān, Erzerum (Karnukalak) and

Khilāt but in 617 (1220) the Mongol troops of Subutai and Djebe (in Georgian: Suba and Iama or Čeba) made their appearance in Persia. The Georgians were several times defeated; the Chronicle (Brosset, i. 493) considers the defeat at Berduj (on the Borcala) as the turning-point in the fortunes of the Georgian armies, hitherto invincible.

Giorgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his sister Rusudan (1223—1247) [*Kiz-malik*, the "maiden king" of the Muslims], a beautiful princess devoted to pleasure, whose hand was sought by her Muslim neighbours (Brosset, i. 495). In the end she chose the son of the Saldjūk of Erzerum, Mughith al-Dīn Toghril (in Georgian Orthul) who by his father's orders became a Christian (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 270: *ḥadithatun gharibatun lam yūdjad mithluhā*). In the letter from Rusudan to the Pope Innocent III (which reached Rome in 1224) the king speaks of the Mongol invasion as an insignificant episode, but a new enemy was at the gate.

The Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn defeated the Georgians at Garni in Sha'bān 622 (Aug. 1225) (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 283; Nasawī, ed. Houdas, p. 112; Brosset, *Add.*, i. 309). The Georgian commander Shalwa (Djuwaini, ii. 159: he and his brother) was taken prisoner. Tiflis was occupied on March 9, 1226, thanks to the treachery of the Persians who lived in the town. According to Djuwaini, Djalāl al-Dīn spared the inhabitants and allowed them to withdraw to Abkhazia but destroyed all the Christian places of worship. Ibn al-Athīr on the other hand says that the town was taken by storm (*anwatan wa-ḥaḥran min ghairi amānin*) and all those who did not accept Islām were massacred. Nasawī (p. 122) also confirms the massacre of all Georgians and Armenians in Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i. 504—507). The vizier Sharaf al-Mulk was appointed governor of the town. When he left for winter-quarters at Gandja, the Georgians returned to Tiflis and burned the town, knowing that it was impossible for them to hold it (Nasawī, p. 125). Djalāl al-Dīn, occupied elsewhere, did not return to Georgia till 1228 when at Mindor (in Georgian "feld") near Loré he scattered the forces of the commander-in-chief Iwané, made up of very diverse elements: Georgian, Alān, Armenian, people of Sarir (= the Awar of Daghestān), Lakz, Kıpçak, Swan, Abkhāz, Djanit (= Čan-ethi; cf. the article LAZ), men from Syria and Asia Minor (cf. Djuwaini, ii. 170). The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i. 510) says that after the victory at Bolnis (= Mindor?), Djalāl al-Dīn committed fresh atrocities at Tiflis.

Second coming of the Mongols. Djalāl al-Dīn disappeared from the scene in 628 (Aug. 1231) but the remnants of the Khwārizmians disturbed the eastern part of Georgia and shut the feudal lords up in their castles. Tiflis however was still in possession of Rusudan, when the Mongols of Djurmaghan entered Georgia via Gandja. This took place in 1236 (Brosset, I, 333; according to d'Ohsson, iii. 75: ca. 632 = 1235). Rusudan left Tiflis for Kutais and the governor of Tiflis burned the town (Brosset, i. 514: "thus was ruined the city of Tiflis").

The *no'in* of whom the Chronicle always mentions four (Čarmaghan, Čaghatar, Ioser and Bičuy) occupied the country and restored Tiflis. Rusudan's rule was confined to the valley of Rion.

The Mongols broke up the political organisation of the country: the Georgians were pressed into the Mongol service (expeditions against the Sal-

djūk of Rūm, Ghīyāth al-Dīn, against the Ismā'iliens of Alamūt, against Baghdād etc.). The country was divided into six *tumans* and the Georgian feudal lords (*mtshwar*) whose fiefs underwent changes, were divided among the *no'in*. The people of note had to go to Batu-Khān and then to the Great Khān in Mongolia, where they were kept for years. In this way the heir to the throne, Dawid (called in Mongol Narin "splendid"), was removed from the country. A certain Egaršan tried to unite the country against the Mongols ("he only lacked the name of king"; Brosset, i. 542) but the Mongols set up against him Dawid, son of Georgi Lasha, who was crowned at Mtskheta. He also had to go to Batu and to Karakorum. The "two Dawids" are mentioned among these present at the kurultai of Guyuk-khān in 643 = 1245 (cf. Djuwaini, i. 205, 212; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 242). Returning to Georgia, after the accession of Möngke (1248—1259) they ruled together at first.

As Hülāgū did not love Dawid Narin, the latter escaped to Abkhazia. "It was thus that our country became two principalities", says the Chronicle (Brosset, I, 546). Eastern Georgia owned two suzerains: on the one side Batu-Khān, lord of the country north of the Caucasus, wished to extend his authority over Georgia; on the other side the Ilkhāns of Persia asserted their rights over it. Dawid, son of Lasha, exasperated by the exactions of Khodja 'Aziz, collector of Mongol taxes (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 395, calls him "one of the governors of Georgia"), fled to his cousin. The *no'in* Oyrat Arghun occupied Tiflis. A reconciliation only took place when the son of Lasha had fought beside Hülāgū against the troops of Berke, successor of Batu who had invaded Shīr-wān in 1262 (d'Ohsson, iii. 182). In the reign of Abagha, Berke returned to Transcaucasia and reached Tiflis, where many Christians were massacred (in 1266; cf. *ibid.*, p. 418).

The successor to Dawid, son of Lasha, was his son Dimitri II (1273—1289) who took part in the numerous campaigns of Abagha and Ahmad but in the reign of Arghun his treasures were confiscated and he himself beheaded after being bastinadoed at the *ordu*. The Georgians call him Thaw-Dadebuli, "he who gave his head as a sacrifice".

Several further kings were nominated and deposed by the Mongols. In vain Dawid VI (1292—1310) endeavoured to negotiate with the Khān of the house of Batu (Otakha = Tokhtoghu); he had to send to Ghazan an embassy consisting of the orthodox Catholicos and the *qādī* of Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i. 615 [this last detail is evidence of the revival of Islām as a result of the accession of Ghazan!]). The Georgians continued to take part in all the campaigns of the Mongols, which however saved them neither from persecutions (cf. the activity of the Muslim *no'in* Nawrūz in the reign of Ghazan: Brosset, i. 617) nor from attempts to convert them (e.g. after the Gilān expedition of 1307).

Giorgi V. After the death of Uldjaitu (1316) Giorgi V (*Brtskhwale*, the "Splendid") was placed on the throne (1316—1346) under the patronage of the amir Čoban. Giorgi profited by the troubles in the last years of the dynasty of the Ilkhāns to drive out the Mongols. He exterminated the rebels, went with his army into Imerethia and united under his rule not only the Georgian lands

as far as Sper (now Ispir) but all the lands from "Nikophsia (15 miles from Sukhum on the Black Sea) to Darband".

Timūr. It was during the long reign of Bagrat V (1360—1395) that Timūr made his appearance. The official historian of his reign represents his campaign in Georgia as a *djihād*. Timūr set out from Kars in the winter of 788 (1386) (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 401). Bagrat had shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. The town was captured and the King and Queen taken prisoners. The Chronicle and Thomas of Metsoph (Nève, *Exposé*, p. 37) mention the apostacy of the King but represent it as a clever ruse which enabled him to exterminate 12,000 of Timūr's soldiers and regain his lands. His son Giorgi succeeded him in 1395. The *Zafar-nāma*, i. 705, 720 does not give these details. In 796 (1394) he only mentions the despatch of four generals to the district of Akhaltsikhe (Akhissha, q. v.) in order to apply the law of *ghazā*. Timūr in person finally chastised the Georgians called Kara-Kalkānlīk ("with black bucklers" = the Georgian mountaineers, the Pshaws and Khewsurs) and returned via Tiflis to Shekki [q. v.].

In 798 (1395) the Georgians, allied with Sidi 'Alī of Shekki [q. v.], inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Timūrid Mirān-shāh who was besieging Alindjak (near Nakhīcēwān) and delivered Sultān Tāhir Djalāyir, who was shut up in it (*ibid.*, ii. 203). This event brought about its reaction in winter 802 (1399) when Timūr took Shekki and mercilessly ravaged the wooded defile of Khimshā (?), probably in northern Kakhetia where a Khimshia family held a fief at Mareli, to the east of Thionethi (Brosset, II/2, p. 464). In the spring of 1400 Timūr marched on Tiflis and demanded that King Giorgi (Gurgin) should hand over Sultān Tāhir. On receiving an evasive answer, Timūr laid the country completely waste (*ibid.*, ii. 241). Tiflis received a Khorāsānian garrison but Giorgi retired again to the mountains. After the voluntary submission of a Georgian prince named Djānī-beg and the capture of the fortress of Zarit (?) Timūr's troops set out in pursuit of Giorgi and laid Swanethia waste. Giorgi went into Abkhazia and sent Tāhir back to Asia Minor. Through the intermediary of a Muslim named Ismā'il (Brosset, i. 668) he offered to Timūr to pay the *kharāj*. Timūr accepted the offer. Next the land of the Georgian Iwané (the *atābak* of Samtskhe) was converted to Islām and that of the Kara-Kalkānlīk plundered. After resting for two months in the summer quarters of Min-göl ("1,000 Lakes") near Kars, he sent troops against the Georgians who had concentrated at Farasgird (Phanaskert, on the upper Čorokh); *ibid.*, ii. 250.

In 804 (end of 1401) Timūr returned to Transcaucasia via Siwās-Baghdād-Tabriz. His delegates (*muḥaṣṣil*) went to collect the tribute (*sāw wa-kharāj wa-djizya*) from Giorgi who sent his brother with the contributions. Timūr gave Giorgi the *amān* on condition that he supplied him with troops and treated the Muslims well (*ibid.*, ii. 379). In the summer of 804 (1402) Timūr went from Karabāgh to Min-göl and took the fortress of Tortum occupied by Kurdjik, lieutenant of a certain Taghi (?).

When, in 805, Timūr returned to Erzerum, he decided to punish Giorgi for not having come to present his congratulations on his victory over Bāyazīd. At Min-göl, Iwané, son of Ak-bughā, arrived with gifts as did Kustāndil (Constantine),

brother of Giorgi, who was then on bad terms with his brother (*ibid.*, ii. 512). Shaikh Ibrāhīm of Shīr-wān went to estimate the revenues and expenses of Georgia (*ibid.*, ii. 521). Giorgi sent new presents but Timūr refused them and summoned Giorgi to appear in person. In 806 (Aug. 1403) he himself laid siege to the impregnable fortress of Kūrtin defended by Nazāl or Nazwāl (the Chronicle calls it Birthwis on Alget) and took it in nine days (*ibid.*, ii. 524—532). The troops then laid waste the country round (*atrāf*) Georgia as far as the borders (*hudūd*) of Abkhazia: "which is the end of this country". 700 towns and villages were destroyed and the historian of Timūr waxes eloquent over the massacres and destruction (ii. 536). Timūr only stopped them when the 'ulamā' and the *muftī* decided it was possible to grant the *amān*. The Georgians sent 1,000 *tangas* of gold struck in the name of Timūr, 1,000 horses, a ruby weighing 18 *mithkāl*s etc.

Timūr passed through Tiflis, destroyed all the monasteries and churches and went to Bailakān (winter of 1403—1404). All the country from Bailakān to Trebizond was given as an appanage to the prince Khalīl Mirzā (ii. 545).

Post-Timūrid period. The general disorder after the havoc wrought by Timūr, is reflected in the part of the Chronicle which gives a brief account of the reigns. The Muslim sources (*Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, N.E., xiv. 235 and Mirkhond; cf. Defrémery, *Fragments*, p. 245) mention an expedition of Shaikh Ibrāhīm of Shīr-wān, a friend of the dynasty of the Djalāyir, against the Kara-Ḳoyunlu Kara Yūsuf in which Kustāndil, king of Gurdjistān, took part. The allied forces were defeated to the north of the Araxes and Kara Yūsuf slew Kustāndil with his own hand. This happened in 815 (1412—1413). 300 *aznā'urs* (Georgian nobles; cf. Armenian *azn* "race") were also massacred. Wakhshūt (Brosset, i. 689) alone mentions Constantine as king and puts his death in 1414. In 1413 (1416?) on the invitation of the Persians (= Muslims) of Akhaltsikhe, Kara Yūsuf invaded this region and laid the country waste (Thomas of Metsoph; cf. Nève, *loc. cit.*, p. 96; Brosset, *Add.*, i., p. 399). The Chronicle confesses that down to the accession of Alexander (1413—1442) "no consoler arose from anywhere". This king gradually drove out the invaders, restored the cathedral of Sweti Tskhoweli (at Mtskheta) and repaired the fortresses. The Georgian envoys who greeted Shāhrukh in 823 (1420) at Kara-bāgh (cf. Mirkhond in Defrémery, *op. cit.*, p. 251) must have been sent by Alexander, and when in 841 (1437) Shāhrukh arrived in Somkhetia (cf. above) Alexander sent him rich gifts after which the son of Timūr left Georgia. In 1444 (848) the Kara-Ḳoyunlu Djihān-shāh made a raid to Akhaltsikhe (cf. Brosset, i. 683; according to Thomas of Metsoph, Djihān-shāh took Tiflis in 1440; cf. Nève, p. 149).

Partition of Georgia. At this period Georgian tradition becomes exceedingly difficult to unravel (Brosset, i. 679—689). The history of Wakhshūt, which continues and corrects the Chronicle and agrees better with the statements of the Muslim historians, begins with the reign of Constantine III (1469—1505) during which Georgia was divided into three main kingdoms (Brosset, II/i., p. 11—18, 147, 208, 249): Kharthlia (on the Kur [in Georgian Mtkwar], with capital Tiflis), Imerethia (on the Rion, with capital Kutais)

and Kakhethia (on the Alazan, with capital at Gremi [in Persian Girim] and later at Thelaw). In addition, the atābeg of Samtskhe (with capital Akhal-tsikhe) rebelled and founded the independent principality of Saatabago (consisting of Samtskhe, on the upper course of the Kur, and of Klardjethia on the Č'orokh) the princes of which from Manu-čar III = Šafar-pāshā (1625) had become Muslims (Brosset, ii. 228). A number of local princes also became independent of Imerethia (the Guricls of Guria, the Dadians of Mingrelia, and the Gelovani of the Swans; cf. the article *ABKHĀZ*). In Kharthlia also, Constantine III's reign was disturbed by the invasion of Bagrat II of Imerethia.

The Ak-Ķoyunlu. In this period Uzun Ḥasan comes on the stage. According to Münedjdīm-bašhī, iii. 160, he went to Georgia for the first time in 871 (1466) when he liberated the Muslim prisoners and took the fortress of Čemākār (?). Civil complications prevented him taking Akhal-tsikhe but he returned to the attack in 877 (1472). King Bakzāti (read: Bagrat II of Imerethia) was dethroned (*ḡahr*) and 30,000 prisoners taken from Georgia. According to Wakhusht's version, Tiflis was surrendered to Uzun Ḥasan by Constantine, evidently to prevent Bagrat getting it. Uzun Ḥasan left a garrison in Tiflis but entrusted its government to Constantine (cf. Brosset, ii. 13 and 25). The *Ta'riḡh-i Aminī* however calls the governor (*ayālat*) left by Uzun Ḥasan, Šufi Khalil Beg, who stayed there till the death of Uzun Ḥasan in 1478 when the Georgians re-occupied the town.

Sultān Ya'qūb Ak-Ķoyunlu invaded Samtskhe in the autumn of 891 (1486) to chastise the Atābeg Ķwarḡware. In the next year Ya'qūb sent Šufi Khalil Beg to conquer Georgia. The construction of the forts of Aghdja-ḡal'a and Kaozani was begun by the Turkomans on the lower course of the Debeda (Borčala) at the place which commands the approaches to Georgia from the south (cf. the *Geography* of Wakhusht). Kustāndil (Constantine III) withdrew from Tiflis. Šufi Khalil began the siege with the help of reinforcements which arrived in the winter; he took first of all the fortress of Kudjir (Kodjori, south of Tiflis). In the fighting around Tiflis the Muslims suffered heavily but finally Walī aghā eshikči-aghasī took the town (3rd Rabi' I. 894 = 1489) (cf. the unpublished history of the reign of Ya'qūb, *Ta'riḡh-i Aminī*, MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, N^o. 101, fol. 101r-105r and 155r-159r). The Chronicle (Brosset, ii. 326-327) which confirms many of the details, denies however that Tiflis was taken and adds that the people of the fief of Sabarathiano (called Barāt-ili by the Muslims) on Alget inflicted a defeat on the Turkomans.

The Šafawīs. In 907 (1501) a detachment of Ismā'il I's forces under the command of Khādīm-beg invaded Georgia (*Shāhinshāh-nāma*, quoted by Dorn). The invasion by Diw Sultān in 926 (1520) was stopped by the embassy of Ramaz, son of Dawid VIII, to Ismā'il I (cf. *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bombay, iii., djuz' iv., p. 92). In 929 (1522-1523) the founder of the Šafawid dynasty seized Aghdja-ḡal'a and by making certain promises obtained the surrender of the citadel of Tiflis; he desecrated the churches and built a mosque "at the corner of the bridge"; cf. Wakhusht, in Brosset, II/i. p. 23 (the mosque is still standing on the right bank).

Iskander Munshī mentions four expeditions on a large scale sent by Shāh Tahmāsp against Georgia. In 947 (1540) Tahmāsp seized Tiflis, the governor

of which (for Luarsab I) submitted to the Persians and became a Muslim. Next the fortress of Bartīs (? Birthwis) was taken (*Ālam-ārā* [Teheran 1314], p. 63). The second time was in 913 (1546) when the Georgian princes came to pay homage to Tahmāsp at Shūrāgel (near Gümri = Alexandropol = Leninakan). The third expedition in 958 (1551) was sent from Shekkī on the appeal of the atābeg Kai Khusrāw, son of Ķurḡura (Ķwarḡware) who complained of the injuries done him by Luarsab (Iskander Munshī writes Lawārsāb but the name is Iranian: Luhrāsp; cf. *Mir'āt al-Buldān*).

According to Iskander Munshī, *Ālam-ārā*, p. 65, by the Turco-Persian peace of 961 (1553) the territories of Mašk (Meskhi = Samtskhe), of Kārtil (Kharthlia) and of Kākhīt were allotted to Shāh Tahmāsp, while Sultān Sulaimān received those of Bašhī-ačuk ("with head uncovered", a nickname of the king of Imerethia), of Dādiyān and of Gūriyān (Guria) as far as Trebizond and Trablus (Tire-boli). Luarsab I however continued to worry Tiflis. This provoked the fourth expedition. Barāt-ili (Sabarathiano), Gori and Ateni were occupied and the king himself fell in battle. Wakhusht dates the four expeditions in 1536, 1548, 1553 and 1558 respectively. Brosset, II/i., p. 452 considers these very probable as they coincide very well with the vicissitudes of the Turco-Persian war.

King Swimon I, son of the indomitable Luarsab, had a troubled reign (1558-1600). He was defeated by the Persians and replaced by his brother Dawid (Dāwūd Khān) who purchased the throne at the price of apostacy. Swimon was imprisoned in Alamūt from which he was released by Ismā'il II (1576-1577) to checkmate the activity of the Ottomans.

Ottoman Domination 1578-1603. In 1578 during the reign of the weak Shāh Khudābanda, the Ottomans under Muṣṭafā Lala-Pāshā penetrated into Georgia via Samtskhe and in August seized Tiflis from which Dāwūd Khān had fled. The Turks put a garrison of 200 men with 100 guns in Tiflis. Muḡammad, son of Ferhād-Pāshā, was given the sandjāk (pāshālīk) of Tiflis (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.* 2, ii. 483). Two churches were turned into mosques. In October, Gori received a Turkish garrison and was given as a sandjāk to Swimon. When Muṣṭafā Pāshā returned to Erzerum, Imām Kuli Khān, son of the Shamkhal slain by Özdémir-Pāshā, and Swimon laid siege to Tiflis. Supplies were brought to the garrison by Ḥasan-Pāshā (*ibid.*, p. 489) but the struggle around the town continued. In 1580 the new ser'asker Sinān-Pāshā arrived in Tiflis and appointed as Beglerbeg a son of Luarsab who had adopted Islām under the name of Yūsuf (?). Swimon made advances to the Turks which were not accepted. In August 1582 Muḡammad Bey left Erzerum to bring supplies to Tiflis but was defeated at Gori by the Persians and Georgians. Ferhād Pāshā put himself at the head of a new expedition (Dec. 1581) intended to strengthen the towns held by the Ottomans. In 1584, Ridwān Pāshā left for Tiflis. Dāwūd Khān on further reflection went over to the Turks. Swimon attacked Ridwān but without success. Ferhād Pāshā's Janissaries mutinied at Akhal-kalaki which forced him to retire. After the campaign of 1585 against Tabriz [q. v.], the Ottomans obtained from Persia the cession of Ādjarbāidjān and of Transcaucasia including Georgia (treaty of March 21, 1590);

cf. the Chronicle of the Psalter of Meshki (1559-1587) in Takaishwili, *op. cit.*, p. 183-214; von Hammer, ii. 481-497 (Brosset has given an annotated translation, II/1, p. 411-419). The principal source used by von Hammer is the *Nusret-Nāma* of 'Alī (Jan. 1578-Jan. 1580). On the other Turkish sources cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 117, 181. Soon after the accession of Muḥammad III (1595) Swimon was taken in a skirmish and sent to Constantinople where he died in 1600. Ottoman rule, more or less undisturbed, lasted from 1591 till 21st Oct. 1603 when Tiflis was retaken by Shāh 'Abbās I. The Turco-Persian treaty of 1612 re-established the situation as it had been under Sultān Selim (1512-1520).

Shāh 'Abbās I and the Muslim Kings. The worst misfortunes fell upon Georgia (and especially on Kakhethia) in the reign of this monarch. Although Giorgi of Kharthlia and Alexander of Kakhethia had fought under his banner at the siege of Eriwān in 1602, 'Abbās after his victory took Lore from Georgia. He married the sister of Luarsab II (1605-1616) but brought the latter to Persia and had him strangled at Gulāh-kāl'a. In 1025 (1616) 'Abbās came in person to Georgia and granted Kharthlia to the Muslim Bagrat VI (1616-1619). He then punished Kakhethia. According to the official history of the reign, *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 635, the number of those put to death was 60-70,000 and the number of young prisoners of both sexes 100,000-130,000: "since the beginning of Islām no such events have taken place under any king". In 1033 (1623) Karčikāi-Khān on being sent to Georgia called to the colours 10,000 men of Kakhethia and instead of leading them against Imerethia had them massacred "as if at a battue" (*shikārī-wār*; *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 719). Exasperated by such treachery the *mouraw* ("governor of lower rank"; Brosset, II/1, p. 148; the Persians write *mikraw*) Giorgi Saakadze (a Muslim and till then a faithful servant of the Shāh) raised a rebellion in Kharthlia which the Persians did not overcome till 1626 (Iosselian, *Žien mourawa G. Saakadze*, Tiflis 1848; Brosset, II/1, p. 53-59 and 489-497). In spite of all these disasters, the part played by Georgians in the life of Persia becomes more and more important and Shāh Šafi, successor to 'Abbās I, owed his throne to the support of Khusrāw Mirzā, brother of the king Bagrat who was *darugha* of Işfahān.

When Swimon II perished in the civil war (1629), Theimuraz I of Kakhethia (1605-1664, a very troubled reign marked by all kinds of misfortunes; his mother Khethewan was put to death at Shirāz in 1624; Brosset, II/i., p. 167) came to Kharthlia where he reigned from 1629 to 1664, after which the Kai Khusrāw already mentioned arrived from Persia and set himself up in Tiflis under the name of Rostom (1634-1658). The old King, brought up in Persia, took the Persian title of *kullār-aghāsī* and ordered his court in the Persian fashion. Persian garrisons were installed at Gori and Suram. The Georgian prisoners who had become converts to Islām returned from Persia; Persian manners and customs became the fashion. On the other hand, as if to celebrate the fusion of the two cultures, Rostom celebrated his marriage both in the mosque and in the church, and restored the cathedral of Mtskheta etc.

In 1636 Murād IV took Eriwān and by the

treaty of 1041 (1639) Persia renounced her claims to Kars and Akhal-tsikhe (*Tārīkh-i Nā'imā*, p. 686); according to Wakhtang (Brosset, II/i., p. 68), the Sultān received Imerethia and Saathago and the Shāh kept Kharthlia and Kakhethia.

Wakhtang (to Muslims, Shāh Nawāz I), adopted son of Rostom, succeeded him (1658-1676). The Persophil policy continued. Shāh 'Abbās II (1642-1667) married the daughter of Shāh Nawāz. The latter, although a Muslim, favoured the Christian religion and even restored the confession and the communion of which the people "had been ashamed" in the reign of Rostom (Brosset, *ibid.*, p. 79). In order to give more support to Shāh Nawāz the Muslim tribes of Ādharbāidjān and Qarabāgh (15,000 Djawānshīri and Bayats) were settled in Kakhethia (cf. the History of Shāh 'Abbās II by Muḥammad Tāhir Wahīd, in Dorn, p. 109, 111 = Brosset, II/i., p. 503-504). Shāh Nawāz fought in Imerethia, but when he set his son on the throne there, the Shāh restored the situation as guaranteed by the treaty of 1639.

Giorgi XI (Shāh Nawāz II) received investiture from Shāh Sulaimān. In 1688 he fell a victim to his own intrigues in Kakhethia and the Shāh replaced him by Erekle I (1688-1691; 1695-1703). This King who had been brought up in Russia became a convert to Islām under the name of Nazār 'Alī Khān.

Afghān Invasion of Persia. When the Baluḥ and the Afghāns began to disturb eastern Persia king Giorgi with a body of Georgians was sent against them by Shāh Ḥusain. He restored order in Kandahār but in 1709 was treacherously slain by Mir Wais [cf. the article AFGHANISTAN] who then defeated the new Georgian forces led by Giorgi's successor, Kai Khusrāw (1709-1711). These events paved the way to the Afghān invasion of Persia.

Wakhtang (governor of Kharthlia 1703-1711; King, 1711-1724 with interruptions) was at first a Christian. The Persian garrisons with the connivance of certain Georgian elements went in for slave-trading. Wakhtang tried to put down this traffic (Brosset, II/i., p. 97, 101, 105) and in general "humbled the Muslims, especially those who garrisoned the citadel of Tiflis". Between 1614 and 1616 he was replaced by a fervent Muslim Iese (= 'Alī Quli Khān) and only regained the throne at the price of professing Islām.

After the decisive victory of the Afghāns at Gūnābād, near Işfahān (1722), Shāh Ḥusain sought help from Wakhtang but in November 1721 the latter had offered his services to Russia (Brosset, II/1, p. 117). Peter the Great who reached Darband on Aug. 23, 1722 had to return at once to Russia. On the other hand the King of Kakhethia Muḥammad Quli Khān (Constantine III) took the field on the side of the Legzīs against Wakhtang and in 1723 took Tiflis, which was plundered for three days.

Second Ottoman Occupation (1723-1734). The troubles in Persia and the Russian advance disturbed Turkey. War against the Shī'īs was declared permitted. In June 1723 the serāsker Ibrāhīm Pāshā, who had been negotiating with Wakhtang, installed in Tiflis the latter's son Bakar (in Persian Shāh Nawāz and now given in Turkish the name Ibrāhīm Pāshā). The Janissaries occupied the citadel. Bakar soon rebelled but the Turks sent to Tiflis reinforcements under Iese, uncle of Bakar (who now assumed the name of 'Abd Allāh).

In the meanwhile the Russo-Persian treaty of Sept. 12, 1723 was signed by which the provinces on the Caspian were ceded to Russia. As a counterpoise through the good offices of the French ambassador, a Russo-Turkish treaty was concluded at Constantinople on June 12, 1724: Russia kept Daghestān and the narrow strip of litoral; Turkey obtained all Transcaucasia as far as Shamākha, including the Georgian territory (von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 206—214. The Ottoman historian of these events is Ćelebi-zāde; on the other sources cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 289: Nāmī, *Feth-nāme der ĥakk-i Ĝirdjistan*).

The deposed King Wakhtang went to Russia with a retinue of 1,400 (Aug. 1724). The Turks having taken possession of Kharthlia took a census and levied taxes on the inhabitants. The stay at Tiflis of the noble Ōthmān Topal Pāshā alone has left a pleasing memory among the Georgians (Brosset, *II/i*, p. 129). Iese did not bear the title of king and the real power passed to Ishāk Pāshā, a hereditary ruler of Akhal-tsikhe established at Tiflis. After the death of Iese (1727) Ishāk Pāshā was appointed governor of all Georgia (Brosset, *II/i*, p. 236). In 1728 he divided Kharthlia among the feudal lords (*mtshawar*) whose dissensions made it easy for him to control them. The Lezgis continued to ravage Georgia (cf. Brosset, *l. c.*; v. Hammer, iv. 223, 231, 235, 280, 313).

Nādir Shāh. In 1143 (1730—1731) after a war in which he won little glory, Shāh Tahmāsp recognised the Araxes as the frontier between Persia and Turkey (Mahdi Khān, *Tārīkh-i Nādiri*, Tabriz 1284, p. 90 = transl. Jones, i. 141; v. Hammer, iv. 277 dates the peace on Febr. 6, 1732). Nādir dissatisfied, dethroned Tahmāsp and resumed the conquest of Transcaucasia. While he was operating against Daghestān (1147; autumn of 1734) Ishāk Pāshā of Tiflis set out with an army to the help of Gandja. Theimuraz, son of Nazar 'Alī Khān (= Erekle I), and his nephew 'Alī Mirzā = Alexander (son of Imām Ķuli = Dawid III) attacked Ishāk Pāshā and forced him to shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. Nādir, highly gratified, gave presents to the two princes (*ibid.*, p. 114 = Jones, i. 200). At the siege of Gandja, Nādir ordered Šafi Khān Bughā'iri to lay siege to Tiflis with the help of the Georgian nobles (*mawrāwān wa-aznāwūrān*; *ibid.*, p. 116 = Jones, p. 205).

When 'Abd Allāh Pāshā was defeated at Bāghāward near Eriwān, Ishāk Pāshā surrendered the citadel of Tiflis on the 22nd Rabi' I, 1147 = Sept. 17, 1734 (*ibid.*, p. 123). Nādir summoned the nobles (*tāwadān wa-aznāwūrān*) of Kharthlia and Kakhethia among whom Tahmūrath (= Theimuraz) had most importance and privileges. Nādir however appointed as wali of Kharthlia and Kakhethia, 'Alī Mirzā, because he was a Muslim, and his brother Muhammad Mirzā (= Leon) had fallen in battle against Ōthmān Pāshā. Tahmūrath was allowed to go to Kakhethia to bring his family (*kūf*) to Tiflis. Now he was a "man of the sword and rapid decision"; he fled to the mountains of "Karakalkhān (Pshaw), Rūs (Ru'is, west of Gori?) and Ćerkes". Nādir sent his troops in pursuit of him, arrived himself at Tiflis on the 29th Djumādā I, where he distributed punishments and rewards. 6,000 Georgian families of the Ķaiᶑul (Abots) were transported to Khorāsān (*ibid.*, p. 124 = Jones, p. 219). In 1736 Šafi Khān captured Theimuraz and sent him to Persia. At the beginning of the

Indian campaign Nādir released Theimuraz but kept his young son Erekle with him.

In 1156 (end of 1743) Tahmūrath Khān captured the pretender Sām Mirzā and later (1744) along with 'Alī Khān Ķilidja (? the Georgian sources call him Khandjal, Ķizilidjali), new *beglerbegi* of Tiflis, defeated near Ru'is on the Aragwi Yūsuf Pāshā of Akhal-tsikhe, who by order of the Porte went to Daghestān to work for another pretender Šafi Mirzā. Arriving at Gori, Nādir, as a reward for Tahmūrath's services, transferred him to Kharthlia and gave Kakhethia to his son Erekle (*ibid.*, p. 202 = Jones, ii. 164); cf. Brosset, *II/i*, p. 77 (Papuna Orbeliani) and *II/ii*, p. 208 (Kherkheulidze).

In 1745 Nādir levied an impost of 50,000 *tumans* on Georgia. Theimuraz went to obtain a reduction but on reaching Tabriz he heard of the death of Nādir. The latter's successor was 'Alī Ķuli Khān, husband of Khethewan, daughter of Theimuraz.

The Bagratids of Kakhethia. The period of troubles after the death of Nādir (1749) and the reign of Karīm Khān, a prince of a peaceful disposition, whose influence did not extend north of the Araxes, secured a respite for Georgia. The opportunity was skillfully exploited by Theimuraz (king of Kharthlia 1744—1761) and by his son Erekle or Irakli II (king of Kakhethia 1744—1761; king of Kharthlia and Kakhethia 1761—1790). The reign of these Christian kings is one of the happiest periods in the history of Georgia. They conducted numerous expeditions into Transcaucasia. In 1752 the Afghān Azād-Khān, a rival of the Zand dynasty, was defeated by Erekle near Eriwān and in 1760 captured at Ķazakh and sent to Karīm-Khān. The Kurds of Eriwān were chastised in 1765, 1770 and 1780 and the Georgian troops pursued them over the district of Bayazid. Almost every year the Georgians drove back successfully the incursions of the raiding bands from Daghestān (the most dangerous leader of whom was 'Omar Khān Awar). Only the Khāns of Shekki [q. v.], Hājdji Ćelebi and Aghā Kishi (in 1752—1753), ever succeeded in inflicting reverses on the Georgians.

In spite of all these successes the situation or Georgia was precarious and in 1760 Theimuraz went to Russia to seek assistance. But he only arrived a few days after the death of the Empress Elizabeth and he himself died in St. Petersburg on the 8th—20th Jan. 1762.

Erekle becoming king of the united kingdoms continued the policy of rapprochement with Russia. At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war, a Russian force under the command of General Tottleben arrived in Georgia (in 1769) and with Erekle marched against Akhal-tsikhe. The allies did not agree (cf. the letter from Catherine II to Voltaire of Dec. 4th 1770) and the Russian troops returned to Russia in 1772. But, left alone, Erekle, gained a considerable success at Aspindza and, with Solomon of Imerethia, besieged Akhal-kalaki. Sulaimān Pāshā of Akhal-tsikhe soon assumed the offensive. The Russo-Turkish treaty of Küçük-Kainardja (1774) brought no territorial change in the lands of Georgia. The Porte only renounced the tribute of youths and maidens and other levies (art. 23). But after the treaty Sulaimān Pāshā of Akhal-tsikhe had to send a representative to Constantinople. On the other hand he renewed his appeals to St. Petersburg and asked that his kingdom should be united (*prisovokupleno*) to Russia (Tsagareli, *Gramot*?, N^o. 144). Russia gave an

evasive answer and it was not till July 24, 1783 that the treaty establishing a protectorate was signed. Russia guaranteed to Erekle his lands and left him full control of domestic policy but the management of foreign affairs passed to Russia. A Russian force was sent to Tiflis but recalled in 1787.

The Qājārs. During this period the Qājārs had succeeded the Zands. In 1795 Āghā Muḥammad Qājār laid siege to Shūsha in Karabagh and then turned against Tiflis which was taken on Sept. 11, 1795 and pillaged in dreadful fashion; cf. Brosset, *II/ii.*, p. 260; Olivier, *Voyages en Orient*, iii., p. 78 (testimony of an Hungarian physician who was an eye-witness). The Persian invasion was followed by an invasion by Daghestānians. In 1795 two Russian battalions arrived in Georgia; in March 1796, Russia declared war on Persia. But Nov. 6—18, Catherine II died and her son Paul I at once recalled the Russian troops. Āghā Muḥammad set out again for Transcaucasia but was assassinated near Shūsha (June 15, 1797). The aged King Erekle died on Jan. 12—23, 1798.

His son Giorgi XII succeeded him. Faṭḥ 'Alī Qājār was occupied in dealing with his rivals. From Kars, Giorgi sent a force of 2,000 Lezgīs under the command of his two sons; dynastic intrigues in the King's family rendered his position very difficult. In 1799 he sent an embassy to St. Petersburg the object of which was as follows: Georgia should be placed not under a protectorate but under the full power of the emperor, like the other provinces of Russia. On the other hand the throne was to be guaranteed to the dynasty.

On Dec. 18, 1800, Paul I signed the manifesto of annexation (*prisoyedineniye*) of Georgia which was proclaimed on Jan. 18, 1801 after the death of Giorgi on Dec. 28, 1800. On March 11, Paul I was put to death. In April the Georgian envoys begged the emperor Alexander I to appoint a Georgian prince as governor with the title of imperial lieutenant and king of Georgia. On Sept. 12, 1801 Alexander I, alleging the impossibility of re-establishing the old government under a protectorate, confirmed the manifesto of Paul I. The treaty of Finkenstein (1807) by which Napoleon recognised the rights of Persia over Georgia never took effect and by art. iii. of the treaty of 1813, Persia renounced her claims to the lands of Georgia.

Since 1917. The status of Tiflis remained unchanged down to the Russian Revolution of 1917. Transcaucasia, cut off from Russia, declared itself independent on April 12, 1918. Tiflis became the capital of the federal republic but the Muslims refused to continue the war against Turkey and the Diet (May 26) agreed to the partition of Transcaucasia. Three republics, Georgia, Armenia and Ādharbāidjān were formed; Tiflis again became the capital of Georgia. On May 28, 1918 the provisional agreement between Georgia and Germany was signed. German troops appeared in Tiflis; after the Armistice their place was taken by British troops. On Jan. 26, 1921, the Allies recognised Georgia *de jure* but by February after some fighting the power in Georgia had passed to the partisans of the Soviet Union. Transcaucasia has been organised as a federal republic, itself forming part of the Union of Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.). Hence Tiflis became the centre of the central government of Transcaucasia (Z. S. F. S. R.) and at the same time the capital of Georgia (S. S. R. G.).

Description of Tiflis. The Arab geographers give few details about Tiflis. According to Iṣṭakhri (p. 185) the town was very large; it was surrounded by walls of clay (*īn*) with 3 gates and had natural hot baths like those of Tiberias. According to Muṣ'ir b. Muhallil (in Yāqūt), these baths were reserved for Muslims. Ibn Hawḳal (p. 142—144) compares the water-mills of Tiflis (*urub*) with those of Mawṣil and Raḳḳa. He is filled with admiration for the plentiful supplies of food at Tiflis and the hospitality of the inhabitants. Tiflis was an outpost of Islām, beyond which there were no Muslims (Iṣṭakhri). The town was surrounded by enemies (Ibn Hawḳal). An interesting detail is given by Balādhuri in the ninth century: the town was built of pinewood (*ṣanawbar*) (according to Qazwīnī, only the roofs were of pinewood).

In the Mongol period, Zakariyā Qazwīnī tells us that on the one bank of the Kur at Tiflis could be heard the call of the *mu'adhdhin* and on the other the peals of the Christian *nāḳūs*. The Christians were in the majority. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes the houses of Tiflis built one above the other, the roofs of the one being the courtyard of the next.

From the xviiith century we have the Turkish descriptions of Hādjidī Khalīfa (his brief narrative refers to the years 1630—35) and Ewliyā Čelebi (in 1648) and also the first detailed description by a European (Chardin 1673). Ewliyā gives many details of the citadels. The larger (that on the right bank of the Kur) was 6,000 paces in circumference and its walls were 60 ells (*dhirā'*) high. It had 70 towers and a garrison of 3,000 men. There was no ditch. There was a tower fitted up to supply the fortress with water (*suluk kule*). In the large citadel there were 600 houses roofed with clay. In the smaller citadel (on the left bank) there were only 300 houses but it was very strong on account of its walls. Pl. iii. of Chardin's *Atlas* gives a general view of Tiflis in which the traveller shows the 19 principal features (churches, palace, etc.).

For the xviiith century we have the descriptions by Tournefort (1701), ii. 307 (with a view, p. 314) and in Wakhusht's *Geography* (the difficulties in which have now been cleared up by Brosset, i. 180). A panoramic plan of Tiflis was published by De l'Isle, *Avertissement sur la carte générale de la Géorgie*, Paris 1766 (the editor had received it during his sojourn in Russia from the "prince of Georgia"). The gazetteer by P. Iosselian (1866) is valuable as it locates ancient buildings.

Old Tiflis consisted of 4 quarters, of which three lay on the right bank of the Kur (which here bends from N. to S. to N.W. to S.E.): 1. *Kala* or *Kalisi* (= Arabic *Qal'a*), the old quarter *intra muros* (between the streams Sololaki and Daba-khāna which flow into the Kur), with the citadel Narin-kala. 2. The town properly called Tphilisi, which grew up around the hot springs (according to Brosset, *1/1*, p. lxxx., it was founded by Armenian inhabitants). The town was situated on the bank of the Kur opposite and below the Kala. Shāh Ṣafī had settled a colony of Saiyids on the heights of Thabor (to the east of Daba-khāna) whence the Persian name of this district: Saiyid-ābād. 3. The outer quarter Gareth-ubani near the race-course (*aspares*), above and to the north of the first two quarters. 4. The quarter on the left

bank opposite the Kala was called Isani or Nisani (later Awlabar) and had the heights of Makhatha to the north of it. Isani corresponds to the Sughdabil of the Arabs. It is the cemetery Sagodebel, in Georgian "place of groanings", mentioned in the Life of St. Abō; cf. Brosset, *Additions*, p. 136 and Schulze, *Das Martyrium d. hl. Abo von Tiflis, Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1905, xiii, fasc. 4, p. 35. The same name occurs twice in the Georgian Chronicle (cf. Brosset, i. 407 and 633).

Three citadels have to be distinguished at Tiflis: 1. The old citadel of Thabor (*Kortī-ka'la*) on the hill on the right bank of the Daba-khāna destroyed in 1618, in 1725, and finally in 1785; it defended the southern gate of the Kala, called the Gandja Gate. 2. The citadel Narin-Ka'la on the hill of Kala. Before Islām, this fortress seems to have borne the name of *Shuris-tsikhe* (*Wakhushṭ*). It was dismantled in 1818 (cf. the picture in Gamba's *Atlas*). 3. The citadel of the left bank (Isani) served as a bridge-head; in 1728 the Turks began to fortify this place for the last time but left the work unfinished.

As to the royal palaces the oldest was that of Metekhi on the left bank in front of the old bridge. In 1638 the Muslim king Rostom built a palace about 400 feet in length along the Kur in Tphilisi. Here Chardin was received by Shāh-Nawāz. A little farther to the south King Wakh-tang VI built a palace very richly adorned in the Persian style; it was destroyed by the Turks in 1725; cf. Iosselian, *Opisaniye* (on the mosques cf. p. 239).

From the nature of the site, compressed between the Kur and the heights of the right bank, Old Tiflis attained no considerable extent (cf. Chardin). In the sixteenth century the town began to extend far beyond its ancient limits and is developing especially on the left bank along which run the railway lines (Tiflis-Bākū, Tiflis-Batum, Tiflis-Djulfā and Tiflis-Kakhethia).

Population. In 1783 after the prosperous reigns of Theimuraz and Erekle, the town had 4,000 houses with 61,000 inhabitants. In 1803 it had only 2,700—3,000 with 35,000 inhabitants. This was the result of Āghā Muḥammad's invasion in 1795, traces of which could everywhere be seen even in Gamba's time. The more exact figures for 1834 (Dubois de Montpéreux) give 3,662 houses, 4,936 families and 25,290 inhabitants, not including Russians. The population grew rapidly: 1850: 34,800, 1865: 70,000, 1897: 160,605. Of the last figure the Armenians formed 38.1%, the Georgians 26.3% and the Russians 24.8%. The census of 1922 gives 233,958 inhabitants for Tiflis, of whom 85,309 were Armenians, 80,884 Georgians, 38,612 Russians, 9,768 Jews, 3,984 Persians, 3,255 Ādharbāidjānī Turks, 2,457 Germans etc.; cf. the *Zakawkazy*, Tiflis 1925, p. 156—157. Lastly the census of Dec. 17, 1926 gave 282,918.

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TIGRIS. [See DİJLA.]

AL-TĪH, properly *Faḥṣ al-Tih*, is the name of the desert forming the frontier between Syria and Egypt in the interior of the Sinai Peninsula. The Arab geographers also call it the "Desert of the Banī Isrā'īl". As early as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* we find the legend: *Desertum ubi quadraginta annis errauerunt filii Israel ducente Moyse* and on the map of Mādabā: ἔρημος [ἔρου] τοῦς Ἰσραηλῖτας ἔσωσ[εν] ὁ χαλκοῦς ὄφις καὶ ἔρημος εἰν ὅπου κατεπέμφθη τὸ μάννα καὶ ἡ ὄρνις γομφύτρα. In the desert there was a fortress of the same name (De Guignes, *Perle des Merveilles*, N. E., ii. 31); there is a Wādi 'l-Tih in the eastern part of it (Quatremère, *Mémoire sur*

l'Égypte, i. 186). The desert of al-Tih which formed the most southerly district of Filastīn was 40 *farsakh* long, about as much broad, and stretched from the district of al-Djifār (the region of al-Faramā, al-'Arīsh, al-Warrāda) to the mountains of Sinai (Ṭūr Sinā); in the west it was bounded by the Egyptian province of al-Rif (Maspéro-Wiet, *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxxvi. 101 *sq.*), in the east by the districts of Jerusalem and Southern Palestine. According to the description of the Arab geographers, it consisted partly of stoney and partly of sandy soil, contained also salt-marshes and red sandstone hills, a few palm-trees and springs. In the desert districts of Tih Banī Isrā'īl al-Dimashkī mentions the Jewish towns of Qadas (Qadesh Barnea), Ḥuwairik, al-Khalāsa (Elusa), al-Khalūṣ (Lyssa), al-Saba' (Beerseba) and al-Madura. He had already mentioned al-Tih among the districts of the kingdom of Karak, by which he seems to mean the lands that had once belonged to Renaud of Châtillon. From the desert of al-Tih one went down through the 'Aqabat Busāk to Aila (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 610); this road was first made passable for the pilgrim caravans in the time of Khumārawaih (884—896). It was two stages' ride from Aila right through the desert to the sea of Farān. When in 652 (1254—1255) the Bahri Mamlūks fled from Cairo, a body of them wandered for five days in the desert; on the sixth they discovered a great abandoned city with walls and marble halls, buried in the sand. They found vases and articles of dress, but these fell to dust at the first contact; there was also a reservoir with ice-cold water. When they reached Karak on the next day and paid for goods with dinārs which they had found in the buried city, they learned that they belonged to the time of Moses and that they had been in the "green city of the Israelites".

The caravan and military road from Cairo to Syria ran in normal times through al-Djifār, without touching the desert of al-Tih; only in the period when this was interrupted by the Frankish occupation did the route straight through the desert gain a certain strategic importance, as we see in the campaigns of Salāḥ al-Dīn and in the building of the fortress of Ṣadr (now Ḳal'at Gindī).

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TIHĀMA, the narrow strip of low land along the coast which runs from the Sinai Peninsula along the west and south side of Arabia. Al-Idrisi gives us the fullest account of Tihāma. According to him, it is traversed by a chain of hills which begin at the Gulf of Ḳulzum

and send out a ridge to the east. The frontier of Tihāma is in the west the Gulf of Ḳulzum and in the east a range of hills running north and south (the Sarāt). The province called Tihāma stretches, according to Idrisi, from Sardja 'to 'Aden, 12 days' journey along the sea-coast and 4 days' journey by road from the mountains as far as the land of Ḡhalāfiḳa (not Alābaḳa). The greatest breadth of Tihāma is in the hinterland of Dǧidda, the port of Mecca, which is also usually included in Tihāma — as districts of Mecca in Tihāma are also given Dankān, 'Asham, Baish and 'Akk — although writers differ in their views on the extent of Tihāma in this particular direction. Al-Aṣma'ī for example makes Tihāma begin at Dhāt 'Irḳ. Ibn al-Ḳuṭāmī puts its frontier at Dhāt 'Irḳ and al-Dǧuḥfa and in the Yaman highlands; according to 'Umāra b. 'Aḳil, it stretches from the sea to Ḥarra Sulaim and Ḥarra Lailā; al-Mada'īni says that everyone who passes through Wadǧra, Ḡhamra and al-Ta'if in the direction of Mecca is already in Tihāma, which he puts south of the Ḥidǧāz, others again make Tihāma stretch from Dhāt 'Irḳ via Mecca to 'Usfān (between Mecca and al-Madina) (all the statements are recorded by Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, i. 902; of the Yaman Tihāma, extent and particulars of the people etc., a full account is given by al-Hamdāni, *Ṣiḡa Dǧazirat al-'Arab*, p. 53 sq., 119—121). In any case the geographers not only use Tihāma as a synonym of "coast" (*sāhil al-baḥr*) and "depression" (*ghawr*) or "hollow" (*sāfila*) but they place it as an independent geographical or political entity alongside of Yaman, al-Yamāma, and al-'Arūd (*B.G.A.*, viii. 79). Indeed Tihāma at various periods in the history of Yaman was a separate province for administrative purposes, for example as early as the period of the Persian conquest of the Yaman (end of the vith century A.D.), presumably a survival of the organisation of the late Sabaean kingdom, and at a later date under the Ziyadids; then it had a period of independence with Zabīd as capital (1159—1174 A.D.) to become a province again under the Imāms of Ṣan'ā'.

It is significant of Ibn Khordādhbih's keen perception of the similarity of the coast on both sides of the Red Sea that he also speaks of a Tihāma of Ethiopia (*B.G.A.*, vi. 155), by which he apparently means practically the coast of Erythraea. Ibn al-Wardī describes the Tihāma as mountainous country, which is peculiar, no doubt on account of the hills which run through the plain along the coast and are also mentioned by al-Idrisi. Al-Isṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawḳal in this way made the Tihāma stretch far into the mountains while others expressly define Tihāma as the land between the sea and the Sarāt.

As to the etymology of the name, B. Moritz, *Arabien*, p. 9, note 1, for example thinks Tihāma is taken over from the Hebrew-Babylonian תִּימָת *tiāmtu*, "sea". On the other hand, H. Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*³, Berlin 1902, p. 492, note 2, is not certain whether Hebrew *tehom* like the Arabic *tihāma* as a name for a coastal region is originally connected with Babylonian *tiāmtu* or, what is more probable, in both cases we have a case of an early borrowing from the Babylonian. When it is suggested that *tiāmtu*, *tāmtu* (in Berosos βαμτε) with the meaning of "ocean", "salt sea" is connected with

the Hebrew תהם meaning to "stink" (cf. P. Jensen, *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, vi/i., p. 559 sq.), it should be pointed out that the Arab philologists also quote *tahima* with this meaning to explain the name Tihāma (on account of the malodorous air there), but at the same time they compare *tahamun* with the meaning "intense heat", "calm" (Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, i. 902; Bakrī, *Muḍjam*, i. 203). The name Tihāma moreover occurs already in the South Arabian inscriptions, Glaser, N^o. 554, 3, 6; 618, 8, 9, and Rehatsek, 2, 6 as תהמת with which may be compared the תהמו in Cruttenden, line 10. The *musnad* inscription of king Sharahbil b. Yaḥṣub quoted by Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, iv. 104, also gives as the titles of this ruler "king of Saba", Tihāma and their Arabs" and another *musnad* mentioned by al-Hamdāni, *Ṣiḡa Dǧazirat al-'Arab*, p. 208, 9 sq. mentions *ahl tihāmat wa-tawdim* "people of the Tihāma (coastland) and of the mountains", quite in keeping with the passage in Glaser, N^o. 554, 3, 5, 618, 8 sq. (תהמת | שדום). With the first of these *musnads*, which is evidently taken from an inscription of a late period, may be compared the inscription N^o. 13 of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres in Paris, published by J. and H. Derenbourg in which the rulers mentioned by name are described as "kings of Saba" and the Tihāma".

The origin of the Tihāma, the breadth of which varies considerably — sometimes it is merely a narrow strip of coast, as at places between al-Ṭūr and Suez and at Ḳunfudḥa and Luḥaiya — probably dates from the middle Pliocene period and is connected with the subsidence of the Red Sea. Coral formations and modern alluvial deposits form the material of which this plain consists; in the Yaman portion it rises to 2,000 feet above sea-level and then suddenly ascends sharply to the great highlands of the Yaman Sarāt. The Yaman Tihāma begins at al-Liṭḥ and stretches to 'Aden if we include the Tihāma of 'Asir. In the Yaman part the breadth varies between 30 and 50 miles. From the slightly undulating country rise — especially towards the high land — isolated hills which consist either of recent limestone, which often contain fossils (nummuliths) at a considerable height, or of volcanic rock. The climate is very unpleasant. It is hot and dry and extreme temperatures are recorded at certain periods in the year (May and Sept. 35–43° C, April 40° C). In the summer the temperature drops a little under the influence of the frequent rains but on the coast 40° C. by day and 30° C. by night are not unusual. In the winter the temperature varies between 25° and 35° C. but the minimum even in the coldest months is never below 14° C. on the coast. The rainy season is from February to March or from May to the end of September. Only the most southern part of the west coast of Arabia belongs to the region of tropical summer rains, and the south coast as far as 50° East Long. and 15° or 16° N. Lat. A feature of the Tihāma are the mists called *sukḥaimānī* or 'umma which rise in the mornings and drift towards the highlands and make these regions regular hothouses in which flourish numbers of valuable crops, notably coffee.

Tihāma, hot and dry, is the natural soil for the vegetation of a plain with thornbushes, thistles and grasses. The saline steppe which adjoins the coast (*khabi*) is covered with bushes; in the in-

terior especially towards the highlands, durra, barley, maize, wheat, sugar-cane, date palms, sesame, indigo and cotton flourish. The population of Tihāma, estimated at 5,000,000 (according to 'Abd al-Wasī' b. Yahyā, *Ta'rikh al-Yaman*, p. 292) on the coast is engaged in trading, shipping, fishing (also pearl-fisheries) and shipbuilding and in the interior mainly with agriculture. They appear to be a mixed race with olive-coloured complexions; their woolly hair and thick lips show a strong admixture of African blood. Their colour is described e.g. by Botta as quite black; Bury speaks of the negroid taint and calls the Tihāma people slightly built. The largest tribe, the Zerānik, is characterised by the crisp short beard and straight hair (cf. the picture in Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, facing p. 28). The language of the Tihāma Arabs is generally said to differ very much from pure Arabic and to contain numerous foreign loanwords.

The southern Tihāma, the natural frontier of which runs from Mukhā to Mawza' is traversed in all directions by volcanic ranges and shows only scanty deposits of sedimentary rocks; it is mainly formed of the same rocks as the continent. There is no continuous strip of flat coast; this is only found at intervals between projecting spurs of the highlands of the interior or the volcanic features of the coast. Perpendicular chalk and sandstone cliffs which run along the coast alternating with white deposits of chalk and sandy depressions are characteristic of the southern Tihāma which rarely ever exceeds 25 miles in breadth. In the interior the southern Tihāma is more steppelike in character; in the valleys of the Wādīs on the other hand, fruitful oases are found after the fertile summer rains, for example the extraordinarily rich oasis of Lahadj or of the Wādī Maifa'a which has the same flora as the western Tihāma. The southern Tihāma has as a rule a slight rainfall. The winter rains are irregular although they seldom fail. At the end of April heavy rains begin, often accompanied by severe thunderstorms; occasional rains fall in January, November, and December and July, and August.

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Types of the Tihāma-Arabs in G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, pl. opp. p. 28, 133, 193; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, pl. iv., fig. 2; Pictures of vegetation from the Tihāma in B. Moritz, *Arabien*, pl. 2, fig. 3 (coast of the Red Sea), 17 (western slopes of the coast hills of the Ḥijāz); A. Musil, *The Northern Heḡāz* (*American Geographical Society Oriental Explorations and Studies*, No. 1, New York 1926), p. 92, fig. 32, 123, fig. 55, 126, fig. 56, 142, fig. 58; G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, pl. at p. 41 (land east of al-Hudeida), p. 46 (Ḥudjeila); do., *The Land of Uz*, pl. at p. 11. (A. GROHMANN)

TIK, a technical term in Arabic music, corresponding to the learned term *ṭā'*; also used in Arabic dialectic metres for the *zajal*. It means the note struck, sharp and heavy: *a.* on the edge of the tambourine, sometimes on the little cymbal that is fixed there, *b.* on the back of the closed left hand when the hands are beaten, *c.* with the left foot on the ground when dancing.

It is one of the two terms of the fundamental metrical dualism of the popular songs in Arabic dialects (called *muwashshahāt*), where between the pauses there only follow a pair of antithetic values (like the iambic of classical metres, except that the antithesis depends not on the length but on the intensity): *ṭā'* (usually *tik*) and *dih* (usually *tum*); the first being the sharp and heavy blow and the latter, *dih*, the dense and sonorous. The latter being struck on the stretched skin: *a.* at the centre of the tambourine, *b.* on the centre of the open left palm if the hands are beaten, *c.* with the right foot on the ground when dancing.

Just as classical prosody built up a series of metres by arranging long and short in varying order so the popular Arabic prosody of the *muwashshahāt* built up the series of special rhythmic

types (called *ḡurūb*) on differentiated series of *ṭā'āt* and *dihāt* with pauses between. The *maṣmūdī* rhythm for example may be thus written:

$k, m, s / k, s / m, m, s /$
(where $k = \text{ṭā'}$, $m = \text{dih}$, $s = \text{silence and } / = \text{caesura}$).

So that the phrases in the song may coincide with the series of characteristic beats of the rhythm selected the following rules are observed: 1. each syllable must correspond to one beat (*naḡra*) at least; 2. one or more *ṭā'āt* may be intercalated (intercalation = *ribāṭ*) in the rhythmic series; 3. but certain pauses must not be interfered with, intangible caesuras, characteristic of the rhythm (first by pause after a *dih*, otherwise short pause after a *ṭā'*); 4. contrary to Arabic classical metre, we may have open syllables when the time is strong and closed when the time is weak. Martin Hartmann was therefore wrong in trying to reduce the rhythm of the *muwashshahāt* to the *tafā'il* of the Arabic classical metres. Several Oriental musicians have given tables of identification, confusing intensity and duration, so as to force the Arabic *ḡurūb* to correspond with European musical notations. Indeed modern Turkish music counts a *tik* as a quaver and a *tum* as a crochet.

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TIKRĪT. [See TAKRĪT.]

TILIMSĀNĪ. Many Arabic scholars are known by this *nisba*, but generally the three following are meant when mentioned in books of *adab*:

1. 'AFĪF AL-DĪN SULAIMĀN B. 'ALĪ B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'ALĪ B. YĀSĪN claimed to be descended from a family which originally came from al-Kūfa (Dhahabī in MS. Or. 53 reads however Kūmī al-Aṣl) and was born at Tilimsān (?) in 616 (1219) according to his own statement. He came early to Syria where he occasionally filled official positions, but was also frequently out of employment. He claimed that in Asia Minor (Rūm) he had as a Ṣūfī gone forty times into seclusion (*khalwa*), each time for forty days, without interruption, a statement which Dhahabī rightly questions as the total makes 1,600 consecutive days. At one time he filled the post of supervisor of the market-dues (*maks*, q. v.) and when al-As'ad came to Damascus in the retinue of the Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Kālāwūn he demanded from 'Afif al-Dīn a balance-sheet of his accounts. As this after repeated requests was not forthcoming he upbraided 'Afif al-Dīn, who then lost his temper and wanted to remonstrate with the Sulṭān for having, contrary to the Shari'a, placed a Coptic Christian over Muslims. He was finally appeased and probably never rendered the desired accounts. 'Afif is said to have been a pious man of affable manners with a certain amount of dignity, but he was always under suspicion because, as Dhahabī puts it, one could never really ascertain what his true opinions were and he was even accused of being an adherent of the Nuṣairī sect [q. v.]. The difficulty lay in his poetry which was eloquent, easy and pleasant, but, his biographers say, contained

hidden poison. His poems collected in a *Diwān* of which copies are in the libraries of the British Museum, the India Office, the Bodleian at Oxford and elsewhere, certainly do not openly contain any heresies, but are in many cases after the style of Ṣūfī compositions addressed to some imagined object of love. Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī found him pleasant company and says that he laid claim to *Irḡān* [q. v.], the full conception of God. This he is said to have expressed upon his death-bed when he is stated to have said: "How can any one who knows God fear him, and since I do know him I have no longer any fear and am happy to meet him". He died in Damascus on the 5th of Rājāb 690 (July 1, 1291) and was buried in the Ṣūfī-cemetery of that city. He composed a number of works upon various sciences, besides his *Diwān*, of which apparently only his *Risāla fi 'Ilm al-'Arūd*, Berlin N^o. 7128, has survived. Dhahabī mentions in addition: *Sharḥ al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*; *Sharḥ Maḳāmat al-Nafī* and *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Ibn al-'Arabi. The titles of these works indicate the school in which he was trained and we may assume with safety that he was an ardent follower of Ibn al-'Arabi.

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2. His son SHAMS AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD B. SULAIMĀN, called al-Shābb al-Zarīf (the intelligent youth), was born in Cairo in 661 (1263) and died young two years before his father in Rājāb 688 (June 1289). He held an appointment in the office of the treasury in Damascus and is described as a young man given to pleasure and amusement. His reputation rests mainly upon his poems collected in a small *Diwān* which has been printed several times. These poems consist principally of short amatory pieces addressed to males, occasionally to fictitious women, in simple language. A Ṣūfī interpretation is possible, but hardly likely. His other compositions preserved in manuscript convey the impression that the poems also are realistic. Two *khutbas* contained in the MS. Berlin N^o. 3953 are jocose and lascivious and the same appears to be the case with two other works contained in MS. Berlin N^o. 8594 entitled *Faṣḥat al-Masbūḥ fi Malāḥat al-Ma'shūḥ* and *al-Maḳāmat al-Hiyīya wa 'l-Shirāziya*. The *Maḳāmat al-'Ushshāḥ* contained in the Paris MS. N^o. 3947, and the Damascus print of a *maḳāma*, are perhaps identical with the lastnamed work. A short tale about Shams al-Dīn related by Dhahabī, in the biography of his father, concerning him lends colour to the suspicion that 'Afif al-Dīn looked upon the extravagances of his son as a step towards becoming an accomplished Ṣūfī by the way of *malāma* [q. v.], but they were in reality perhaps one of the causes of his premature death.

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3. ABŪ IṢHĀḤ IBRĀHĪM B. ABĪ BAKR B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-ANṢĀRĪ was born in Tilimsān end of Djumāda II or the 1st of Rājāb 609 (Nov 1212), but when nine years old his father took him to Granada

in Spain. Three years later they removed to Malaga and here Ibrāhīm conducted most of his studies. Later he went to Sabta (Ceuta) where he married the sister of the Mālikī lawyer Mālik b. al-Murāḥ-ḥal and in this city he died after 690 (1291). He was a learned Mālikī lawyer, skilled in drawing up contracts and a poet. At the age of 21 he composed his *urđūsa* upon the law of inheritances, which has been the subject of a number of commentaries preserved in manuscript. His other works are 2. *Natīdjat al-Khiyār fī Muṣilat al-Ghiyār*, a rhymed life of the Prophet; 3. *Maḳāla fī 'l-'Arūd*; 4. *Manzūma fī 'l-Mawlid al-Karīm*; 5. *al-'Asharāt*.

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(F. KRENKOW)

TILISM. [See TILSAM.]

TILSAM, also *tilsim*, *tilism*, *tilasm* etc. from the Greek τέλεσμα, a talisman, i.e. an inscription with astrological and other magic signs or an object covered with such inscriptions, especially also with figures from the zodiacal circle or the constellations and animals which were used as magic charms to protect and avert the evil eye. The Greek name is evidence of its origin in the late Hellenistic period and gnostic ideas are obviously reflected in the widespread use of such charms. The wise Balīnās is said to have been the father of talismans; according to tradition, he left in many towns charms for protection against storms, snakes, scorpions etc. Many rules for preparing talismans are also ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos.

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(J. RUSKA)

TĪMĀR a grant of land for military service (*beneficium*) or more exactly a kind of Turkish fief, the possession of which entailed upon the feudatory the obligation to go mounted to war (*sefere ešmek*) and to supply soldiers or sailors in numbers proportionate to the revenue of the appanage (*dīrlīk*).

The feudatory or "timariot" was called *tīmār ṣāḥibi* or *ehl-i tīmār* or *tīmār eri* ("Ashīkpasha-zāde, ed. Giese, p. 22, 38, 232) or *tīmār sipāhisi* or simply *sipāhī* i.e. "horseman", whence the popular name *sipāhīlik* for the *tīmār*.

There were three categories of military fiefs, according to their importance:

1. *khāṣṣ* (plur. *khāṣṣ-lār* or *khawāṣṣ*) or more exactly the majority of the *khāṣṣ* of the governors of provinces;

2. *se'āmet* or *zi'āmet* with a minimum annual revenue (*ḥāsi*) of 20,000 aspers (*aḳča* or *aḳçe*);

3. *tīmār* with a maximum revenue (*ḥāṣil*) of 19,999 aspers.

In a wider sense the name *tīmār* is sometimes applied to the two last and even to all three classes.

Tīmār has often been translated "commandership" (*commanderie*, Meninski, Michel Baudier, Pitton de Tournefort) by analogy with the *commendatoria* of the Knights of Malta and the Teutonic Order but the institutions are very different; the commanders were former Knights whose services were rewarded by giving them the right to collect for themselves a part of the revenues of certain estates of the Order.

The word *tīmār* has further the meaning of of care given to a sick or mad person, a wounded man or beast of burden (still used in this last sense in modern Persian); dressing a wound; tending a horse, whence *tīmārđī* (Egyptian *tamurgī*) (male nurse). It further means rest-cure or open air cure for servants or slaves (*khālā'ik*, *kaḳfa*) and care given to an estate, a farm, or a vineyard (*Shams al-Dīn Sāmī Bey*).

Etymology of the word *tīmār*: Leunclavius seems to have been the first to connect this word with the Greek τίμαριον *honorarium* which in turn comes from the Greek τίμη (*Io. Leonclavii Pandestes historiae turcicae*, N^o. 186, i., at the end of *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*, Frankfurt 1596). This hypothesis was admitted by Michel Baudier (*Histoire générale du serrail*, 1624, chap. xvii.) and by Ducange.

Unfortunately the example of the use of the word *timarion* in the sense of fief is taken by Leunclavius from a text of the xvth century (the reference is to the Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον θησαυρὸς of Damascenus Thessal.; cf. Emile Legrand, *Bibliothèque hellénique*, ii., 1885, p. 12). The quotations, including this reference, given by Ducange in his *Glossarium* and its Supplement are, as has been already pointed out by V. D. Smirnov (*Kučibey gömürđinskiy*, St. Petersburg 1873, p. 73, note 1) of much too recent a date. They are all later than the Ottoman conquest. The "novellae" of the Byzantine emperors do not use this term for military fiefs, but others like στρατιωτικὰ πτῆματα or simply *τοπία*. As more technical terms we find *οἰνομία* and later *πρόνοια* when the military *beneficium* had developed more towards the form of a seignorial fief (Ernst Stein, *Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassung*, M. O. G., ii. 9).

In 1598 we find the Venetian senator Lazaro Soranzo (*L'Ottomano*, p. 12) proposing, but not conclusively in opposition to the Greek the Persian etymology *tīmār* "care, anxiety, pains, dressing". It may be objected to this etymology, which has the support of von Hammer (and more recently also of Grzegorzewski) that the word *tīmār* has never been applied to military fiefs in Persian and that the Turkish feudal organisation seems to have been borrowed from the Byzantines and not from the Persians.

In my opinion the word *tīmār* is an echo of the Byzantine *pronoya* (*pronia*). In other instances also it can be noticed that the semantic evolution of terms can be paralleled from language to language. The Latin synonym of *pronoya*, *beneficium*, French "*provisions*" (cf. Ducange and the edition of Pachymeres in the *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, ii. 715) is also a term relating to benefices. The Latin and low Latin *cura* and in a less degree the French and English "*cure*" have almost all the acceptations of the word *tīmār* (except that

they have no military associations) "care, treatment (medical), country estate, cleric's benefice".

We need not waste time over the explanation from the Arabic *ṭīmār*, plural of *ṭhamar*, "fruit", proposed by Balise de Vegenere and Trévoux's Dictionary.

Origin of the Institution. Von Hammer, in spite of the importance he gives to Persian influence, Worms, who has however corrected several of his predecessor's errors, Belin, and Tischendorf have represented the *timār* as being a kind of adaptation of the Muslim "feudal" system.

Although the historian Sa'd al-Din uses this term of lands which were distributed to the *musellem* of Turkey (cf. below) it seems to me difficult to recognise in the Arab *iktā'* the origin of the Turkish *timārs*. The more particularly Muslim element in the Turkish legislation, was the legal and political distinction between the *'ushriya* (tithe-lands) i.e. "those conquered by force and divided among the conquerors on condition they paid a tithe" and *ḫarāḍiye* "tributary lands, taken after capitulation and left to the *zimmi* (*dhimmi*) or infidels on payment of tribute". Now the military fiefs as Belin himself says (*Prop. foncière*, N° 303) could consist of any kind of land and it is only by a very wide interpretation that some lawyers have assimilated them to *ḫarāḍiye* lands constituted into *wakfs* for military requirements (*ibid.*, N° 298). The jurists of the period — fairly late — of Sulaimān the Magnificent found some difficulty in defining the status of the military domains in the strict sense (cf. Steeg and Padel, p. 19–20 and especially *M. T. M.*, p. 58–59 [Turkish text] von Hammer, i. 342 sqq. [German edition], *Journ. As.*, Jan.–Feb. 1844, p. 68 sqq.). Voltaire was right when he said that the Turks had not borrowed the system of the *timār* from the Arab Caliphs (*Essai des Mœurs*, chap. xcxi).

The hypothesis of a Persian origin seems to me no more justifiable. Kremer (*Culturgesch. des Orients*, i. 109–110) has shown that the Persians had no influence on the Arab feudal system. Von Hammer certainly exaggerated when he attributes to Persian influence the organisation of the Byzantine and Turkish military fiefs. There certainly is one feature in common to the three nations: this is the existence of mounted feudatories wearing cuirasses (cf. for Persia Cl. Huart, *La Perse*, 1925, p. 184, 204). It is even possible that these cuirasses were of Persian origin (a novella of Nicephorus Phocas seem to speak of them as an innovation) but this is of minor significance.

It seems much more natural to admit that the Turks imitated or rather preserved the Byzantine institution which they found in existence. What would tend to confirm this is the existence of fiefs with the obligation to naval service alongside of those supplying horsemen. This was also the case with the Byzantines (Aug. Fr. Gfrörer, *Byzantinische Geschichte*, iii. 21).

It is not our task here to enquire to what extent the Byzantine military fiefs were related to the Roman *beneficia* or to the colonies of German soldiers (on the mailed horsemen of Byzantium, cf. Gustave Schlumberger, *Un Empereur byzantin au X^{ème} siècle*, new ed., 1923, p. 40 and p. 288 and on Greek military feudality: Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle*, 1870, chapter entitled *La féodalité dans l'Empire grec: les fiefs militaires*; *L'histoire générale* of Lavisse and Ram-

baud, chap. xiii. of vol. i., by C. Bayet, p. 668 sqq.; Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Histoire du droit privé gréco-romain*, transl. into Fr. by Eugène Lauth, Paris 1870, p. 63, 129 sqq.; do., *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Reichs*, 1877; Gaignerot, *Des bénéfices militaires dans l'empire romain et spécialement en Orient et au X^{ème} siècle*, Bordeaux 1898, p. 81, 89; Testaud, *Des rapports des puissants et des petits propriétaires ruraux dans l'empire byzantin au X^{ème} siècle*, Bordeaux 1898, p. 75 sqq.; *Juris Graeco-romani tomii duo Johannis Leunclavii Amelburni*, Frankfurt 1596, ii. 144 sqq.; cf. also the works of Meursius, Mortreuil and the bibliography to the article *beneficium* in the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* by Daremberg and Saglio).

As to the influence which the Saldjuks of Asia Minor may have exercised on the *timār*, we know nothing about it nor about their military organisation in general (cf. however the remarks by Köprülü-zade Mehmed Fu'ad in *Millî tet.Medim*, N° 5, p. 213–214).

Formation of the Ottoman military fiefs and their administration: We know very little about the administrative activity of the early beys or Ottoman rulers. The following words are put into the mouth of Othmān, the founder of the dynasty: "He to whom I have granted a fief shall not be deprived of it without good reason; if he dies, his son shall succeed him; if the latter is too young, his servants shall take his place in war until he is fit to bear arms".

Under Orkhān, 'Alā al-Dīn formed a corps of horsemen called *musellem* "exempted from taxation", who held in times of peace certain lands free of taxes and who seem to have been absorbed in part at least by the organisation of the *timār* (on this militia, cf. Belin, *Fiefs Milit.*, p. 39–40, Grzegorzewski, p. 45; Marsigli: a firman relating to them, Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. Suppl. Turc., N° 79, 1st in fine).

Murād I, assisted by Timurtash Pasha beylerbeyi of Rumelia, in 1375 issued a *kānūn* laying down the distinction between the little *timār* and the *zi'amet* (Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. Suppl. Turc., N° 68, fol. 63).

Mehmed II in 881 A.H. instituted a more systematic method of keeping the registers (*defter*) of the military fiefs. There is comparatively little reference to these fiefs in the *Kānūn-Nāma* of this ruler (publ. in a supplement to *T. O. E. M.*, 1330 A.H. 32 pp. 8°. Cf. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, 8, p. 87–101; *Catal. of the MSS in Vienna*, N° 1820, 3rd and 1813, 3rd). The fiscal officials who administered the fiefs (*sipāh yazıdjı-ları*) appear in it as completely organised in the provinces. They were the *timār defterdāri* for the simple tithe on the *defter ketkhudāsı* (*kiahiası*) for the *zi'amet*. Both sets of officials were under the *defter emini* who in turn was under the *defter-dār* of the empire (cf. the *Kānūn* above quoted, p. 19: von Hammer, p. 93 and Belin, *Fiefs milit.*, p. 44). Details of the organisation of the timariots or *djebelüyān* will also be found in another *Kānūn* of Mehmed II, publ. by F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst in the *M.O.G.*, i. 13, 48. In contents this *Kānūn* is closely connected with *Kānūn* (cf. below).

Sulaimān the Magnificent is credited with the organisation of the *timār* but it is probable that he only codified already existing regulations. In

any case he deprived the governors of control of the relatively more important *tīmār* which were called *tezkereli* (cf. below). It is from his reign that the rather numerous collections of laws begin to date (*kānūn*, *kānūn-nāme*, *kānūn-nāme-i āli-‘Othmān*, *Kānūn-i sultāni* or codes drawn up by the *nishāndji* (more rarely by the *defter-dār* and the *defter emini*), with the help, more and more frequent as time goes on, of the *Shaikh* al-Islām (cf. *Bibl.*). These laws clearly reveal the agrarian character of the institution of *tīmār*. The *mīrī* lands or domains of which they were formed were fields lying around the villages, the houses in the latter being the property (*mülk*) of private individuals (*M. T. M.*, p. 54). Otherwise any land under cultivation, even in a garden or vineyard belonging to the *raya*, became domain and paid dues to the *sipāhī*. (*M. T. M.*, p. 87; cf. *J. A.*, Jan.-Feb. 1844, p. 87).

The *tīmār* from the military point of view. We know that the Turks had a remarkably well organised regular army before the western powers. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, i. e. on the eve of the disappearance of the *tīmār* it consisted of the following elements:

1. The permanent regular army with regular pay (*‘ulufe*) from the public treasury, called *kapu* (*kapı*)-*kulu*, servants of the Porte (of the Sultān): it consisted of the Janissaries, gunners (*topdji*), bombardiers, (*kumbaradji*) sappers, (*lugheindji*) engineers, (*mehendis*), firemen (*tulumbadji* q. v.), ammunition-bearers (*djebadji*) horsemen (*sipāhī*, not to be confounded with the timariots) and *čavush*.

2. The cavalry (*topraklı*) and feudal troops.

3. The *seratkulu* (*serhadd-kulu*) or frontier troops, as a rule summoned to the colours and paid irregularly, and particularly at times of great danger, they comprised as cavalry the *gönüllü* (*gömillü*) or "volunteers", heavy cavalry, *beşli* or *besli*, a light cavalry (according to Montecuculli, like the Hungarian Hussars), and *deli* (*delil*) or partisans, and for infantry, the *azab* (*azap*) or picked garrison soldiers (like the Hungarian heyduks, according to Montecuculli), *seymen* or peasant volunteers, fighting like dragoons on foot or on horseback and placed in charge of the baggage and cavalry and the *musellem* or pioneers.

4. The *Yerli kulu* or "local troops" of the *pāsha*, *sandjakkbey* or *a‘yān*. Levied in theory by special authorisation of the Porte but often without this they enabled a number of ambitious *Pāshas* to gain power ('Alī of Tebelen, *Djezzār*, *Muṣṭafā Bairakter* etc.). Rightly or wrongly they are often confused with the preceding, and some writers like Aḥmad Rāsim put among the *yerli kulu* the *azap seymen*, and *musellem* above mentioned, adding the *tufendji* "fusiliers", *idjareli*, "heavy artillery of the frontier forts" and even the *la-ghimadji*. It is into this second category, that of *topraklı* or territorial troops that the feudatories who held *tīmār* fall. Juchereau de St. Denis compares them to the "levies of the Arrière-bans of the old feudal monarchies of the west".

There were no hard and fast divisions between these different categories of soldiers. Janissaries could obtain *tīmār*. On the other hand there were timariots in the frontier provinces and one of the means of promotion, the only legal one, for a man who was not the son of a *sipāhī* or *djebeli* actually was to go as a volunteer (*gönüllü*) "to the frontiers" to distinguish himself there by va-

liant deeds. The *sirdār* or commander-in-chief had power to distribute on the battlefield itself *tīmār* which were vacant as a result of the army's losses and to accept meritorious volunteers as *yoldash* (cf. Belin, *Fiefs milit.*, tir. a part, p. 65; Abesci, p. 23; Mme Louise St.-Belloc, *Bonaparte et les Grecs*, Paris 1826, p. 109; my *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p. 27, note 1).

It is usually said that the principal military obligation of the timariots was, for those whose grant was reduced to the minimum called *kıldji* "sword", to go to war in person (or when impossible to send a substitute) and for the more richly endowed to send one or more *djebeli*.

It does not seem to have been quite so simple. The timariot had to present himself with a cuirass. He was thus also a *djebeli* (*kendü djebeli*, says the *kānūn*, cf. *T. O. E. M.*, p. 11), and this was the case with the less rich (1,000 aspers! according to the *kānūn*, which could however be modified). All the others had to bring also their *ghulām* "squire" and a tent (Tournefort, p. 319, also mentions the tents). The richer ones had also to bring one or more *djebeli* and tents of a better quality (cf. the varieties in the same *kānūn*).

Pétis de la Croix, in a note to his translation of the *Naṣihat-nāma*, p. 88, says that the *djebeli* were "armed soldiers, cuirassed . . . serving in the artillery and in the trenches, carrying off the earth which the Janissaries dug" and Tournefort (p. 320) says that the timariots are "forced to supply baskets to their horsemen who use them to carry the earth necessary to fill up the ditches and trenches". There was an official in the army called the *djebeli aghası* who had control of the effectives of the *djebeli* (cf. Grzegorzewski, doc. N^o 100). Pouqueville, *Voy. dans la Grèce*, p. 10, suggests an etymological connection between the *djebeli* and the cuirassed gabeloux!

Details on the armament of the timariots will be found in Abesci, p. 18. Tournefort (p. 320) further says: "their cavalry is better disciplined than that which is properly called spahis although the spahis are lighter and more active: the latter only fight in platoons having the oldest horsemen at their head, while the Zaims and the Timariots are divided into regiments and commanded by "Colonels under the orders of the *Pāshas*".

The hierarchy of the military fiefs; *kāḥāṣṣ* of the governors of the provinces. As is evident from Tournefort in the above quotation, there was a rather close connection between the administrative organisation of the provinces and the feudatories: those of the first category (holders of *kāḥāṣṣ*) are even confused with the governors.

It must not be concluded however from this that there were *zāmet* and *tīmār* in all the provinces. The mediate possessions like the Crimea, the Danubian principalities, the Barbary Regencies had no *tīmār*. It was the same with some of the outer provinces of the empire like Egypt, Baghdād, Crete, Cyprus, Varad, Caffa. Ewliyā Čelebi says that there were none in the peninsula of the Morea (except in certain adjoining islands) but the contrary is stated by Pouqueville, *Voy. dans la Grèce*, p. 12.

Other Ottoman writers distinguish in this connection between the provinces ruled as *sālyāne*, a word which means "annual" in Persian (*sālyāne ile zapt olunan* or s. i. *maḡbūt eyālet*) and the *kāḥāṣṣ*

provinces. The former were held by governors either in full ownership (*mülkiyet*, *odjaklık* or *yurtluk*) like the mediate provinces or like the 5 Kurd sandjaks called *hükümet* or the 19 sandjaks of the wilāyet of Diyarbakir, or for a year at a time (*iltizām ile* or *senewi iltizām ile*, whence the word *salyāne*). With this system the emoluments of the governors were deducted from the revenue of the state collected by the fiscal offices of the province (or levied on the *irsālīye* which represented, after deduction of allowances and the pay of the soldiers, the *khazine*, Turkish *khazna* or "treasury" destined for Constantinople) without the *beylerbeyi* (viceroys) "being able to exact the least thing from the people" (Marsigli) while the governors who held *khāss* levied tithes (*'ushr*, pl. *a'shār*) on these fiefs.

This distinction must not be taken too literally. Some *salyāne* governors actually had *khāss* and the *khāss* were not all military fiefs. The *khān* of the Crimea for example levied 1,200,000 aspers on the customs of Caffa, under the name of *khāss*. On the other hand sandjaks of different character are found in the same province, some *salyāne*, others *khāss*. This was the case with the provinces of Baghdad, Cyprus (already mentioned as *khāss* provinces), Damascus, Aleppo, Çıldır, without reckoning the eyālet of the Kapudan Pasha. This distinction between *salyāne* and *khāss* provinces appears very clearly, when it is a question of a sandjak and not of an eyālet as a whole.

The idea of *khāss* must not be confused with that of "military fief". It is larger and differs from it, in as much as the *khāss* was attached not to the person but to the position of the governor. At least this was the case from the time when in the reign of Murād III, the sandjak-beyi ceased to be inalienable (cf. Belin, *Propr. foncière*, N^o. 313). The sultān had also his regular private *khāss* which were called *khāss-i-hümāyūn*.

With this reservation the vassals of the first category were represented by two kinds of high officials, the *beylerbeyi* and the *sandjakbeyi* both holders of *khāss*.

The *beylerbeyi* (cf. Deny, *Sommaire des arch. turques du Caire*, p. 41-52) held *khāss* the value of the annual revenue of which varied from 650,000 aspers (Morea) to 1,200,700 (Kapudan Pasha) and were proportionate to their rank and precedence i. e. to the date of the conquest of the province. The *khāss* the revenue of which attained or surpassed the million were Rumelia, Anatolia, Damascus, Erzerūm, Diyarbakir, Wan, Shehrizor, Khānate of the Crimea, Baghdad, Başra, Habesh, Egypt and going down by 100 aspers: Rhodes, Cyprus, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli in Barbary (it is probable that some of these *khāss* existed only on paper).

Each *beylerbeyi* had to supply one *mükemmel dжебелі* for each 5,000 aspers of revenue. Marsigli adds that some portions of this revenue were exempt from military obligations.

The *beylerbeyi* were allowed themselves to issue *berat* conferring the small *tīmār* (*teskeresiz*; cf. below). When a viceroy died the state gave *tīmār* to eleven of his servants. The *sandjak-beyi* in theory held *khāss* of at least 200,000 aspers of annual revenue. In practice we find in the lists of 'Ain-i 'Alī sandjaks with a lower revenue. When the new holder was an officer of the palace (in such case the expression used was "to go out to

or ascend to the sandjak": *sandjagha iškmağ*), the minimum was higher and proportionate to his dignity. The Agha of the Janissaries had the highest: 500,000 aspers.

The augmentations or *terakki* of the fiefs of the *sandjak-beyi* were made by sums of 100 aspers on each 1000 of revenue, (i. e. 10⁰/10). When a vacant fief was allotted to a *sandjak-beyi* who had not yet a right to the whole of the revenue it yielded, the surplus went to the *merwūf* (was retained by the state) to be set aside for the janissaries who had a right to a *tīmār*. Later, the *khāss* could be reconstituted in its entirety for the benefit of the same holder and the timariots who were thus dispossessed were given compensation. This system prevented the domains being broken up into small sections.

The precedence of the sandjak-beyis was regulated by the importance of their *khāss*, but ex-grand viziers had always precedence over all others. A *sandjak-beyi* had also to supply one *mükemmel dжебелі* per 1,000 aspers of revenue. When a *sandjak-beyi* died, the state gave *tīmār* to six of his servants. It is probable that it was not necessary to be a *sandjak-beyi* to obtain a *khāss*.

What was the lower limit of a *khāss*? The authors of Turkish works on the history of the Ottoman empire say that the *khāss* was a domain with at least 100,000 aspers of revenue, granted to *umerā'* (plur. of *emir* = bey, which is applied to the *sandjak-beyi* and in opposition to vizier or pasha of 3 tails, to the *beylerbeyi* or pasha of two tails. At the present day, it is applied to the higher officers in contrast to the general or pasha). Although the figure of 100,000 aspers is confirmed from other sources (Tournefort, p. 319) it was probably fixed at a later date. We actually find, in the lists of 'Ain-i 'Alī Efendi, *khāss* which are lower than this (for the benefit of the defterdār of a wilāyet). If we may judge by the total of the duties of *kalemīye* (cf. below) paid by the *khāss*, the minimum revenue of the latter must have originally been 60,000 aspers.

Zi'āmet or *ze'āmet*. Every fief called *zi'āmet* had a minimum revenue of 20,000 aspers, which could not be reduced or divided in case of transfer to an heir or another holder. This minimum was called *kıldıj zi'āmet*. The surplus, whatever its amount, was called *hisse* or "part".

Every *zi'āmet* entered in the register (*idjmal*) as irreducible was called from this fact *idjmālī* in opposition to *hisseli* or divisible into parts (Belin, *Fiefs milit.*, p. 55-57). It was the same with *tīmār*; cf. Marsigli, p. 96-97.

The holders of *zi'āmet* were called *za'im* (plur. *zū'amā'*), "chief". A *za'im* had to go to war in person and supply one *dжебелі* for each complete 5,000 aspers of revenue above 20,000 aspers of the *kıldıj zi'āmet*. Nothing was paid on a sum less than 5,000 even if it were 4,999. The *za'im* who lived in the capital of a *kaṣā* generally became a *su-bashi*.

According to modern Turkish writers and Tournefort, the maximum revenue of a *zi'āmat* was 99,999 aspers but some *defter kâhkas* held *zi'āmet* with a large revenue (lists in 'Ain-i 'Alī). Grzegorzewski gives the maximum of 50,000. It is probable from what has been said above about the *khāss* that originally it was 59,999 aspers.

Tīmār. The *tīmār* were of two kinds:

1. — *teskereli*, or given by *berat-i sultāni* on pro-

duction of a certificate (*tezkeresi* or *mürmirān tezkeresi*) issued by the *beylerbeyi* or viceroy (cf. the models of *tezkeresi*'s in Grzegorzewski's documents N^o. 75, 78, 87, 91, 100, 102 and 106);

2. — *tezkeresi* or given by a simple *berat* of the *beylerbeyi* i. e. without certificate, to feudatories already having or having had a fief. The dues of a first *tīmār* had always to be paid or at least be approved by imperial *berat*.

The dues on the irreducible minimum (*kıldj*) of the two kinds of *tīmār* varied according to the province but those on a *tezkereli tīmār* were always higher than those on a *tezkeresi tīmār*. The individuals, limited in number, who normally received *gedekli zi'āmet* were: the *dergāh-i 'ālī müteferri-kaları* (young nobles), the *d. 'a. bawuşları*, the *diwān kütābleri*, the *defter-khākāni kütābleri* (*M. T. M.*, p. 543; Djewdet, i, p. 313). They also drew pay from the little *rūnamcedji* (Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii. 54 and *Ķānūn* publ. in 1330, p. 21, note). They were respectively 6,000 and 3,000 aspers in the *beylerbeyliks* of Rumelia, Buda, Bosnia and Temesvar 5,000 (or 3,000 and 6,000) and 2,000 aspers elsewhere.

The timariot owed personal service for his *kıldj* and for a certain sum above it, the services of a *djebel*. According to 'Ain-i 'Alī, in Rumelia the timariot owed one *djebel* for each 3,000 aspers, which is the actual equivalent of a *kıldj* but there seems to be a initial allowance of 10,000 aspers which is free. By analogy we should have to allow one *djebel* for each 2,000 aspers for the rest of the empire. This system means a great simplification in contrast with the state of things revealed by the *Ķānūn-nāma* attributed to Seyidi Bey, p. 11 (Marsigli gives 5,000 aspers as for the *za'im*).

The name *eshkūn* (or *esh-kin* or *esh-kin-dji*) *tīmārı* "combatant *tīmār*" from the verb *esh-mek*, above mentioned, was given to a fief which owed direct service and retainers when called upon. The *eshkindji tīmārları* were contrasted on the one hand with the *benewbet* (*be-nöbet*) *tīmārları* belonging to various individuals owing service in turn and on the other with the *mustahfiz tīmārları* or fiefs (fewer in number) granted to non-combatants like the imāms or *mue'ddhins* of mosques in the frontier towns or to individuals whose duty it was to provide the palace with game-birds or butcher-meat.

The connection should be investigated which existed between these latter *tīmārs* and the fiefs (*zi'āmet* or *tīmār*) which were called *gedikli* or "privileged" because their holders were not obliged to do service except when the grand vizier led the army in person (Belin, *Propr. fonc.*, N^o. 357; Em. Legrand, *Ephémérides daces par Constantin Dapontès*, Paris 1881, ii. 62—63). Before disposing of a vacant *tīmār* it had to be ascertained if it was not in the special register of the *gedikli tīmār* (cf. the formula *gedikli kaydında deyil-ise*, documents in Grzegorzewski, N^o. 78 and 100).

In the great days of the timariots the feudatories, according to Koçu Bey, led out more men than they required to and the timariots were ambitious of becoming *za'im* through exploits such as capturing a score or so of prisoners or bringing in as many heads.

In theory the *tīmār* were granted only to Muslims but there were exceptions at the time of the Conquest and Christian feudatories were left in possession of their estates (cf. for Serbia: Grzegorzewski, p. 62, and for the Morea: Pouqueville, *loc. cit.*).

Military organisation of the fiefs. The high command of the feudatories was exercised by the governors of provinces (themselves important feudatories) and thus the title of *mür-livā* (a synonym of *sandjak-beyi*) became the name for a brigadier-general.

Under the orders of these generals were officers whose duty it was to mobilise and probably also to command the feudatories, namely:

1. the *alay-beyi*, a kind of colonel chosen by the feudatories of a *sandjak*. They had the right to a drum and a flag (the *bayrakdār* or "flag-bearer" was a kind of lieutenant-colonel and the *çavuş* a kind of "major"). The Turks often confused the *sipāhi* and the *woyewoda* (a loanword from the Slavonic) but distinguished between the *sipāhi* of the fiscus (*Miri subaşlıları*) and those of the *tīmār* (*ebli tīmār subaşlıları*) cf. the *Ķānūn* publ. in 1330, p. 28.

2. *çeri-başlı* and *su-başlı*. These two titles seem, as has been observed, to refer to the same officers (*su* [older *sü*] is a synonym of *çeri* "army, troops"). There was one for each district (*kazā* or *nāhiye*). In peace-time the *su-başlı* were officers of the police.

As to the *çeri sürüdüleri* (from *sür-mek*) ("to drive a flock or troop in front of one") Belin makes them captains of ten, for the sake of symmetry with the preceding, but they were less regular officers than police or detectives, i. e. soldiers whose task was to bring back deserters to the army (cf. documents N^o. 85 and 72 in Grzegorzewski).

In case of mobilisation the Sultān sent a firman to the *beylerbeyi* concerned ordering them to raise the ban of the *za'im* and *sipāhi* (cf. a specimen of one of these firmans in the *Naşihat-nāma*, transl. Pétis de la Croix, p. 35—36; the same work p. 8, puts at 2,000 *yük* i. e. 100,000 aspers, a sum set aside for the gifts which according to custom were given in this case to the militia and especially to the *za'im* and timariots).

Administration of the military fiefs. We have already mentioned the administrative and fiscal officials who had charge of the allotment of fiefs. These officials who were called *wilāyet muharrirleri* or "provincial writers" kept registers called *idjmal* or "general" statistics of the fiefs and *mufaşşal* or "detailed" statistics. In another book called *rūnāmice* or "journal" were recorded the *berat* or orders relating to the fiefs. The armies in the field carried these registers with them (probably duplicate copies) in order to enter at once on the battlefield the necessary distributions of *tīmār* (cf. doc., N^o. 78, 100 and 102 in Grzegorzewski).

In the Turkish archives are preserved registers which go back to the Conqueror and would be well worth studying. Cf. my article in *Histoire et historiens depuis cinquante ans* (*Bibl. de la Revue historique*, Paris 1927, vol. i., Turquie).

The *berat* granting fiefs were liable to chancellery dues ("of the pen") *kalemīye* levied by the *khāghat emīni*. It was $\frac{4}{10}$: 120 aspers for the holders of *tīmār* of 3,000 aspers, 800 aspers for the *za'im*. There were 15,000 aspers for the *khāşş* (we have used this figure to ascertain the probable original minimum of the *khāşş*). The *berat*, following a general custom, were renewed annually (*tedjdid-i berat*) and the same *kalemīye* dues were paid every year (cf. *Naşihat-nāma*, p. 41, 78, 79).

It would take us too long here to give the regulations which were intended to secure the

devolution of the *tīmār* to men suitable for military service and who had to be by preference the sons or descendants of feudatories (*sipāhi-zāde*, in plural *ebnā-i sipāhiyān*) or of *djebelī* who had done their service. Their legitimacy was established by the evidence of ten timariots (Koçu-Bey).

When a timariot failed to obey the summons, he became *ma'zūl* "deprived" i.e. he was temporarily deprived for one or two years of his *tīmār* which was then called *dirliyi çalınmak*. Every *tīmār* vacant (*mahlūl*) through escheat or default fell (*düşmek*) as *mewkūf* to be managed by the official called *mewkūfādji*, who collected the revenues until it was allotted again.

The *sipāhī* were bound to live on their estates. To look after the land one in ten was usually left at home and called the *kurudju* or "guard". If the war was a prolonged one, the *sipāhī* of each *sandjak* sent home a score of their number who, known as *khardjīkçī*, had to send supplies (*khardjīk*) to their comrades in the field.

A *raya* or peasant could only become a timariot by proving his prowess on the battlefield, which he could only do by going as a volunteer to the frontiers (cf. above).

Decline of the system of military fiefs. In spite of precautions and attempts at reform like that of 1632 as a result of the memoir presented by Kudji Bey (or Kuçi, or better perhaps Koçu Bey) of Korica (better of Gümüldjina) and again in 1657 and 1777, the decline of the fiefs continued to be marked.

In addition to the laments of Turkish officials like Koçu Bey and 'Ain-i 'Alī Efendi, we find frequent criticisms in western writers.

In theory the *sa'im* and timariots had to go to war, even if they were so ill that they had to be carried in a litter, with their children in panniers (Tournefort) but after putting in an appearance an opportunity was always found to return home (Abesci, 88, p. 18). We find in Grzegorzewski orders to bring to the colours mutinous timariots, who were hiding in their *iftlik* (*iftlik*) (doc. N^o. 73 for example).

A timariot could buy himself off and this was a valuable source of revenue for some ministers, according to Philippe du Fesne-Canaye (*Le Voyage du Levant en 1573*, Paris 1897, p. 137).

Another passage in the same traveller (p. 60) seems to show that foreign ambassadors could actually obtain *tīmār* for their protégés. Tournefort (ii., p. 319) writes: "The viceroys and provincial governors have such powers by their intrigue at court that commandships which are outside of their districts are given to their servants or to those who give them most money".

Baron de Tott shows us that the *khān* of the Crimea was very dissatisfied with the services of 10,000 *sipāhī* sent by the Porte and says he was able to prove to himself that some of them were really Christians who pretended to be converted to Islam for the sake of the *tīmār* (*Mémoires*, 1785, i., p. 112). Lastly there is an account of various other abuses in Mouradjea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Emp. Ott.*, vii., p. 375.

The suppression of the Janissaries and of the corps of cavalry or paid *sipāhī* under Mahmūd II brought about the disbandment of the feudal militia. To safeguard the rights they had acquired, this Sultān formed the élite of the dispossessed feudatories in 1831 into four squadrons, which later formed

the framework of the new regular cavalry. As to the other holders of the old fiefs now the property of the state, they received pensions which were provided for in the budget. The total of these pensions at first 120,000 purses or 60,000,000 piastres (Belin) fell in 1850 to about 15,000,000 without reckoning some 10,000,000 paid as indemnity to the farmers of the domain lands (leased since the ministry of Rustam Paşa Sulaimān's grand vizier). On the 27th Radjab 1280 (Jan. 7, 1864) these pensions underwent a revision which still further reduced their number, from lack of certain formalities (Tischendorf).

There was no longer any military organisation of the fiefs but the state retained the *tapu*, which it henceforth levied for its own benefit, and the laws retained numerous survivals of the old system (cf. below).

The *tīmār* and Ottoman land legislation. In return for his services the *sipāhī* had the right to collect all or part of the *houqouqy-sher'i'î* (of divine prescription) dues as well as "taxes decreed by the sovereign" *ruçoumi ur'ûi* (we should add "or sanctioned by usage") on the lands of the fief. He exercised a kind of seignorial jurisdiction over the *ra'ias* "Muslim or Christian peasants". If the peasants, the tillers of the soil, only held their land with a *teçarruf* title (possession not implying ownership) they hand it on death to their children only. All other heirs or acquirers can only acquire possession of them by paying to the *sipāhī* of the place the dues (*mou'addjile*) called *tapu*: if there are no heirs, the land is awarded to a new owner also by *tapu* and by regulations made *ad hoc* (Belin, *Prop. fonc.*, N^o. 303).

In return for his military obligations the timariot enjoyed feudal privileges. As regards the proprietor of the soil he was his lord (*sāhib-i arz* or *arz* for the Arabic *ard*) but this right of ownership was not only bound up with military service: it was precarious and revocable.

The peasant (*ra'iyet*; plur. also employed in the singular: *re'āyā* or *ra'ya*) Muslim or Christian — for western usage is wrong in applying this term only to Christians — was attached to the state and went with it (Belin, *Fiefs milit.*, spec. repr., p. 50).

He paid to the *sipāhī* different taxes and dues which varied somewhat according to locality, a few of which may be enumerated here:

Ispendje or *pendjik* "fifth" (Belin, N^o. 323; Grzegorzewski, p. 233); *bennāk* or *penak* (Grzegorzewski, p. 226 and doc. N^o. 84; *Kānūn-nāme*, ed. 1329, p. 16, note 2; Hammer, *Staatsverfassung: nebak*); *resm-i ift* (Belin, N^o. 318; Grzegorzewski, p. 236; *Kānūn-nāme*, p. 316, note 2); *müdjerred* "bachelors" (N^o. 321); *arūsāne* "a girl, married woman" (N^o. 329, 350); *dukhan* or *tütün* "right of fuel for individuals foreign to the *tīmār*" or *kapniatikos* (N^o. 326, 348); *sālariye* (N^o. 348; *Kānūn-nāme*, p. 16, note 3); *āsāb* or *deyirmen* "moulin"; *çollak* "pasture"; *yaylak* "summer pasture"; *kışlak* "winter pasture"; *djelib-keshan* "sheep"; *mürde pahalarī* "compensation for the maintenance of a falcon which comes to die"; *bedaya* or *bād-ü-hawā* "extra ordinary taxes"; *kowān* "hives"; *kile* "measure of wheat" (N^o. 345).

A fuller list of imposts and taxes will be found in Aḥmad Wafīk, *Tektālif kawā'idī*.

Western authors give as the most important imposts on land in the country the tithe, but the older Ottoman legists distinguish between:

1. The imposts of the canon law (*shari'a*) subdivided into:

a. *Kharādj-i muwazzaf* "fixed impost on land" or tribute of the soil, represented in practice (or perhaps by an artificial assimilation) by the *ḥift aḥḥesi* (also called *boyunduruk haḥḥi* or *tasma aḥḥesi*) and the *ispençe* or "poll-tax" by the *ispençe* or poll-tax on the Christians (identified with the *djizya* of the divine law; the *djawālī* or *gawālī* of Egypt and sometimes popularly called the "*kharādj*" par excellence).

b. *Kharādj-i mukāsame* "proportional impost on land" or tribute on the produce represented by the tithe or *ʿashūr*, which in spite of its name varied in practice between $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$.

2. The imposts of customary law (*ʿurfīya*) represented particularly by the *djaba bennāk* paid by rayas, married Muslims without land, to be distinguished from the *ekinlū bennāk* (a kind of *ḥift aḥḥesi* with reduced taxes) cf. *M.T.M.*, p. 99, 109, 10 and 54.

This classification, which seems somewhat arbitrary, takes no account of the distribution between taxes on persons and those on who own property. On taxes and land in the country of also Heidborn, *Les Finances Ottomanes*, Vienna 1912, p. 17 sqq. and 5 to 10.

Some dues had to be divided between the timariot and the *su-baḥḥi* (Belin, N^o. 348).

Such were the regulations for lands liable to *tapu*, for these were lands belonging completely to the *sipāhī* and called *khāṣṣe*. As they were also called *ḥilādj yeri* ("sword lands") and could not be given by *tapu*, I think we may conclude that the reference is to the inalienable part of the *tīmār*, called *ḥilādj* (cf. above). It is indeed not surprising that *ḥilādj* has been considered inalienable even by *tapu*. Belin and Worms take different views and compare, wrongly I think, *khāṣṣe* lands and *khāṣṣ*, which they contrast with "lands of combatants" or *māl-i mukātele* or *djenk mālī*, alone liable to the organisation of the military fiefs (Belin, N^o. 312—313).

In spite of the charges made against the "cavaliers" (*sipāhī*, *atlı*) contained in popular stories like those of Naṣr al-Din Khodja, the situation of the peasants does not seem to have been bad and according to Leunclavius (Löwenklau), there were Hungarian peasants ready to set fire to their farms and flee to Turkey (Thornton). Juchereau de St. Denis attributes this to the fact that the owner of a fief had "no legal right of lordship and justice over the persons living on it". We have seen that he had numerous fiscal rights. The relations between the *sipāhī* and the *ra'ya* were nevertheless very complicated. They occupy very considerable space in the Ottoman land-laws as contained in the *kanūn*'s enumerated above (N^o. 3, 4 and 5). Many of these regulations — with the reservation that the State has taken the place of the *sipāhī* — have passed into the modern land-laws or *erāzi kanūnū* where they have become merged with borrowings from the Code Napoléon. The text of these laws will be found in vol. i. of the Turkish *Düstūr* and the French translations in Belin, *Propr. fonc.* and German by Padel in Berlin, *M. S. O. S.* (1901). For the "code of land-laws", cf. G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, vi. (1906), p. 44—111. The most characteristic of these survivals is the *tapu* about which we now give a few lexicographical details.

Tapu. The Ottoman substantive *tap-u* or by the operation of the law of vowel harmony *tapi* (as in Bāḳī, ed. Dvořák, p. 171, 2 infra) for the older (Oghuz) *tap-ugh*, *Čaghatai tap-uk*, is derived from the verb *tap-maḥ*: 1. to obey, to submit to God or a conqueror by begging *amān* from him (cf. *ʿAshik-pāshā-zāde Tarikhi*, ed. Giese, p. 22; Nöldeke, *Neshri*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1859, p. 212: *tapān wilāyet* is not a proper name); 2. to worship (a divinity), 3. to pay homage. — Cf. also *tapu*, Vámbéry, *Alt.-Osman. Sprache*, p. 219; *tabu*, Codex Comanicus, 217; Houtsma, *Ein türk.-ar. Glossar*; the Koman form with intervocalic sonant is found in the Karaite *tabu*, *tab'e*: thanks, gratitude (T. Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte... von Troki*, Cracow 1929).

Tapugh according to Kāshghārī means 1. "service (*khidma*); 2. obedience (*iʿā'a*); i., p. 311 and derivatives i., p. 410; ii., p. 132, l. 5; cf. iii., p. 278, infra, the proverb: *tūyin tapughsoḥ, tāngri sāvinēsiz* "the priest is always ready to worship God but the latter is not at all pleased with him".

The *Burhān-i Kāti* explains the Persian borrowing thus: "it is a polite custom which the Turks of Transoxania call *tapu* and consists in, when one has committed some crime, presenting oneself before the Sultān or viziers, the head uncovered, holding one's ears, bowing down and seeking forgiveness". Cf. for the meaning the Turkish verb *yükün-mek* so frequent in the Buddhist and Manichaean texts publ. by F. K. W. Müller, von Le Coq, Pelliot etc. The following passage is typical: *üç gez Oghuz resmindje tapu we-khizmet resmin yerine getirdiler*, "prostrating oneself" (or bowing) three times according to the custom of the Oghuz, they went through the traditional gestures of *tapu* and homage" (Houtsma, *Hist. des Seldj. d'Ibn Bibi*, p. 10, l. 9). The ceremony seems to have included the offering of a cup for there is an expression *tapu saghraghī* "cup of homage" recorded by the *Burhān-i Kāti* (p. 477 sub *saghragh*).

It may also be noted that according to Silvestre de Sacy, the Arabic *khidma* "service" given above as the equivalent of *tapu* (according to Kāshghārī) sometimes has the same meaning as the Turkish *tīmār* (*N. E.*, i. 210, note d; cf. *Bibliothèque des arabisants*, Cairo, ii., p. 114, 116).

Lastly in Mongol, the same word (pronounced *tabik* according to Kowalewski which presupposes a Turkish form *tap-igh*) means "offering, sacrifice, divine service, service, worship, act of honouring".

In connection with the *tīmār*, *tapu* is the name of the title-deeds which confirm the tributary state of the land, the renewal of which is obligatory in certain circumstances and which establish the permanence of the right of conquest (Belin, N^o. 298, note 2).

From the preceding one might be tempted to see in the *tapu* a kind of homage and Aḥmad Wafīḥ gives as the equivalent of *tapu*, the expression *aghalīk haḥḥi* "right of the overlord", but the analogy is only apparent: *tapu* existed between the *sipāhī* and the *ra'ya* and not between the *sipāhī* and the suzerain (Sultān). It is therefore quite a real bond going with land. As the delivering of this title was done with the payment of a certain sum in anticipation (*mu'adḍjele*) the name *tapu* was given not only to the title but to the sum itself. And when on the abolition of the *tīmār* the *tapu* was levied by the state, *me'mūru*

or *kīatībī* was given to the employee who handed over the *tapu* (Belin, N^o 88, 335 sqq.). *Tapu* could only be demanded when an estate became really vacant. Transmission by inheritance takes place without *tapu* or gratis.

The following are some phrases in which this word occurs: *tapu-la-maḳ* or *tapu-ya wer-mek* or *tapu-ile wermek* "to give by *tapu* (speaking of the *sipāhī*)"; *tapu-ya almaḳ* "to take by *tapu* (speaking of the *ra'ya*)"; cf. *tapu-layn-dan almaḳ*, MS. suppl. Turc, N^o 68, fol. 7; *bā-tapu* or *tapu-ile* "against payment of the *tapu*", opposed to *bilā tapu* or *medjānen* "without expense, without paying *tapu*"; *tapu-ya mustahāḳḳ* "(land) which ought to be or perhaps as a result of a vacancy given to another or payment of the *t.*" (whence the expression *istihāḳīye*, with *erāzī* understood, etc., opposed to *'aḳāīye*); *tapu-yu boz-maḳ* "to break an engagement by *t.*"; *tapu-su dīā'is deyil* "cannot be given by *t.*"; *resm-i tapu* "tax paid as *t.*"; *hāḳḳ-ī t.* "right of holding land by *t.*"; *tapu-i misl* "right of proportional *t.*"; *dam tapusa* "tax levied on any new building created by the *raya*" (M. T. M., p. 83; *Ḥ. A.*, Jan.-Febr. 1844, p. 88; v. Hammer, i. 399).

Comparison of the *tīmār* with western fiefs. The *tīmār* is more of an administrative than a social organisation. It is due to the initiative of the state and the latter has never lost its right to supervise and even control directly the *tīmār*, which are only hereditary because the state finds an advantage in this, but it sees that no dynasty of feudatories is allowed to establish itself in the provinces. The fief is and, in spite of certain abuses, remains closely associated with the obligation to military service and is taken away on the slightest sign of failure to perform this or of rebelliousness. The possession of it is so precarious that some *tīmār* have returned as many as eight times to the state in one campaign (Thornton). The domain, which has not the same social importance as in the west, does not confer its name upon its holder nor give him any degree of nobility. There is even a somewhat unexpected tendency according to which a *ra'ya* could receive a *tīmār* without ceasing to be a *ra'ya*. He could not abandon his state of *ra'ya* when the *berat* conferring the fief specifically stated that his *yol-dashlik* was being rewarded, "his good services in war as a free comrade in arms" (*Milli tet. m.*, p. 311). The feudal relationship is expressed only in the domains, an irreducible part of which only was guaranteed the holder on condition that he gives military service. The reward is, as it were, divided into small sections which are used to give regular increases, as to officials. One does not talk of a *tīmār* of so many aspers but of so many aspers of *tīmār* (*shu kadar aḳe tīmār*). The great feudatories are at the same time officials and if the state fears them it is not so much as feudal lords, but rather as viceroys of large provinces.

There are no vassals. Each feudatory owes his fief directly to the Sultān (except the very small ones appointed by the *beylerbeyi*). He is not under the orders of more powerful feudatories except when mobilised for military service. Over the *ra'ya* he only has certain fiscal rights, as we have seen, some of which recall the rights of milling etc.; cf. e.g. the dues on betrothal (*arūsāne* or *gerdek*). Madame Louise Saint Belloc thought it would not be unreasonable to admit that Napoleon borrowed his system of grants of land from the Turks.

Bibliography: Belin, secretary-interpreter of the French Embassy at Constantinople is the only man who has so far seriously studied the Turkish *tīmār*. To him we owe the two following monographs:

1. *Étude sur la propriété foncière en pays musulman, et spécialement en Turquie (Rite hanéfite)*, reprinted from the *Ḥ. A.*, Paris 1862;
2. *Du régime des fiefs militaires dans l'islamisme, et principalement en Turquie*, reprint from the *Ḥ. A.*, Paris 1870 (notably from 'Ain-i 'Alī, whose text is translated).

We may also mention the work of Worms, *Recherches sur la constitution de la propriété territoriale dans les pays musulmans et subsidiairement en Algérie*, *Ḥ. A.*, 1842, 1843 et 1844. As to the study by Paul Andreas von Tischendorf (*Das Lehnswesen in den moslemischen Staaten insbesondere im osmanischen Reiche*, Leipzig 1872, 129 pages in 8^o), this is simply a version of Belin's works with a few additions. We have been unable to procure the important work by Truhelka, *Historička podloga agrarnog pitanja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, xxvii. 1915, p. 125 sqq.; a German version was published at Sarajevo in 1911, under the title *Die Geschichtliche Grundlage der bosnischen Agrarfrage*. For further details cf. Dmitriev in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, ii. 1926, p. 104.

The works of which we now give the full titles with some others of less importance have been quoted in the body of the article:

Joseph von Hammer (Purgstall), *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i. 337—434 (chap. vi.: *Das Lehenrecht, Kanuni timar*); Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, Lyon 1717, 3 volumes; Comte de Marsigli, *L'Etat militaire de l'Empire ottoman, ses progrès et sa décadence*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, folio (Italian and French); Elias Abesci, *L'Etat actuel de l'Empire ottoman*, English transl. by Fontanelle, Paris 1792, 2 vol.; A. de Juchereau de Saint-Denis, *Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808*; Th. Thornton, *Etat actuel de la Turquie*, English transl., Paris 1812, 2 vol.; J. Grzegorzewski, *Z sidzylłow rumelijskich epoki wypraw wojennych*, Lwów 1912, 144 pages of Turkish text and 264 of Polish text (*Recueil de documents turcs des archives de Sofia, relatifs à l'expédition contre Vienne*); W. Padel and L. Steeg, *De la législation ottomane*, Paris 1904.

The *Kānūn-nāme*. The bibliography of these codes has still to be compiled. Here we shall confine ourselves to giving the more important, neglecting those, not very many, which do not refer to military fiefs.

Apart from the *Kānūn-nāme* of Meḥmed II already quoted, these are:

1. Sulaimān's code as published by the T.O. E.M. as a supplement under the title *Kānūn-nāme Al-i 'Othmān* (72 p., 1329). The editor Meḥmed 'Arif attributes it to Saiyidi Bey in spite of the copy in the library of 'Ashir Efendi which gives as its author the *nishandji* Djalāl-zāde Muṣṭafā (as does von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, Fr. transl., vi., p. 247, where the names are inverted). Cf. also Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. Suppl. Turc, N^o 80 and also Anc. fonds Turc, N^o 35, 1^o; Suppl. Turc, N^o 79, 2^o;

the beginning of the latter seems to be the same as that of the manuscript mentioned by von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i., p. xxi., under N^o. vi., but the text of Hādjdjī Khalifa to which he refers really deals with mining laws.

2. Another version (later?) of the preceding (Vienna, N^o. 1799, 1^o; Bibl. Nat. Paris, Suppl. Turc, N^o. 81). This version and the preceding should be compared with the text translated into German by von Hammer under the title *Straf- und Polizeygesetzte Suleymans (Staatsverfassung*, i. 143—62) which according to him (i., p. xix.), is the part of the code of laws of c^o Ain-i 'Alī Efendi to be mentioned below (N^o. 6).

3. Code or *Kānūn* of the same sultān, commonly called *djēdid* "the new" (although this qualification seems also sometimes to be applied to the two preceding). If the somewhat confused explanations of von Hammer (*Hist.*, vi. 247 and 267 and *Staatsverfassung*, i. 375—376) are correct, this code, which is almost entirely devoted to questions of land laws, was first compiled by 'Abdī Oghlu Mehemet Čelebi, in the early years of Sulaimān's successor (Selim II). It contains a large number of *fetwās* of the celebrated *Shaiḫ* al-Islām Abu 'l-Sū'ūd and Kemāl Pāshā-zāde. It would be valuable to discover the original dated manuscript of this collection, of which we have a large number of copies more or less late (Rieu, Add. 7840, iii., mentions a copy of 1014 but there are some as late as the xiiith century A. H.). The preface which invokes the authority of the great Sulaimān the Legislator is the same in all copies but the more recent are encumbered with *fetwās* of later *Shaiḫs* al-Islām: (Akhi-zāde) Hüsein (d. 1043), (Zekeryā-zāde) Yaḥyā (d. 1053), Mehemet Behā'i (d. Šafar 1064), not to mention Pīr Mehemet (cf. below), 'Abd al-'Azīz, Mehemet Sa'd-allāh, Šan'-allāh, *Shaiḫ* Mehemet, Al-Hādjdjī Mehemet 'Abd-allāh Muṣṭafā and Mehemet Brusewi. These *fetwās* are mixed with *Kānūn* dating (*der zemān*) from earlier *nishandjī* such as (Tādji-bey-zāde) Dja'far Čelebi (d. 921), Djalāl-zāde (already mentioned), or older, like Hamza Pāsha (d. 1180), Mu'allim-zāde Lām 'Alī Efendi etc. The majority of the dated laws belong to the first half of the xiiith century A. H., the latest being of 1129; a partial German translation of this text is given in v. Hammer, *op. cit.*

This *Kānūn* was published in N^o. 1 and 2 of the *Milli tet. medjmu'asī*. There are MSS. of it in Paris, Suppl. Turc, N^o. 71 and 78, Vienna, N^o. 1816, 1817, 1822, 2^o and elsewhere (cf. a list in Rieu's catalogue, Add. 7834).

4. *Kānūn* or *Risāla* by the *Shaiḫ* al-Islām Ūskūbī Pīr Mehemet Efendi b. Hasan, author of the *Mu'in ūl-Muḫṫī*. This like the preceding is based mainly on the *fetwās* of Abū-s-Sū'ūd. MS. at Paris, Suppl. Turc, N^o. 68 and fragment at Vienna, N^o. 1804, 4^o.

5. *Kānūn-i Liwā-i Bosna* prepared by order of Sulaimān by Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad Kī'atib al-Defatīr al-Khākānī at the end of Djumādā I, 973 (middle of Dec. 1565) under the direction of the *za'im* Beshāret, MS. at Vienna, N^o. 1804, 6^o. Another MS. of the same work was used by Belin (*Propr. fonc.*, N^o. 298, note 2; N^o. 315 sqq.). This text, along with some others has been published by Truhelka in the *Glasnite* of Sarajevo,

xxviii; for further details cf. Dimitrew, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

6. *Kānūn* called that of Aḥmad I, edited by the *defter emini* Mu'eddhin-zāde 'Ain-i 'Alī in 1018 (1609) under the title *Kawānīn-i Āl-i 'Othmān der Khulāṣa-i Mezāmīn-i Defter-i Diwān*. Printed in Rabi' I, 1280 (Aug.—Sept. 1869) by Aḥmad Wafīk Pasha, the imperial commissioner in Asia Minor. MSS. in Vienna (4 copies), Leipzig, Dresden and Paris (incomplete). It was translated into French by Belin and into German by Tischendorf (cf. the *Bibliography* below). It is the only *kānūn* that has so far been systematically studied. Hammer (*Staatsverfassung*, i., p. xvii.—xx.) has given an analysis of a work, of which this *kānūn* seems to be only the first part. Ewliyā Čelebi seems to have used, in part at least, this *kānūn* for the statistical information which he gives on the provinces and the military fiefs of the empire (i. 173—206).

7. *Naṣīhat-nāme* (book of counsels) written by a vizier of Ibrāhīm I (1640—1648) for his sovereign. Translated into German by Behrnauer in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xviii., p. 699 sq. and previously into French under the title *Canon de Sultan Sulaimān II représenté à Sultan Mourad IV pour son instruction ou état politique et militaire tiré des Archives les plus secrètes des Princes Ottomans et qui servent pour bien gouverner leur Empire. Traduit du turc par M. P. * * ** (Pétis de La Croix), Paris 1725. Extracts in Hammer, *Geschichte*, v. 684—687. MSS. in Vienna, N^o. 1823—1825.

8. *Telkhiṣ ūl-Beyān fī Kawānīn-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, written in the reign of Mehmed IV (1648—1687) by Hüsein Efendi Herzārfenn. Cf. the list of the chapters in v. Hammer (*Staatsverfassung*, p. xx.—xxi.). MS. in Paris, Anc. fonds Turc, N^o. 40.

9. Hādjdjī Khalifa's work entitled *Destūr (Düstūr) ūl-'Amel*, cf. Behrnauer, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi, p. 111—32.

10. The organic regulation of the military fiefs promulgated in 1777 (1911) by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (reproduced in *Djewdet, Ta'riḫh*, i. 184—192). Among other *Kānūn* we may mention the MSS. of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris: Anc. fonds Turc, N^o. 41, Suppl. Turc, N^o. 79, 1^o (*Kānūn* presented in 1017) and Vienna, N^o. 1804, 4^o (*Kānūn* presented in 1038), N^o. 1822, 3^o etc. The list might be prolonged by searching the catalogues of various libraries. Marsigli's work (cf. above) was compiled from a *Kānūn*, as far as facts dealing with military fiefs are concerned.

There is an important note on these *Kānūn* by Aḥmad Rafīk Bey in *T.O.E.M.*, xivth year, p. 319—320 (which is not at the moment accessible to me). Cf. also the article by C. Brockelmann in *Isl.*, viii. 261—267 (*Der Göttinger cod. turc.* 25.—*Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Qānūnnāmes*). There were also *kānūn-nāme's* for each wilāyet. They were on the back or at the top of the *defter-i mufaṣṣal* of these wilāyets (cf. *M. T. M.*, N^o. 1, p. 109. Such is for example the *Kānūn* of the *liwā's* of Szegedin. Hatvan and Novigrad, MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris. Suppl. Turc. N^o. 76).

The majority of the extant *kānūn-nāme's*—apart from their original defects, often serious—are full of errors and obscurities, the result of the carelessness of copyists. They ought to be

completed and corrected from the collections of *inshā*² or model letters and especially of original documents, firmans, berats etc., as for example those of N^o. 823 of Suppl. Turc de la Bibl. Nat. de Paris and 1802 of Vienna; cf. also Grzegorzewski's collection. Meninski himself has given three in his *Institutiones linguae turcaae*, Vienna 1756, ii., p. 174—175. A study of the rich archives of the *Defter-khakhāni* in Constantinople would assuredly be most fruitful. (J. DENY)

TIMBUKTU (Timbuctoo; French Tombouctou), a town in western Africa. It is not only of interest as evidence of the great extension of Islām to the south; it has itself been a centre of Muslim life of considerable activity; it possessed a celebrated university and produced learned men and historians who are not without merit. According to the author of the *History of the Sudan*, it was founded at the end of the vth (ixth) century by the Maghsharen Tuāreg, a nomadic people who came into these lands to pasture their flocks. In summer they camped on the banks of the Niger in the village of Amadagha; in autumn they went back to their homes in Arawan. At last they settled definitely on the site of this town. Timbuktu became an important commercial centre; travellers reached it either by the river or by caravans from the coast of Morocco and Tripolitania. The people of Waghdaw migrated thither in considerable numbers; the commercial centre had formerly been Walāta. Learned men and devout theologians soon followed the traders; they came from Egypt, from Ghadames from Tuat, Tafilalet, Fez, Sūs etc. The town was given fine buildings and walls were built around it; the huts, once built of branches and straw, were replaced by houses of clay. A large mosque was built in Timbuktu itself and another to the north at Sankore.

The first dynasty, which came from Mālli [q. v.] reigned at Timbuktu from 737 to 837 (1336—1433). The town in this period was visited by the celebrated traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa whose description is very interesting. In 753 (1352) he went there with a caravan from Morocco which included many traders of Sidjilmāsa, then a very prosperous commercial centre. After a journey of 25 days he made a halt at Taghāza where there were mines of rock-salt, then at Walāta (Iyūālāten), the first place in the land of the negroes, two months' journey from Sidjilmāsa. Ten days after leaving Walāta he came to Zāgharī and reached the Niger near the town of Karsakhu; thence he went to Mālli on the river Sansara and finally reached Timbuktu, after which he continued his journey by water. The people of these lands were Muslims; the tribe of Messūfa was the dominant one. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa admires certain virtues of the negroes but cannot understand the nudity of women among the believers. The town itself does not seem to have impressed him greatly. The Messūfis who lived in it wore the *liṭhām* [q. v.], a veil covering the lower half of the face. We know that the Arabs usually gave the name of *al-Mulaththimūn*, the veiled people, to the Berber peoples who led a nomadic life in the desert as far as Nubia (Juynboll and de Goeje, *Descr. du Maghrib*, Leyden 1860, p. 48).

A second dynasty, that of the Maghsharen Tuāreg, held sway in Timbuktu for 40 years. Then came the conqueror Sunnī 'Alī whose rule lasted 24 years (873—898 = 1468—92). He made his victorious

entry into Timbuktu in 873 and wrought great havoc there. Local historians judge him very severely, as a wicked libertine and a bloody oppressor who persecuted learned men and laughed at religion. He performed the *ṣalāt* sitting. Nevertheless the Sunghai dynasty which descended from this prince was a brilliant one and raised the town to a high degree of prosperity. The most eminent sultān of this dynasty was the askia al-Hādī Muḥammad, a patron of letters and learning. The last, the askia Dāwūd, died in 935 (1528). Timbuktu then passed under Moroccan domination. The Pāshā of Marākush Maḥmūd conquered it from the Sultān of Morocco, Mulāy Aḥmad in 999 (1590). Moroccan rule lasted from 999—1164 (1590—1750); the exactions of the Pāshās and the raids of the marauding Tuāreg mark the period of decline. The Tuāreg regained the town in 1207 (1792), then the Pul took it in 1243 (1827) and then the Tukulor.

In the ixth (xvth) century Europeans came into contact with Timbuktu. Through Tunis and Tripolitania it had dealings with Italy, especially with Florence. Four great caravan routes led from it, going to Egypt via Kanem and Gao, to Tunis by the Hoggār, to Morocco via Sidjilmāsa, Tafilalet and Tuat, and to the Sudān by Mālli. Two Europeans mention the town at this time and refer to it in terms which suggest that it was a well known place; these were the Florentine Benedetto Dei who visited it in 875 (1470) and says only "here coarse clothes are sold and serges and materials which are made in Lombardy", and a few years later Leo Africanus who is more enthusiastic: "the city", he says "is well provided with shops: it has a temple of stone and lime, built by an excellent architect of Granada and a splendid palace for the king. The latter is very rich in plates and rods of gold some of which weigh 1,300 pounds". The traffic in gold and in salt is specially mentioned at this time.

After the xth (xvth) century Timbuktu became cut off from Europe. It was now only talked of in Europe as a mysterious and inaccessible town, thought to be very beautiful and rich, no doubt on account of its trade in gold, ostrich feathers, ivory, and slaves. The mystery of Timbuktu after various unsuccessful attempts and the assassination of Major Laing was pierced by the French explorer René Caillié in 1244 (1828) who was much disillusioned by it and greatly preferred Djenne. Barth then visited it in 1853.

The town, still modest in appearance, although the native architecture is not without taste, was incorporated in the sphere of French colonisation in 1311 (1893). Communication by motor-car (caterpillar wheels) was opened with Algeria by the Haardt-Audouin-Dubreuil expedition. The town is no longer as large as it was under the old Sunghai kings, whose memory the natives still cherish; in those days it was bounded by one of the arms of the Niger, but now the ruins lie 10 miles south of it. Caravans carrying salt still do a busy trade.

As to the works of Sudanese authors, the manuscripts of them have been brought back mainly by Felix Dubois and Colonel Archinard. M. Houdas has published several of them. The most important are the *History of the Sudan* and a *Dictionary of the Pashas*. The best known author of Timbuktu is Aḥmad Bābā, who compiled a biographical dictionary. Taken prisoner when the town was occupied by the Moroccans, he was carried off to

Morocco where he lived till 1006 (1597). He died at Timbuktu in 1036 (1626). The period of the greatest literary activity in Timbuktu extends from the viiith (xivth) to the xiith (xviiith) century. Educated Muslims are still to be found in the country, for example the *ḡādī* who a few years ago (1913) made available some inscriptions throwing light on the history of the Muḥammadan penetrations of the Niger country.

Bibliography: for the Sudanese historians, cf. *Publications de l'Ecole des Langues orientales vivantes*, series 4, vols. xii., xiii., xix., xx.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. and transl. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 377—432; Ch. de La Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen-âge, cartographes et explorateurs*, 2 vol. with plates, Cairo 1925; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Ch. Schefer, iii. 292; F. Dubois, *Tombouctou la mystérieuse*, 1897; Père Haquart, *Monographie de Tombouctou*, 1900; Dr. Oskar Lenz, *Tombouctou, Voyage au Maroc, au Sahara et au Soudan*, Fr. transl., Paris, 2 vol., 1886—1887; Lieutenant Préfontan, *Histoire de Tombouctou de sa fondation à l'occupation française*, *Bulletin de l'A. O. F.*, 1922; A. Lamandé and J. Nanteuil, *La Vie de René Caillié*, Paris 1928; G. M. Haardt and L. Audouin-Dubreuil, *Le Raid Citroën*, Paris 1923.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TIMSĀḤ (A.), the crocodile; in Arabic a loanword from the old Egyptian *m-s-h*, or Coptic *emsah*, with article *temsah*, also found in Assyrian-Babyl. as *timsāhu* (Bezold, *Glossar*, 294) and in Herodotus as *χάμψας*. The earliest full description of the crocodile is given in Herodotus (ii. 68) and a good deal that is new is added by Aristotle. Pliny's account is remarkable for his love of the marvellous. The views of the ancients are reflected in the Arabic sources.

According to 'Abd al-Laṭīf crocodiles are most numerous in al-Ṣā'id and at the cataracts: there they swarm like worms, large and small, in the open water and between the rocks of the rapids. The animals when they crawl out of the egg are no bigger than lizards but soon become as much as 10 ells long. They have 60 teeth, lay 60 eggs, live 60 years etc., as Aristotle already told us. In the region of the stomach they have a swelling, which contains a fluid that smells of musk. — The fullest description of the crocodile is that of Kaẓwīnī, who is followed in essentials by Dimashkī and Damīrī. The crocodile has wide jaws, 20 teeth in the upper and 40 in the lower and between them sometimes also a small square tooth; they all fit into one another. Its head is 2 ells long, its back 8, its tail 6; its back is like that of the tortoise. The animal cannot bend or turn because it has not flexible vertebrae. It does not move its lower but its upper jaw, a long disputed but accurate observation. The crocodile is a frightful animal which devours men and sheep and also kills horses and camels. When it sees its prey on the bank, it swims cautiously below the water up to it and then darts out suddenly. Worms are generated in the flesh which remains hanging between its teeth and these are picked out by the bird called *kaṭṭāṭ*, while the crocodile opens its jaws. This bird also warns the reptile of the approach of the hunter. When the *kaṭṭāṭ* has done its work, the crocodile closes its jaws; it would eat up the bird, if the latter did not have a bone as sharp as a needle on its

head. The crocodile is pricked by this, opens its mouth again and lets the bird fly away. From this we get the proverbial saying *idjā' al-timsāḥ* "crocodile gratitude". — Copulation takes place on land, the male has however first to turn the female on her back and afterwards turn her back again as she cannot do it herself and would fall a helpless prey to the hunter. The eggs are laid on land; any that fall in water perish or produce a *saḡanḡūr*, not a crocodile. Crocodiles are found in the Indus as well as the Nile, but there they are smaller. The uses of parts of the crocodile in medicine are numerous.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie* 2, xi. 1947—1956; Keller, *Antike Tierwelt*, ii. 260—270; 'Abdallaṭīf, *Relation de l'Égypte*, transl. de Sacy, 1810, p. 141; Kaẓwīnī, *Adjā'ib al-Maḡhūḡāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 131 and 188; Dimashkī, *Nuḡhat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 99; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, transl. A. S. G. Jayakar, i. 356—358; I. Löw, *Aramäische Lurchnamen, Jüdaica, Festschr. f. Cohen*, 1912, p. 341. — Photographs from nature from the upper Nile in Bengt Berg, *Mit den Zugvögeln nach Afrika*, Berlin 1925. (J. RUSKA)

TIMSĀḤ (Lake), one of the series of swamps and lagoons in the Eastern Delta through which the Suez Canal passes on its way from Port Sa'id south to Suez. The Canal enters the Lake at the 80th kilometre. On the northern shore lies the town of Ismā'īliya [q. v.], an exclusively French residential quarter. The Lake is about 6 sq. miles in area, although before the construction of the Canal it was brackish and reedy. Now it is very picturesque with its bright blue waters and the background of desert hills. The name means Crocodile Lake [cf. the preceding art.], being once upon a time the haunt of that creature. Archaeologists are undecided as to the part it played in historic times. Wallis Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, v. 131 sq.) supposes that it was somewhere in its neighbourhood that the Israelites crossed during their flight from Egypt. He identifies it with the *יַם סוּף* or Sea of Reeds mentioned in Exodus, xiii. 18.

Bibliography: 'Alī Mubārak, *Khīṭaṭ Djaḏīda*, viii. 46; S. W. Baker, *Ismailia*, i. 190; Baedeker, *Egypt*, index. (J. WALKER)

TİMÜR LANG (Tamerlane), the conqueror of Asia, born near Kash in Transoxiana on the 25th Sha'bān of the year of the Mouse, 736 A. H. (8th April 1336), the son of Amīr Tārāghāi (or Turghāi), governor of Kash and its district before Ḥaḡḡdī Barlās, and Takina Khātūn. His family claimed descent from Čingiz Khān and his epitaph gives the following genealogy: Tūmanāi, Kātūlāi, Irzamči Barula, Karāčār Nūyān, İlāngir, Burkel, Tārāghāi, Tīmūr. A rabid detractor of Tīmūr, Ibn 'Arabshāh, says that he was the son of a shepherd and lived at first by brigandage and the epithet of Lang (lame) was given him as a result of a wound he received while stealing sheep. Tīmūr was also called Kūrakān, the "son-in-law of the Khākān", Amīr, "the Emīr", al-Amīr al-Kabīr, "the Great Emīr", Ṣāhib Kīrān, "lord of the fortunate conjunction of planets". In 790 (1388) he definitely took the title of sultān and after his death was given that of Djānnat Makān, "dweller in Paradise".

While still quite young, Tīmūr distinguished himself by his intelligence, forethought and bravery. At first in the service of the local ruler, the amīr

Kāzghān, he accompanied Ḥadīdjī Barlās fleeing before the invasion of Tūghlāk Timūr Khān but soon returned to plead the cause of his oppressed countrymen before the conquerors. He did this with such eloquence and courage that the invaders, eager to win over such an opponent, gave him the governorship of his native country. The next year (762 = 1361), Tūghlāk Timūr organising his conquests, made his son Ilyās governor of Samarqand and appointed Timūr his vizier; the latter however, disgusted with the coarseness of those around him, soon went to rejoin his brother-in-law Amīr Ḥusain, who was preparing for resistance against the invasion.

Tūghlāk Timūr and Ilyās, defeated in their turn, perished on the battlefield. Turning against his ally, Amīr Ḥusain, Timūr made war on him, had him assassinated after a pretended reconciliation and becoming master of Balkh ascended the throne on Ramaḍān 12, 771 (April 10, 1370), assuming the titles of successor of Čaghatai and descendant of Čingiz. His reign however only really begins with the conquest of Djata and Khwārizm, which took over ten years of fighting (771–782 = 1369–1380) and nine expeditions: five to the first and four to the latter country. Becoming the official protector of Islām, Timūr favoured the priests and the new Naqshbandiya order and on his campaigns was accompanied by a long retinue of holy and learned men, men of letters and artists.

On the partition of the Kīpčāk in 777 (1375) Timūr had taken the part of Toktāmish [q. v.], Khān of the Crimea, who had been defeated by Ūrūs, ruler of the White Horde. In 782 (1380–1381) he sent him against the Russians; Moscow was taken and sacked. Four years later Toktāmish rebelled against his benefactor; at first victorious, then defeated, he wanted to continue the struggle although Timūr offered to pardon him. In 790 (1388) he invaded Transoxiana, defeated ‘Umar Shaikh, son of Timūr, with his generals and threatened Samarqand. Timūr had to go to restore the situation. There was another invasion in 793 (1390–1391); this time ‘Umar Shaikh had his revenge and the rebel Khān fled into Georgia, abandoning his lands, to resume the offensive four years later.

Undertaken in 782 (1380–1381), the conquest of Persia began with the invasion of Khorāsān, which submitted. On the return of an expedition against the pagan Mongols in 784 (1383), Gurgān, Māzandarān and Seistān were conquered in rapid succession; the local rulers having submitted, retained a nominal authority. In the following year the rebellion of Herāt ended in the suppression of the Kurt dynasty. In 786 (1384–1385) Walī, king of Māzandarān, was dispossessed. The years 788–789 (1386–1387) were occupied with the conquest of Fārs, the ‘Irāk, Luristān and Ādharbāidjān. Sultān Aḥmad Djalā’ir was defeated and put to flight. Timūr spent a winter in Tabriz and imposed a heavy fine on Isfahān which having rebelled was punished by the massacre of 70,000 inhabitants. Towers were built of their skulls. Timūr is said to have had a lively disputation with Ḥafiz in Shirāz, but the truth of this story is not certain.

On the 10th Ramaḍān 795 (July 31, 1392) Timūr set out on what is known as the “five years’ war”; the main episodes of it were the massacre of the heretics in the Caspian provinces, the destruction of the Muẓaffarid dynasty of Fārs (795 = 1393)

and the Mesopotamian campaign. Aḥmad Djalā’ir after seeking to conciliate his rival fled into Syria, where he became a vassal of the Sultān of Egypt, al-Malik al-Zāhir Barquq. The latter having refused the extradition of his protégé, Timūr invaded Asia Minor took and sacked Edessa, Takrit, where he erected a pyramid of skulls, Mārdin and Amid. ‘Umar Shaikh was killed in the course of the fighting. Forced to defend himself against a new attack by Toktāmish, Timūr invaded the Kīpčāk (797 = 1395), occupied Moscow for over a year, undertook a campaign into Georgia and suppressed several risings in Persia.

According to Sharaf al-Dīn, Timūr thought the Muslim rulers of India much too tolerant; they ought, he thought, to have imposed Islām on their subjects. In Rajab 800 (March–April 1398) therefore, he set out for India, crossed the Indus on the 12th Ramaḍān 801 (Sept. 24, 1398) and on the 7th Rabī’ II (Dec. 17) took Dehli. In spite of the admiration with which this city inspired him, he plundered and destroyed it, massacring 80,000 of its inhabitants. The defeated Sultān Maḥmūd III had retired across the Ganges. Timūr who had just divided his kingdom among his officers had to retire hurriedly to face new troubles. A rebellion had just broken out in Syria and Aḥmad Djalā’ir, once again lord of Baghdād, had invaded Ādharbāidjān, the governor of which, Mirānshāh son of Timūr, had compromised everything by his excesses. The rivalry between Timūr and Bāyazīd I was beginning and the new Sultān of Egypt, Faraj, had refused to release a relative of Timūr’s; the envoys sent to negotiate had been executed by the governor of Damascus.

Having taken the necessary measures against Mirānshāh, Timūr ravaged Georgia and set out for Asia Minor in Muḥarram 803 (Aug. 1400). At Siwās the Muslim garrison was spared but 4,000 Christian soldiers were buried alive. Malatya fell. Timūr entered Syria, took Aleppo and after demanding of the ‘ulamā’ which, his men or the enemy’s, killed in fight would earn the title of martyr, handed over the town to be plundered for three days. Ḥamā, Homṣ and Ba’albek fell in their turn; Sultān Faraj was defeated. Damascus capitulated and Timūr sacked it, reduced its inhabitants to slavery and extorted from the ‘ulamā’ a *fatwā* approving his conduct. On the 27th Dhu ‘l-Ḳa’da 803 (July 10, 1401), he took Baghdād by surprise and wrought a great massacre there to avenge his officers killed in the siege, 20,000 inhabitants, or according to Ibn ‘Arabshāh, 40,000 are said to have perished. Abū Bakr, son of Timūr, was given the task of defending the region against the attacks of Qara Yūsuf.

Bāyazīd who had sought investiture from the ‘Abbāsids in Egypt and attacked the Byzantine emperor, a friend of Timūr’s, next molested his allies, the princes of Asia Minor. On Timūr’s returning from a new expedition into Georgia, war broke out between the two rivals and their fate was decided at the battle of Ancyra, actually fought at Čibūkābād, N.E. of Angora on the 19th Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja 804 (July 21, 1402). Bāyazīd who had disposed his forces badly was defeated after a desperate struggle in spite of the valour of his troops. Impeded in his flight by the fall of his horse, he fell into the hands of the victor who treated him with respect and showed real regret when Bāyazīd died at Aḳ Shehir on the

14th *Shābān* 805 (March 14, 1403). Owing its origin to a misunderstanding of a Persian verse, the legend that he ended his days in an iron cage is quite fictitious.

The captures of Brussa and Smyrna were marked by new atrocities. During his sojourn in Asia Minor, Timūr lost his grandson and heir Muḥammad Sulṭān, and received embassies from the Sulṭān of Egypt, who recognised his authority, and from the Byzantine emperor John VIII. Georgia having become tributary, Timūr returned to Samarkand in 807 (1404) where he received a number of ambassadors, to one of whom, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo sent by Henry III of Castile, we owe a valuable account of the court of Samarkand and the festivities which took place there on the occasion of the marriages of several of the grandsons of Timūr.

A new campaign was planned, this time against China, of which Timūr was not content to remain simply suzerain. The Kuriltai assembled at Samarkand acclaimed the declaration of war. On the 23rd *Djumādā I*, 807 (Dec. 27, 1404) he began the campaign, crossing the Oxus on the ice. At Otrār he granted Toktāmish the pardon which he sought of him. On the 10th *Shābān* 807 (Jan. 12, 1404) he fell ill. Feeling his end near, he made all his dispositions and died on the 17th (19th) January aged 71, having reigned 36 years. His body in a coffin of ebony was brought two months later to Samarkand, where his funeral was celebrated, and the magnificent monument, the Gūr-i-Mīr, in which he is buried, can still be seen.

Timūr had married two Chinese princesses whom Ibn 'Arabshāh calls the Great Queen, *al-Malika al-Kubrā*, and the Little Queen, *al-Malika al-Sughrā*, and also Tūmān, daughter of the amīr Mūsā, governor of Nakhshab and Djalbān, a woman of rare beauty whom he had executed for some imaginary fault. He had also a large number of concubines. His children were Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djahāngīr (d. 779 = 1377–1378), Mu'izz al-Dīn 'Umar Shāikh, killed in Syria, Djalāl al-Dīn Gurgha, called Mirānshāh, Shāhrukh whom circumstances made his heir, and one daughter Sulṭāna Bakht, who married Sulaimān Shāh. Realising that his rule could not last for ever and desirous to avoid civil wars, he had divided his empire among his sons and grandsons giving them equal parts. But Muḥammad Sulṭān, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and after his death Pir Muḥammad Djahāngīr, his brother, were to have precedence.

Grave and serious, Timūr did not love displays of gaiety and demanded absolute frankness in speaking to him even though it should pain him. Clavijo speaks highly of his justice and he certainly showed himself merciless to criminals. Gifted with a very fine memory but having little education himself, he encouraged and rewarded men of genius. It was in his reign that the art called "Timūrid" had its origins. He enriched Samarkand with magnificent buildings and made it an international market which, in his lifetime at least, supplanted Tabriz and Baghdād and he transplanted thither the artists and craftsmen from the towns he conquered. He did everything possible to encourage commerce and industry and by his conquests he opened up new routes by land for the trade between India and Eastern Persia. Throughout his empire he carried through great public works, organised the administration and the army on rational bases and worked with all his might for the spread of Islām.

In physique, Timūr was of middle height, had a large head and a high complexion. His hair had become white at an early age. Two wounds in the foot and the hand had made him somewhat deformed. Numerous portraits of him exist, by Persian or Indian artists, but they are for the most part purely imaginary (cf. Vámbéry, *Gesch. Bochara's*, i. 212–213).

Bibliography: To Timūr are attributed Memoirs (*Maḥfūzāt*) and Institutes (*Tūzūkāt*) but their authenticity is very doubtful. He himself, however, had two official histories of his career written: one, the *Tārīkh-i Khāmi*, written in Turkī verse in Uighur characters, is now lost and the other the *Zafar-nāme* of Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmi, still unpublished, survives in a unique manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 23,980): a recension of the latter work by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī is the best known in Europe of his histories. The *Adjā'ib al-Makdūr fī Nawā'ib Timūr* of Ibn 'Arabshāh is a bitter satire but it nevertheless contains a just appreciation of the character of the conqueror and valuable details about Samarkand. Mirkhwānd (*Rawḍa*, Bk. vi.) and especially Khwāndamīr (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*) are with 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī (*Maḥla' al-Sa'dain*) the most valuable of the later historians. In Books vii. and viii. of his *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, von Hammer has given the substance of contemporary Ottoman and Byzantine chroniclers. We may also mention the *Munsho'āt* of Feridūn Bey, a valuable collection of documents. Among European travellers, we may mention Clavijo, Schiltberger and Bouccault.

For further details of the sources we refer the reader to the valuable works by E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols*, and E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 180–185, and to the studies by L. Zimine, *Les détails de la mort de Timūr (Protocoles et communications de la Société archéologique du Turkestan, xviii^e year)* and *Les exploits d'Emirzādē 'Omar Cheikh* (*R. M. M.*, 1914, xxviii. 244–245). Down to the sixteenth century European historians hardly used anything but Petis de la Croix's translation of Sharaf al-Dīn. D'Herbelot, Gibbon and De Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, book xx.) are the most important earlier European writers. Among modern writers we may mention Vámbéry, *Gesch. Bochara's*, chap. x.—xi.; Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*; Sykes, *History of Persia*, chap. lix.; E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, book ii.; Zaplicka, *The Turks in Central Asia*, and Grousset, *Histoire de l'Asie*, vol. ii. (L. BOUVAT)

TIMÜRIDS. This term, sometime used to include all the descendants of Timūr, means more especially the princes of his family who ruled in Persia and Central Asia in the xvth century; it is in the latter sense that it forms the subject of this article.

The history of the Timūrids may be divided into two quite distinct periods (cf. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 380). In the first the empire, divided between the sons and grandsons of the conqueror, was soon reduced to two great kingdoms—in the west that of Mirānshāh and his sons Abū Bakr and Muḥammad 'Umar—in the east that of Shāhrukh which, at first limited to Khurāsān, to which Transoxiana was next added in a few

years, comprised almost the whole of the lands that had been ruled by Timūr. It was a brilliant and comparatively happy period. Of a peace-loving disposition in spite of his success in war Shāhrukh endeavoured to repair the damage done by his father and favoured as far as he could men of intellect. In the second period from the death of Shāhrukh to the battle of Shūr which by securing the unity of Persia dealt the last blow to Timūrid domination, the empire was steadily breaking to pieces. Each prince wanted to have his own kingdom, thus facilitating the advance of the enemies who from all sides were threatening the enfeebled state. But by a bizarre contrast the renaissance which had marked the reign of Shāhrukh continued under his successors to the end of their rule in all its splendour. The whole xvth century is the golden age of letters, art, and scholarship. The court of Ḥusain Bāikara, the second last Timūrid, was not inferior to that of Shāhrukh.

The amīrs believing that by concealing the death of Timūr they could successfully carry out the expedition to China, decided to take as ruler for the duration of the campaign prince Khalīl who was to be assisted by a council of regency and at the end of the expedition would surrender the power to Pir Muḥammad Djahāngir, as Timūr had desired. War broke out between the two claimants and Pir Muḥammad twice defeated submitted to the generosity of Khalīl who left him his lands. Six months later the vizier Pir 'Alī Tāz had Pir Muḥammad assassinated and tried to seize the throne himself; this cost him his life (808 = 1406). Abandoned by his troops, dethroned by his amirs who reproached him with his extravagances, Khalīl was compensated with the governorship of the 'Irāk (809 = 1406–1407) in which he ended his days.

Mīrānshāh reigned, with his son Abū Bakr, and under the authority, imposed by Timūr, of his youngest son Muḥammad 'Umar over a kingdom which included the 'Irāk, Ādharbāidjān, Mughān, Shīrwān and Georgia. A quarrel broke out between the two brothers and the amīr Djihānshāh tried to deprive them of their power which cost him his life. Mīrānshāh having made a hostile demonstration against Shāhrukh had to submit (808 = 1405–1406). In 810 (1408) he was killed in battle with Qara Yūsuf. His sons perished about the same time.

Shāhrukh on the death of Timūr was ruler only of Khurāsān; he conquered Māzandarān in 809 (1406) and Sīstān in the next year, then extended his authority over Transoxiana to which he went in 811 (1409) to take possession of Samarḳand, to organise the country, rebuild Merw and restore the old course of the Murghāb; he further extended his power to Fārs (817 = 1414–1415), Kirmān (819 = 1416–1417) and Ādharbāidjān to which he had gone to attack his redoubtable rival Qara Yūsuf; the latter having died suddenly, the enemy army dispersed (822 = 1419) but the fighting continued with the successors of Qara Yūsuf and the rival dynasty of the White Sheep. In the end, Shāhrukh held all the lands of Timūr except Syria and 'Arabistān. Many risings broke out in his reign but all were put down. Among them were those led by the amīr Khudāidād and Shāh Bahā' al-Dīn (812 = 1409–1410), Bāikara Mirzā at Shīrāz (818 = 1415–1416), Iskandar and Djihānshāh (832 = 1429).

In 820 (1417–1418) Shāhrukh had put at the head of the government his son Bāisonghor, made all who had been false to their trust disgorge their ill-gotten gains. He survived all his sons except Ulugh Beg and died in Fishāward (Raiy) on the 25th Dhu 'l-Hijja 850 (March 12, 1447) leaving the memory of a generous and peace-loving prince, brave and free from ambition. To him we owe amongst other useful works the opening of a large library in Herāt. With China, of which he was suzerain, he was always on good terms and he asserted his nominal suzerainty over India. On the other hand, his relations with the Ottomans and with Egypt were always difficult.

After his death the decline began, rapid and irremediable. Ulugh Beg, the "astronomer-king" (850–852 = 1447–1449), was a scholar and man of letters, more fitted to be a student than a ruler and incapable of facing the difficulties which assailed him. Conquered by his nephew 'Alā' al-Dawla he agreed to all his demands in order to obtain the release of his son 'Abd al-Latif. But the conqueror failed to fulfil his promises. The Özbeks took and sacked Herāt and Samarḳand; 'Abd al-Latif rebelled, seized his father, who had been several times defeated, put him to death after going through the farce of a trial but was himself assassinated after reigning six months (853–854 = 1449–1450). 'Abd Allāh Mīrzā, grandson of Shāhrukh, ascended the throne in spite of the opposition of Abū Sa'īd who sought the support of the Özbeks. 'Abd Allāh was defeated and slain (853–854 = 1450–1451). Bāber Mīrzā, a dissipated and drunken prince, who had vainly sworn to reform himself, lost the 'Irāk, Fārs and Kirmān, blinded 'Alā' al-Dawla, failed against Abū Sa'īd and died of his excesses (855–861 = 1452–1457).

Very different was the reign of Abū Sa'īd, the most powerful monarch of his time. A bitter opponent of 'Abd Allāh Mīrzā he had at his death taken possession of Samarḳand; the disappearance of Bāber Mīrzā and his further conquests gave him Transoxiana, Badakhshān, Kābul and Qandahār, with the border districts of India, the 'Irāk and Khurāsān, which he completely conquered in 863 (1458–1459). He was ambitious but the historians agree that he had fine qualities: dignity, discretion, frankness, energy and remarkable political ability. After fighting the Mongols he made an alliance with them, returning to the old traditions of his family. Declaring war on Ūzūn Ḥasan whose attempts at a reconciliation he repulsed, he marched into the Qara Bāgh where his army starving deserted him. He fell into the hands of the enemy and Ūzūn Ḥasan's officers, in spite of their master's opposition, demanded his death (855–872 = 1452–1469).

Sultān Maḥmūd, who began by having the four sons of his predecessors assassinated, only reigned six months, detested and objugated. His tyranny, arbitrariness and depravity surpassed anything previously known. He was assassinated and a rebellion was just about to break out when his death which had been concealed by the astute vizier Khusrū Shāh (900–901 = 1494–1495) became known. He left several sons. Sultān Ma'sūd who reigned four years had to fight for his throne with his brothers Bāisonghor and 'Alī who, thanks to the intrigue of Khusrū Shāh, failed miserably (901–905 = 1495–1499).

Sultān Aḥmad, son and successor of Abū

Sa'id, had a number of good qualities: he was loyal, frank, courteous and brave; but having no power he was only a puppet in the hands of his entourage especially the clergy; and except for an attack by 'Umar Shaikh and an expedition against Bāber, the future conqueror of India, his reign was peaceful. Magnificent buildings were erected in Samarkand at this time and scholars and men of letters flocked to his court (874—899 = 1469—1494).

'Umar Shaikh, fourth son of Abū Sa'id, had made for himself a little kingdom in Farghāna of which the capital was Akhsi. Brave and fond of fighting, although his army was only 4,000 men, he made several attempts to take Samarkand. His contemporaries praise his justice, his generosity and lovable disposition. Although given to wine and gaming, he was very devout. A son-in-law of the sovereign of the Čaghatai, he had to cede to his father-in-law Yūnis Khān lands which he could not keep and died after an accident after a short reign on the 4th Ramaḍān 899 (8th June 1494) aged only 39. His son Zāhir al-Dīn Bāber who succeeded him at the age of 12 after various successful expeditions in one of which he took Samarkand, was dispossessed by Shaibāni in 906 (1500). He went to India where he founded a great empire.

Sultān Husain Bāikara reigned at Herāt for 37 years. Literary and artistic, a brave and successful soldier, he conquered Khurāsān, Tukhāristān, Qandahār, Sīstān and Māzandarān, victorious over all his rivals. But the eight or nine years of his reign were troubled. A martyr to rheumatism, threatened by the Ōzbeks, he had to put down rebellions by his sons and finally died on his way to fight Shaibāni. At first an ascetic and pious Muslim, he latterly gave himself up to debauchery, an example which his sons and subjects followed. The literary circle at Husain Bāikara's court is famous. In it besides the famous vizier Mīr 'Alī Shīr, the creator of Turki literature, were poets like Djamī, historians like Mirkhwānd and Khwāndamīr, painters like Bahzād and Shāh Muẓaffar. The palaces of Herāt rivalled those of Samarkand (873—911 = 1469—1506). The son and successor of Sultān Husain Bāikara, Badī' al-Zamān, was the last Timūrid of Persia. Defeated by Shaibāni, a guest of Shāh Ismā'il and finally a prisoner of Sultān Salīm, he died at Constantinople in 923 (1517) leaving a son Muḥammad al-Zamān, who went to try his fortune in India, where he died in 946 (1539) after vainly trying to become king of Guḍjārāt with Portuguese help.

The coming of Shāh Ismā'il, the triumph of the Shī'a and the Persian unity which was the result, the realisation of national unity in China and in Russia in the same period, the foundation by the Shaibānids of a great empire in Transoxiana deprived the descendants of Timūr of all hope of domination except in India which was passing into the hands of one of them.

The intellectual revival which characterizes the ixth (xvth) century is in part the work of the Timūrid sovereigns and princes many of whom were themselves poets, artists and scholars, and attracted to their courts men of genius. Among the former were Shāhrukh, who promoted historical studies, Ulūgh Beg, astronomer, poet and theologian, Husain Bāikara, artist and poet, and Bāber, who left a number of valuable works in addition to his memoirs, and among the latter, Bāisonghor, son of Shāhrukh, a calligrapher of the first rank to

whom the art of the book owed a great deal. Djamī is at this period the greatest name in Persian literature which is also represented by the mystic poets, Saiyid Ni'matallāh Kirmānī and Kāsim al-Anwār; by Hātifī and Kātibī, authors of *math-nawīs*; Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī, a moralist and author of apologies; the historians Mirkhwānd and Khwāndamīr, 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī, Hāfiz Abrū, the latter also a geographer. Besides Djamī, the most notable theologians were Aḥmad Taftāzānī and the traditionist Mīr Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥaddas. Jurists, mathematicians, physicians etc. were also numerous.

Of the Turkish poets of the time, Mīr 'Alī Shīr is almost the only one known; he had however some notable disciples, like Shaikhūm Beg Suhaili and Kamāl al-Dīn Gazargahi.

In the ixth (xvth) century Persian art attained its perfection. The schools of painting of Samarkand, Bukhārā and Herāt were at their best. We have already mentioned what Bāisonghor did for the book. Architecture, inspired alike by the Chinese pagoda and the Mongol tent is represented by monuments like the Gūr-i-Mīr, the mosques of Bibi Khānum, Ulūgh Beg and Shāh Zinda not to mention those of Samarkand. Owing to the presence of the colonies of artists and artisans installed *volens volens* in Samarkand and Ādharbāidjān by Timūr, decorative arts, ceramics in particular, made remarkable progress. Music also was brilliantly represented.

Bibliography: For the whole period Mirkhwānd and especially Khwāndamīr are very useful; 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī whose *Maṭla'*, unfortunately still unedited, was largely used by Quatremère (*Mémoire historique sur le règne du sultan Schah-rokh*, *J. A.*, 1836, and *Notice de l'ouvrage persan...* forming the first part of vol. xiv. of the *N.E.*); Mu'in al-Dīn Isfizarī, author of a valuable chronicle of Herāt (extracts given by Barbier de Meynard in the *J. A.*, 1860—1862). For the early years, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, Ibn 'Arabshāh, Faṣṣihī, author of a *Mudjmal* unpublished and incomplete. For the last years the memoirs of Bāber are most valuable, checked and supplemented by the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mirzā Haidar Dughlāt, and the *Shaibāni-Nāma* of Muḥammad Šālih. Feridūn Bey and Münedjīm Bāshī should be consulted for the relations with the Ottomans. For further details the reader may be referred to the works of E. Blochet and E. G. Browne quoted under TIMŪR LANG; L. Bouvat, *Essai sur la civilisation timouride*, *J. A.*, ccviii., 1926, p. 193—299; do., *L'Empire mongol (2e phase)*, vol. vii/iii. of the *Histoire du monde*, publ. under the direction of A. E. Cavaignac (Paris 1927).

On the literary renaissance, cf. the *Tadhkira* of Dawlatshāh and the works of Mīr 'Alī Shīr, his *Madjalis al-Nafā'is* in particular (extract in Belin, *J. A.*, 1861, xviii. and 1866, vii., viii.).

The European travellers who have given us descriptions of the Timurid kingdom are: Clavijo and Pero Tafur, Spaniards; Ambrogio Contarini, Nicolo Conti, Hieronymo di San Stefano and Caterino Zeno, Italians; Boucicault, French; Nikitine, Russian; Schiltberger, German. The principal European historians are D'Herbelot, De Guignes, Gibbon, von Hammer and Vámbéry, *Gesch. Bochara's*, chap. xii.; Browne, *op. cit.*, book iii.; Skrine and Denison

Ross, *The Heart of Asia*; Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, chap. lx.—lx.; Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia*; Grousset, *Histoire de l'Asie*, vol. ii. The Bibliography in vol. iii. of the *Archives Marocaines* (see index, p. 94—95) gives a list of works on Timūrid art down to 1905; other important works since published include: Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908; E. Blochet, *Les Peintures de manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1911; F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London 1912; T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, London 1929; Arménag Beg Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XII^{ème} au XVII^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1929, and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Les miniatures orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston*, Paris 1929.

(L. BOUVAT)

TİMÜR-TAŞH, an Ortoqid, son of Nadjim al-Din İlghāzī of the line of Mārdīn. Al-Malik al-‘Alīm al-‘Adil Ḥisām al-Dīn Timūr-Taśh was born in 498 (1104) and by the age of 12 (in 512) his father had left him in Aleppo as his temporary deputy. In 515, Timūr-Taśh was sent to the Saldjūk Sultān Maḥmūd and as a result of this mission Maiyāfārīkīn [q. v.] was added to the territory of the Ortoqids. After the death of İlghāzī, his lands were divided up. Timūr-Taśh received Mārdīn, his brother Sulaimān, Maiyāfārīkīn and his cousin Sulaimān b. ‘Abd al-Djabbār, Aleppo. In 518, Balak b. Bahrām b. Ortoq of Aleppo was killed while besieging Manbidj (which belonged to the amir al-Ḥassān of Ba‘albek). Timūr-Taśh, who was in camp at Balak, raided the country as far as Aleppo which he seized on the 20th Rabī‘ I 518. He left his lieutenant there, for Syria was full of fighting and he was a man who liked peace (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 436). As a result of the intrigues of the Shī‘ī Dubais (of the Mazyādid dynasty) the Franks besieged Aleppo. The inhabitants, seeing the weakness (*al-wahn wa ‘l-‘adja*) of their master appealed to Aḳ-Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī of Mawṣil, whom they admitted into the citadel.

Timūr-Taśh suffered a series of reverses immediately after the accession to power of ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī (who succeeded Bursuḳī in Mawṣil in 521). Zangī, eager to extend his possessions, marched on Nişībīn which belonged to Mārdīn; Timūr-Taśh sought the help of his cousin of Ḥişn-Kaifā, Dāwūd b. Suḳmān, but Zangī by a stratagem obtained the surrender of Nişībīn before the troops of the two cousins could arrive.

In 524 on his way back from Syria, Zangī besieged Sardjī (between Mārdīn and Nişībīn; cf. Kaşr Sertikhen [?] 8 miles W. of Nişībīn). Timūr-Taśh, Dāwūd and the lord of Diyārbakr collected 20,000 Turkomans but were defeated. Failing to take Ḥişn-Kaifā, Zangī turned back to take the fortress of Dārā.

In spite of these reverses we find Timūr-Taśh in 528 joining Zangī in the siege of Āmid (Diyārbakr). The lord of this fortress summoned Dāwūd to his assistance but the latter was defeated. Zangī and Timūr-Taśh laid waste the district of Āmid but the fortress held out. Zangī recompensed himself by taking Şawr which belonged to Diyārbakr [cf. MĀRDİN: the qaḍā of Sawur].

In 518 Timūr-Taśh was to succeed his cousin Sulaimān at Maiyāfārīkīn. His only success seems

to have been the taking of Hattakh (or ‘Attakh; *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 245: ‘Atāk) to the north of Maiyāfārīkīn [q. v.] which he took in 532 from the last scion of the Marwānids [q. v.].

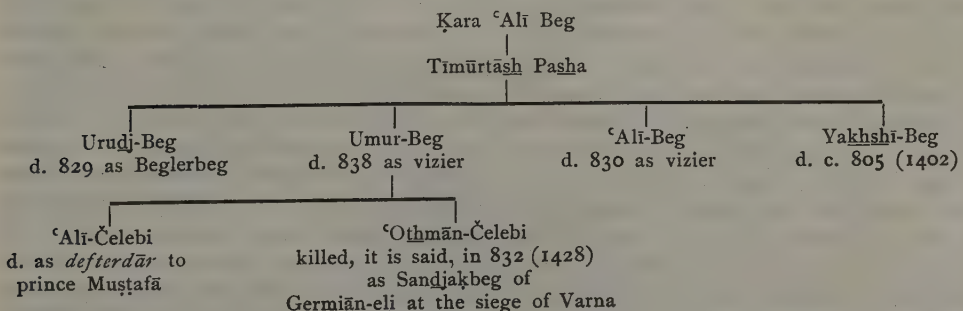
Timūr-Taśh and Dāwūd took advantage of the death of Zangī in 541 to recover their former possessions which had been annexed by the lord of Mawṣil. The latter's successor however, Saif al-Dīn b. Zangī, not only regained them but laid siege to Mārdīn and laid the country round it waste. The peace-loving Timūr-Taśh confined himself to regretting the days of Zangī which now seemed to him like days of rejoicing (*aiyāmuḥu la-ḥad kānat a‘yādan*). He hastened to make peace with Saif al-Dīn and promised him his daughter. Saif al-Dīn died however in 544 and the young princess became the wife of his successor Ḳuṭb al-Dīn. Timūr-Taśh “lord of Mārdīn and of Maiyāfārīkīn” died in 547 (1152) aged about 48 after a reign of 30 years. The same date is given by Abu ‘l-Faradj (ed. Pococke, p. 391) and by Abu ‘l-Fidā’, while the sources used by ‘Alī Emīrī (an *Umm al-‘Ibar* of ‘Abd al-Salām Efendi, mufti of Mārdīn [d. in 1259 = 1843] and Ferdi) give 548. Timūr-Taśh built the Ḥisāmīya madrasa of Mārdīn and the cathedral-mosque opposite it. The coins of Timūr-Taśh described by Ḡhalīb Edhem, *Catal. des Monnaies Turcomanes*, Constantinople 1894, p. 27 and by ‘Alī Amīrī, *op. cit.*, p. 18, bear neither date nor mint. ‘Alī Amīrī interprets the symbol found upon them as the *tamgha* of the Turkish tribe of Kayı.

Bibliography: cf. the articles ORTOQİDS and MĀRDİN; Ibn al-Athīr, x. 373, 418, 426, 436, 440, 455, 526; xi. 6, 34, 81, 92, 115; Abu ‘l-Fidā’, *Annales moslemici*, ed. Reiske; Kātib Ferdi, *Mārdīn Mulūk-i Urṭuqiye Tārīkhī* (944 [1537], a quite unimportant list of reigns but supplied with valuable notes by the editor ‘Alī Amīrī), Stambul 1331. (V. MINORSKY)

TİMÜRTAŞH, an Ottoman general and vizier, son of the Kara ‘Alī Beg, who in the first year of the reign of Urḳhan took the fortress of Hereke on the Gulf of Nicomedia and displayed particular bravery at the siege of Aidos, when he removed with his own hand an arrow that had pierced his eye. Of the origin of the family very little is known, as is also the case with the other noble families of the early Ottoman empire, viz. the Çandarlı [cf. ÇENDERELİ], the Ewrenos [q. v.], and the Mikhāl-oghlu [q. v.]. Tīmūrtāsh Pāshā is mentioned for the first time, when he continued the Sultān's conquests along the Tundja by Murād I's order with the help of Lālā Shāhīn Pāshā. In 767 (1365) he took Veñidje Kışlaghaç (cf. Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 49 sq. where the date is given as 768) and Yānboll (*ibid.*, p. 53 sq. with the same date) in the plain of the Tundja. The sources tell us nothing of his activities during the next decade. When Lālā Shāhīn died towards the end of the Serbo-Bulgar War (777 = 1375), Tīmūrtāsh succeeded him as Begler-beg of Rūm-eli. In this capacity he distinguished himself in the first place by completing the organisation of the army, by founding the system of fiefs of the sipāhis [see TİMĀR] and creating the *voinak* for the lowest ranks in the army, which consisted mainly of Bulgarian Christians who were chiefly used as drivers (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 181 sq.). It appears that it was at Tīmūrtāsh's instigation that the felt caps

(usually made in Biledjik) since the time of Urkhan worn generally, were limited to the army and that red was decided on as the colour for the headdresses of the begs and officers (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 89 sq.). Timürtāsh Pasha again came into prominence when he took the fortress of Monastir (the modern Bitolj), Prilep and Ishtip (the modern Štip) (the date given is 784 = 1382; cf. Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 97, 96 and 92 and also his *Takwīm al-Tawārīkh*, Stambul 1146, p. 97 where the same date is given, but is difficult to reconcile with the reputed letter of Murād I to his son Bāyazīd I given by Feridūn, *Munsha'at al-Salāṭīn*², i. 107, dated Adrianople first tenth of Rabi' I, 787 = middle of April 1385; cf. thereon J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 191 sq. where the extracts are given from the document). Until the chronology of the early Ottoman period is finally settled, it may be regarded as certain that Timürtāsh crossed the Wardar, invaded the south of modern Serbia and conquered there three strongholds for the Sultān. Kārīl-eli, viz. Aetolia and Acarnania, the land of the "King of the Epirotrians" Carlo II Tocco (d. July 1429), was also hard pressed by him on this occasion. In 1385 Timürtāsh is said to have undertaken a campaign against the Arta (not far from the Ionian Sea), who were showing separatist tendencies (cf. *Epirotica*, ed. J. Bekker [Bonn 1849], p. 229, 22 and Jorga, *G. O. R.*, i. 273) so that he was sometimes here, sometimes there in Thessaly and in Epirus, districts in which Turakhān Beg [q. v.] also fought with success. In 788 (1386) Turakhān Beg suddenly appeared in Anatolia. In the battle which Murād fought in the plain of Konya against his most dangerous opponent, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī of Karamān, he commanded the rearguard of the Ottoman army and it was his intervention that put the ruler of Karamān to flight and thus decided the battle in favour of the Ottomans. As a reward he was given the greater part of the plunder and the title of vizier i. e. a Pasha with 3 tails, which he bore as the first Beglerbeg of the kingdom. When in the following year (789 = 1387) Murād was again preparing for a campaign in Europe, Timürtāsh remained in Anatolia and administered the district of Germiān-eli [q. v.] in the absence of prince Ya'kūb. In 792 (1390) Timürtāsh again appears in the Balkans. In this year, according to Hādjdjī Khalifa's *Takwīm al-Tawārīkh*, he took Kratovo (Turkish Kārāṭowā) east of Ūsküb, famous for its mines of silver and copper. In the next year (793 = 1391) he was taken prisoner in Brussa during a Karamānian raid

on it and Angora, was released and revenged himself by defeating the prince of Karamān in the plain of Aḡ-ḡai (in Germiān-eli) when he hanged him without ceremony although he was the brother-in-law of Bāyazīd I. From Münedjdjimbashi, who probably drew on Idrīs Bitlīsī (iii. 311) we learn of the further history of Timürtāsh Pasha that he conquered Kianghri [q. v.] in Anatolia by order of Bāyazīd I in 799 (1396 and 1397) and in the following year (800, beg. Sept. 24, 1397) Athens (cf. *Chronicon breue* in Ducas, Bonn ed., p. 516 [Μουπράζης] and J. H. Mordtmann in *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, iv., 1923, p. 346 sqq.) with the surrounding lands, also Behesni [q. v.] and Malātya [q. v.] from the Turkomans, Diwrigī from the Kurds, Dārende and Kemākh [q. v.] (cf. also Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 150) and was busy with warlike enterprises, sometimes in Europe and sometimes in Asia Minor (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 248 sq.). In the battle of Angora (19th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 804 = 20th July 1402), he with his son Yakhshī shared the fate of Bāyazīd I and passed as a prisoner into Timūr's hands. When the treasures accumulated by Timürtāsh were discovered in Kūṭāhiya [q. v.], Timūr heaped reproaches upon him and at first refused him his liberty (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 330, following Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, transl. Petis de la Croix, v. 54, p. 41). He only survived the collapse of the Ottoman kingdom for a short time. While leading an army for prince 'Isā in the battle of Ulubāt (Asia Minor) he was treacherously murdered by one of his own servants in 808 (1405). Sultān Mehmed I sent the head of the old warrior to his brother Sulaimān as a token of victory. His body was taken to Brussa and buried there in the mosque founded by him. He had four sons, who also rose to distinction as viziers and generals, viz. (according to Sa'd al-Dīn) Urudj Beg, Umur Beg, 'Alī Beg, and Yakhshī Beg. The last named, who had distinguished himself in the Balkan campaigns (e. g. at the capture of Nish in 777 = 1375 [cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 181] and of Provadija [Turk. Prāwādī, Bulg. Oveč, cf. K. Jireček, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, p. 539 and Jorga, *G. O. R.*, i. 259] in 1388) seems to have perished soon after the battle of Angora. A son named 'Othmān Beg mentioned by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 495 (cf. however *ibid.*, p. 402, where he is not given) cannot be traced in the Ottoman annals. There may be some confusion with a grandson of Timürtāsh who bore this name (see below). The family of Timürtāsh is set out in the following table:



Bibliography: The works mentioned in the text and Beligh-i Brūsewī, *Gūldest-i Riyāq-i 'Irfān*, Brussa 1302, p. 63, where two bearers of the name Timūrtāsh appear in error. — On a general Timūrtāsh under 'Othmān and Urkhan, see Zink-eisen, *G. O. R.*, i. 112. (FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-TINNIN, the constellation of the Dragon. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, it consists of 31 stars none of which lies outside of the constellation. Apart from the general figure of the constellation which comes from Greek (and probably earlier from Babylonian) astronomy the Arabs have names for smaller groups of stars within it. Thus the star μ is called the Dragon's tongue, *al-rāfiq*, "the isolated grazing camel", the four stars $\beta \gamma \nu \xi$ in the head *al-'awwā'idh*, "the young dam-camels", a not very bright star between them *al-rubā'*, "the camel-foal"; the bright stars $\zeta \eta$ are called *al-dh'pāin*, "the two jackals", the dark ω f *agfār al-dh'p*, "the jackal's claws". The Arabs imagine that the two jackals are trying to seize the camel-foal and that it is being protected by the dams. At the beginning of the Dragon's tail is the star *al-dhikḥ*, "the male hyena". In Ulūgh Beg we find the readings *al-'awwād* "the lute-player" and *al-rāfiq* "the dancer" (this also in Wüstenfeld's text); these seem to have no further authority and are easily explained as misreadings of *al-'awwā'idh* and *al-rāfiq*.

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über Ursprung und Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, 1809, p. 32—41; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Adjā'ib al-Makh-lūkāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 31; H. Ethé, *el-Ḳazwīnī's Kosmographie*, 1868, p. 65—66.

(J. RUSKA)

TIPŪ SULTĀN, the son of Ḥaidar 'Alī [q.v.] of Maisūr, was born in 1753. His father employed him in many military operations, and on one occasion, in 1771, when he and his troops were not found where they were expected to be, publicly inflicted on him a most unmerciful beating. On his father's death, on Dec. 7, 1783, he succeeded to the throne of Maisūr, and in 1784 he concluded peace with the British, with whom his father had been at war. In 1785 war broke out between Tipū and the Marāṭhā Pīshwā, who was joined by Nizām 'Alī of Ḥaidarābād, but in 1787 Tipū took alarm at some military reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis and made peace with his opponents. He was a bitter enemy of the British, and was known to be secretly in communication with the French at Pondicherry, and in 1788 he attacked the Rādja of Travancore, who was under British protection. The Rādja appealed to the British for aid, and in 1790 Lord Cornwallis entered into an alliance with the Pīshwā and Nizām 'Alī and declared war against Tipū. The operations in that year were futile, and in 1791 Lord Cornwallis took the field in person, but was disappointed by his allies. In the following year, however, he attacked Seringapatam, Tipū's capital, and compelled Tipū to submit, to cede half his territories, and to pay an indemnity of three millions sterling. In 1798 it became known that Tipū had received French envoys, and had been admitted, under the title of "Citizen Tipū", as a citizen of the French Republic. Lord Mornington, now Governor General, demanded an explanation, but Tipū refused to receive the British envoy, and sent a letter containing lame excuses, and charging the French authorities with

malice and falsehood. In 1799 a British army under General Harris, accompanied by Colonel Arthur Wellesley, Lord Mornington's brother, invaded Maisūr, and was joined by a force from Ḥaidarābād, while another British force entered the state from the Bombay Presidency. Tipū attempted to oppose the invaders, but was driven back on his capital. He sued for peace, but when he discovered that he would be required to surrender half of his remaining territories and to pay a sum of two millions sterling he resolved to fight to the last. Seringapatam was taken by storm in May 1799, and the corpse of Tipū was found in a gateway.

Tipū spoke Hindūstānī and Canarese, and also Persian, after Indian fashion. "From a smattering in Persian literature he considered himself as the first philosopher of the age". The leading features of his character were vanity and arrogance, and, being no judge of character, he was very ill served. His application was intense, and he attempted to carry out in person the whole business of his state, but the task was far beyond the power of any one man, and Tipū was no statesman, and wasted much of his time by the introduction of absurd innovations. He also lacked military ability, and as a soldier his sole virtue was that of physical courage.

Bibliography: Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysoor*, 2nd ed., Madras 1869.

(T. W. HAIG)

TIRĀNA, also TIRĀN, capital of the kingdom of Albania, pleasantly situated 400 feet above sea-level in the well cultivated plain at the foot of the Mal'i Dajrit (5,370 feet) enclosed on three sides (east, south and west) by hills, connected with the Adriatic and its seaport Durazzo by road (25 miles) and soon to be connected by a railway now being built. The town which in 1927 had 12,454, mainly Muslim, inhabitants only attained importance when it was chosen in place of Durazzo as the seat of government of the Free State and later kingdom of Albania. Tirāna is also the seat of the chief Mufti of Albania and with its numerous Muhammadan noble families forms a stronghold of Islām in Albania. It is important in commerce as the market for a large part of lower Albania. Tirāna is usually said to be a foundation of Bārḳin-zāde Sulaimān Pāshā (about 1600) who in memory of his Persian campaigns called it after the Persian capital Tihrān of which Tirāna is a corruption. This statement (cf. A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute Albanie*, Paris 1901, p. 205 sqq.) is not worthy of credence because as early as 1572 "*il borgo di Tirana*" is mentioned (cf. M. v. Süflay, *Städte und Burgen Albaniens*, in *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LXIII/i., 1924, p. 35). It is certain that Tirāna was of no importance in earlier times, in comparison with the adjacent Kruya. On Sept. 2, 1477, in the plain of Tirāna the Venetian provviditore Francesco Contarini with 2,500 cavalry and Albanian infantry fought the Turks in a battle which ended disastrously for him (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 151). Later the place passed into the possession of the powerful family of Toptan from Kruya, who established themselves here through marriage at the end of the xviiith century. Their most celebrated member was Ḳaplan Aḥmad Pāshā (c. 1800) who was given large estates round Tirāna for his services to the

Sultān in the war against Kara Maḥmūd Paṣha Bushatī of Scutari (Albania). The whole plain of Tīrāna still belongs to the Toptan family. There are very few memorials of old times in the town. The most important are the mosques of Ḥādjdī Edhem Bey, a descendant of the above mentioned Sulaimān Paṣha, the Aṣṇāf Džāmī'i, and a mosque founded by Sulaimān Paṣha in 1605 with his *türbe* beside it. On the S. E. side of the town, surrounded by very old cypresses, is a quadrangular open space called *Namāzgāh* on which the Muslims assemble to worship together at the feast of Bairam. In 1830 Tīrāna suffered a good deal during the civil war. The Muslim inhabitants of the town until quite recently were reputed to be very fanatical.

Bibliography: J. Müller, *Albanien, Rumelien*, Prag 1844, p. 71; Th. A. Ippen, *Skutari und die nordalbanische Küstenebene*, Sarajevo 1907, p. 80 sq.; A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute Albanie*, Paris 1901, p. 184 sq.; H. Louis, *Albanie*, Stuttgart 1927, p. 71 sq.; Sāmī Bey Frāsherī, *Kāmus al-A'ām*, p. 1717; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812; *Historiya e Tiranës*, in *Shikniya e ilustrime, Kalendari*, 1929, Skutari (Shhoder) 1929, p. 19 sqq. (with many pictures); H. Baedeker, *Dalmatien*, Leipzig 1929, in the section *Albanien*.

(F. BABINGER)

TĪRĀZ. The word is borrowed from the Persian and originally means "embroidery"; it then comes to mean a robe adorned with elaborate embroidery, especially one ornamented with embroidered bands with writing upon them, worn by a ruler or person of high rank; finally it means the workshop in which such materials or robes are made. A secondary development from the meaning "embroidered strip of writing" is that of "strip of writing", border or braid in general, applied not only to inscriptions woven, embroidered, or sewn on materials, but also to any inscriptions on a band of any kind, whether hewn out of stone, done in mosaic, glass or faience, or carved in wood (cf. e. g. al-Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 79, 212, 407). The name *tīrāz* then becomes the special name for the inscriptions officially stamped upon the rolls of papyrus in the factories for papyrus with ink, sometimes in colours (red, green) and is next used for the factories themselves. The two last meanings are limited to a few occurrences (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die arab. Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 8 sqq.; A. Grohmann, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, i/ii., N^o. 175 [p. 170], 204 [p. 200], 214 [p. 209], 265 [p. 239], 270 [p. 242]); when papyrus ceased to be made about the middle of the tenth century A. D. these two meanings of *tīrāz* disappeared.

Cloths, curtains and garments with inscriptions embroidered, woven or stitched on them may be divided into two classes, distinguished by the contents of the inscriptions and the rank of the wearer. One class expresses the whims of private individuals, the height of which is reached in the inscriptions, collected in the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, p. 167 sqq., with which dandies and ladies of fashion liked to adorn their robes; the other is of an official character and may to some extent be compared with our orders and decorations. Such scrolls ran, either along the border, sometimes arranged in two, or even more, strips around the upper garment or were placed around the neck, around the sleeves, on the upper arm or wrists

and even on the headdress. They were used not only as ornamental borders but were also put in the pattern of the material. The breadth varied considerably and while J. v. Karabacek (*Susandschird*, p. 84 sq., note 56; *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 26) gives breadths of from 2 to 55 centimetres, this does not exhaust all the possibilities; on fragments of material from Egyptian graves, *tīrāz* borders of less than a centimetre in breadth have been found.

Ibn Khaldūn is very well informed about the institution of the *tīrāz*; according to him, the majesty of the ruler found expression in his name or the royal badge (*alāma*) being put in the border (*tīrāz*) of the materials, which were used for his robes of silk or brocade, and the inscription was worked into the web of the material with gold thread or bright coloured yarn, which stood out against the background of the material. The royal robes were thus distinguished to mark out the royal wearer, or him who received the garment from the ruler as a mark of special favour, to show him honour or appoint him to one of the higher offices in the kingdom. Under the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids the cloth mills which worked for their wardrobe were housed in their palaces and called *Dār al-Tīrāz*.

They were under the control of an official called *Ṣāhib al-Tīrāz*, whose duty it was to supervise the activities of the workers, the machinery and the weavers and to see that they were paid and that everything went smoothly. Only men of high rank and trusted individuals among their freedmen were given this office; the same arrangements were in vogue under the Umayyad caliphs in Spain and their successors, under the Mamlūk sultāns in Egypt, and their contemporaries among the Persian kings in the east. It was only with the decline of the great Muslim empires that this system came to an end.

Ibn Khaldūn's statements, which are in the main followed here, find ample corroboration in the finds of Muslim textiles which have been made at different places in Egypt (notably Akhmīm, Antinoë, Erment, al-'Azm near Asyūt) and preserved in the museums in Berlin (Schlossmuseum, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Kunstgewerbemuseum), Leningrad, Paris (Louvre and Musée de Cluny), London (Victoria and Albert Museum), Vienna (Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie and Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer in the National Library) and in many private collections, as well as in the rich stores of textiles found all over Europe in churches and monasteries. Ibn Khaldūn's information is obviously based on his own experience, for the inscription in these textiles does actually, without exception, stand out in bright colours from the background: e. g. the pieces of linen, Inv. Ar. Lin. N^o. 11 and 19 of the Rainer collection in Vienna show a border of writing embroidered in red silk (N^o. 19 reproduced in J. v. Karabacek, *Führer*, p. 228 and do., *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 38). In Inv. Ar. Lin. No. 18 of the same collection, on the other hand, the *tīrāz* inscription stands out from the background and is embroidered in black silk; in the fine brocades it is often woven in gold thread. The texts of the surviving inscriptions also fully confirm Ibn Khaldūn's statements. In the first place as to the names of the rulers, we find various examples of these occurring alone on textiles. A green silk

damask from al-ʿAzm in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No. 769—1898 (Guest, No. 9, p. 395 sq.; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 39) has the inscription *Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn*; a piece of linen embroidered with red silk in the Leningrad Museum has the name of the Fātimid caliph al-ʿAzīz ʿillāh (365—386 A.H.; A. R. Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1918, p. 263, No. 1). The name of the ruler in addition to his usual titles, is frequently accompanied by auspicious formulae, as Ibn Khaldūn also tells us (cf. below); thus, a piece of linen in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, the inscription of which I copied in 1924, has the inscription woven in red and enclosed in a white border: *Bismi'llāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm. Baraka min Allāhi wa-karāma li 'l-Khalīfa 'Abd Allāh al-Muṭṭi' li'llāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn, aḥla Allāh baḳā'ahu*. "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The blessing of God and grace upon the Caliph 'Abd Allāh Muṭṭi' li'llāh, the Commander of the Faithful, whom may God long preserve" (cf. E. Kühnel, *Isl.*, xiv. 83). On a steel-blue piece of silk in the Arab Museum in Cairo, which has a pattern of blue-grey tendrils and lotus flowers, the latter has as a border: *'Isz li-Mawḷānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muḥammad Qalā'ūn* "Glory to our Lord, the Sulṭān, the King al-Nāṣir, the Protector of the World and of Religion, Muḥammad Qalā'ūn" (cf. Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 272 and fig. 51; Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 366; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 41 and Pl. xii., 957). On the Danzig textile with parrots, apparently woven in China, which was made for Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn (d. 1340 A. D.) there is on the wings of the parrots: *'Isz li-Mawḷānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-ʿādil al-ʿālim Nāṣir al-Dīn* "Glory to our Lord, the Sulṭān, the just, wise King Nāṣir al-Dīn" (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 334; J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturg. Gewänder*, p. 141). On the piece of satin in the South Kensington Museum published by O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 368; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan textiles*, p. 46, there is in the mandorla arranged on a coat of arms on either side, running to right and to left: *'Isz li-Mawḷānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik* and in the four rosettes, alternately to right and to left *al-Ashraf*. The material is ascribed to the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Kā'it-bey (1468—1496 A. D.). Such conventional formulae sometimes take up a good deal of space in the tirāz. On the fragment of a linen robe with woven borders and coloured silk from Erment, published by Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 392 sq. (South Kensington Museum, Inv. No. 1381—1888; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, S. 10), we have the following text: *Bismi'llāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm, la illāh illa 'llāh, Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh, 'Alī Walī Allāh sal. . . al-Mustansir bi'llāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Salawāt Allāh 'alaihi wa-ʿala Abā'ihī [al-akramīn] al-fāhirīn wa-Abnā'ihī al-muntaḡirīn*. "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, 'Alī is the vice-regent of God. . . al-Mustansir bi'llāh, Commander of the Faithful, God's blessing upon him and his ancestors (the most noble), the pure and his sons, the expectant".

Sometimes, in addition to such conventional formulae, the name is given of the place of manu-

facture and of the vizier or other official in charge of the treasury or of the tirāz-factory; more rarely the name of the artist who made the cloth is given. Thus the narrow fragment of linen, Inv. Ar. Lin., No. 19 in the Rainer collection in Vienna has the following inscription embroidered on it in red silk: [*Bismi'llāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm. Baraka min Allāh, Nīma wa-Sa'āda li-ʿAbd Allāh Dja'far al-Imām al-Muḥtadīr bi'llāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn, aḥla Allāh Baḳā'ahu, mimma amara al-Wazīr Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan*] "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The blessing of God, grace and good fortune upon the servant of God, Dja'far, the Imām al-Muḥtadīr bi'llāh, the Commander of the Faithful, whom may God long preserve. [This is part] of what the vizier Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan has ordered. . ." (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 38). One of the most important tirāzes in the collection of textiles in the Arab Museum in Cairo, found in al-Fustāt (cf. Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 271; E. Kühnel, *Isl.*, xiv. 83) bears the following inscription: *Bismi'llāh. Baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh al-Amin Muḥammad Amīr al-Mu'minīn, aḥla Allāh Baḳā'ahu; mimma amara bi-Ṣan'atihi fi Tīrāz al-ʿĀmma bi-Maṣr 'ala Yadai al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī Mawḷā Amīr al-Mu'minīn* "In the name of God. The blessing of God upon the servant of God, al-Amin Muḥammad, the Commander of the Faithful, whom may God long preserve. [This is part] of what he ordered to be made in the public factory in Miṣr (al-Fustāt) through al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī, the freedman of the Commander of the Faithful". Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī, born 140 A. H., died 208 A. H., was, according to Ibn Taghribirdī (i. 598), chamberlain and vizier of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd; after the latter's death, he took possession of the storehouses (*khazā'in*) and handed them over to his successor designate, al-Amin in Baghdād, at the same time bringing him the insignia of the ruler—the cloak, the staff and the signet ring—for which al-Amin showed him marks of honour and entrusted him with the management of his affairs. In his capacity as Amin's vizier, he had also to see to the manufacture of the textiles intended for the caliph, as we learn from the above tirāz. He is also mentioned in the tirāz of two curtains (*kiswā*) for the Ka'ba mentioned by al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭāt*, i. 181, 226 (cf. J. von Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 35 sq.). In this connection, we may also mention a piece of linen from Sāmarrā with an inscription embroidered in red silk (cf. E. Kühnel, *Isl.*, xiv. 87 and fig. 3) which reads: *Baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh al-Imām al-Mu'tamid 'ala 'llāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn, aḥlaḍahu Allāh; mā-ʿumila bi-Tinnās 'ala Yadi Yazīd Mawḷā (A)mīr al-Mu'minīn*; also a piece from Akhmīm, like the preceding, now in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin (E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 85, fig. 2) with quotations from the Qur'ān in the centre and above and below: [*Bismi'llāh*]. *Baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh Hārūn Amīr al-Mu'minīn and Ṣan'at Marwān b. Hādī(?)*. Finally we may mention a tirāz inscription of the xiith century A. D. on a Sicilian Saracenic fabric in F. Fischbach, *Ornamente der Gewebe*, pl. 144, 145 (the so-called cloak of the emperor Henry VI in Regensburg). On the two central stripes is the inscription *al-ʿizz wa 'l-naṣr wa 'l-ikbāl* ("Glory and victory and good fortune"); in the centre of an eight-rayed star: *'amila usūdāh*

'*Abd al-'Azīz* "manufactured by the craftsman 'Abd al-'Azīz" (cf. also A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p. 66).

The text of the tirāz inscriptions however very often consists only of the conventional title of the ruler without his name, accompanied, or not, by certain auspicious formulae, or of the latter alone. A few examples will suffice here. On the brocade in the Ducal Museum in Brunswick several times repeated and divided by rosettes is the inscription '*Izz li-Mawlānā al-Sulṭān, khalada Mulkuhu* (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii, fig. 342). On a piece of silk in the Arab Museum in Cairo we find: '*Izz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān, 'azza naṣruhu* (cf. Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 272); on a piece of silk textile in the Victoria and Albert Museum in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1923, p. 405 (A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p. 40): '*Izz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān al-malik al-nāṣir*; on a piece from Granada in the same museum, continuously: '*Izz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān* (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii, fig. 372). The well-known specimen in Brussels of the xith century A. D. in O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i, fig. 172, shows, on the wings of the birds on either side, the inscription: *al-'izz al-dā'im wa 'l-ṣabr wa 'l-dawla li-ṣāhibihī*. Only a portion of this formula, *al-'izz al-dā'im*, is found on the textile woven in Syria or Egypt, Inv., N^o. 1235—1864 of the Victoria and Albert Museum in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1918, p. 264; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p. 44 (xith—xiith century A. D.). The already mentioned formula *al-'izz wa 'l-naṣr wa 'l-iḳbāl* often occurs alone (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, also ii, fig. 338, 339, 340, 342; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p. 66 and pl. 21). The wish *naṣr min Allāh* "victory from God" is found on several textiles in the same Museum in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 398, N^o. 12—15 (A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p. 14); the formula *al-'izz laka al-iḳbāl al-madīd* "The glory be Thine, the fortune, the splendour" is found embroidered in red silk on a piece of linen with a coat of arms in the Arab Museum in Cairo (Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 274). The conventional title of the ruler is found on a textile in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin with pairs of griffins; in the circles of the braided border we have: *al-'ādil al-'ālim al-'aḳil*, in the central bars of the circles of the compartments, arranged like a coat of arms: *al-sulṭān al-muzaḥḥar* (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii, p. 63 and fig. 363), on a textile in Danzig (xivth century A. D.): *al-sulṭān al-'ālim* (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii, fig. 358, 359). On a piece of Spanish silk in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin in O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii, fig. 377, we have the title *al-sulṭān al-malik*; on a patterned textile in the Arab Museum in Cairo we find *al-sulṭān* embroidered in silk thread (Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 273 sq.). In conclusion we may remind the reader of the pious formulae, which often make up the entire tirāz inscriptions. Thus on the Maastricht specimen, with the lion, we have on the lion's breast: [*al-mu*]lk li'llāh (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i, fig. 153); others have the formulae *al-amr li'llāh*, which means the same thing (*ibid.*, i, fig. 187, 191). A much used formula is *al-baraka al-kāmila* (arranged as in a coat of arms on right and left in O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i, fig. 205) or *baraka* alone (*ibid.*, i, fig. 202). On a textile

in the South Kensington Museum (Inv., N^o. 613—1892) in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 399 (A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue* etc., p. 18) is the formula *mā shā'a 'llāh kāna* "What God wills is done", in addition to a series of other formulae, which have only survived in fragments but are known on other textiles in the same collection (*ibid.*, p. 396 sq.). The finest specimen of the kind however is probably that in the Musée de Cluny (Inv., N^o. 6526 found in Bayonne) which shows a portion of the symbol of Islām in letters, a span wide, beautifully woven. Occasionally these inscriptions are abbreviated by the omission of some letters (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturgischen Gewänder*, p. 142 sq.). It may further be mentioned that dated inscriptions are found among the tirāzes; for example the piece published by Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1918, p. 407 from the Engel-Gros collection with *basmala* and date 448 (cf. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue* etc., p. 10, N^o. 861 and pl. 6); another with the name of the caliph al-Mu'tadid of the year 282 in the South Kensington Museum was also published by Guest (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 391; cf. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue* etc., p. 35; G. Salles and M. J. Ballot, *Les Collections de l'Orient Musulman*, p. 74).

It has already been pointed out that the tirāz bands with inscriptions correspond in a way to our orders and decorations. The presentation of garments adorned with them was a sovereign right of the crown, as much as the right of coinage. The custom of presenting such robes is certainly a very ancient one in the East. The Pharaohs used to give their faithful servants robes of honour, in addition to golden neck-rings and other valuable presents. It was under Islām that the custom first attained great proportions. Not only was the decree appointing high officials of the state usually accompanied by a robe of honour, but the officials also received, at least once a year, a robe of honour and, at the court of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns, the Mamlūks and high officials of state used to receive a robe corresponding to their rank, twice a year, in winter and in summer (cf. A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii. 220—23; Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, iv. 55). According to Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 94, the dress of the preacher in the principal mosque in Mecca — and no doubt of the other large mosques also — consisted of a black robe trimmed with gold and a similar piece of cloth wound round the head, with a turban cloth of fine *sharb* linen; it was given to the preachers of the empire from the caliph's own stores, so that it was an official dress, given by the ruler. The robes of the emīrs, which they wore on state occasions, were of course more gorgeous. Those of the Faṭimids consisted of materials from Dabīk with head-dresses with golden tirāz borders, which were given to the emirs from the Caliph's stores (*Dār al-Kiswa*) (Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭat*, i. 409, 427, cf. 440). Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, iv. 52 sq., tells us that part of the dress of honour of the emīrs was a turban cloth with the name of the sulṭān embroidered on it and the robes themselves had similar inscriptions.

It was only natural that the caliphs should lay great stress on this important prerogative of the crown and take every precaution to prevent abuses. What importance was given to the tirāz and its preparation is evident, for example, from the fact that in Hārūn al-Rashīd's will (186 A. H.), in the

portion dealing with the allotment of the province of Khorāsān to al-Ma'mūn, the tīrāz-factories (*turuz*) are specifically mentioned alongside of the *kharāj*, the post and the treasures (cf. al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, p. 162, 166). The mention of the ruler in the tīrāz is a mark or sign of his sovereignty as in the *khuṭba* and, when al-Ma'mūn rebelled against his brother al-Amin, the first thing he did was to omit the caliph's name from the tīrāz inscriptions (Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, i. 544; cf. further passages in J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 25). When a successor was designated, his name was put into the tīrāz inscriptions (J. v. Karabacek, *loc. cit.*); this applies not only to the inscriptions on textiles and on robes of honour but also to those on rolls of papyrus (cf. *Corpus Pap. Raineri*, iii., vol. i/2, No. 150, 158, p. 145 sq., 153 sq.). But while, in the latter case, the vizier is often mentioned in the protocoll, it seems very rare and to be a special distinction for the name of the vizier to be put in the tīrāz inscriptions of robes of honour. The Fātimid al-'Azīz bi'llāh, for example, put the name of his vizier Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf b. Killis (d. 380 A.H.) in the tīrāz inscriptions (al-Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 6, 15, 284 ult.). Similarly the Fātimid caliph al-Musta'li bi'llāh (1094—1101 A.D.) allowed his vizier al-Afdāl to be mentioned in the tīrāz, as we learn from the tīrāz inscription on a textile in the Vatican library (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 39), but, in this case, the name of the vizier is followed by the additional words "in the name of the Imām" so that the sovereignty of the ruler is fully guarded. Later, it is true, high officials kept their own tīrāz establishments. Thus 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Rāsibī (d. 301 A.H.), who was governor of all the territory between Wāsiṭ and Djundisābūr on the one hand and Sūs to Shahrzūr on the other, maintained no less than 80 tīrāz factories, in which cloth for his own use was woven (Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ii. 192; A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii. 293) and on a piece of silk from Egypt (xi—xiith century A.D.) in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 394; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 43 sq.) we find *al-saiyid al-aqḍall Yumn al-Dawla Abū Yumn, aṭāla Allāh baḳā'ahu*, "The most glorious lord Yumn al-Dawla Abū Yumn, may God give him long life"; on the splendid piece of silk in the Louvre, published by G. Migeon, *Syria*, iii. (1922), p. 41—43, we have 'izz wa-ikbāl li 'l-Kā'id Abī Maṣṣūr Nadjītakīn, aṭāla Allāh baḳā'ahu.

The sovereign rights of the caliph however did not find expression only in the inscriptions of the tīrāzes on garments. The right of covering the Ka'ba with a *kiswa* originally belonged exclusively to the caliph (al-Kāḳashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, iv. 57). The 'Abbāsids sent such *kiswas* every year from Baghdād to Mecca — they were often manufactured in Egypt — then this duty passed to the rulers of Egypt. In Kāḳashandī's time, the *kiswa* was woven in the Mashhad al-Ḥusain of black silk with an inscription in white; at the end of the reign of Zāhir Barḳūk with a yellow inscription gilt with gold. A collection of the inscriptions on these *kiswas* has been made by J. v. Karabacek (*Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 35—39). According to these inscriptions, the *kiswas* were made either by direct orders of the caliph to the governor and at the direction of the latter's financial secre-

tary, who was directly in charge of the tīrāz establishment, or the order to make them was given by the caliph's vizier (cf. above). It is worth noting that among the texts given by Karabacek is the tīrāz of an 'Alid rebel in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (*op. cit.*, p. 37 sq.). We may here also briefly mention the dedication which the Fātimid al-Mu'izz had placed in 353 A.H. upon the variegated silk tapestry described by al-Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 417, 12 sqq. (see also J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 33). The formulae are in many cases those usual on textiles, as are to be expected from al-Kisā'ī's observations quoted in al-Baiḥaqī, *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-Masāwī*, p. 499. Special attention must be drawn to the fact that there are undeniable connections between the so-called heraldic inscriptions (Schriftwappen) of the Mamliḳ sultāns (see L. A. Mayer, *Das Schriftwappen der Mamluken-sultane*, *Jahrb. d. Asiat. Kunst*, 1925, p. 183—187) and various regular formulae of the tīrāz inscriptions, e.g. the frequently recurring 'izz li-mawḷānā al-sultān al-malik etc., 'azza naṣruhu.

The frequent heraldic-like arrangement of short formulae, such as *al-baraka al-kāmila*, which are placed together, one to the right and the other to the left, as animals are arranged in a coat of arms (cf. the double-eagle), suggests a kind of heraldic development of these formulae in the tīrāz also, especially as the title of the ruler sometimes is placed in a cartouche on textiles or in the central bar of the encircling shield which is like a coat of arms (see O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 363 and above). We have already referred above to the fact that the preparation of the cloth and garments required for the use of the court and the high officials, to which may be added the covering for the Ka'ba was not left to private hands, but to state factories, which must frequently have been on a very large scale. Egypt took the first place for linen and to a considerable extent for silk also. The linen weaving was mainly concentrated in the Delta: Tinnīs, Tūna, Damietta, Shaṭā and Alexandria were the principal centres of its manufacture; in addition there were Daḩik, Banṣhā, al-Farama, and Dumaīra (in the district of Shīrbīn, not Damīra, as Jaubert says). Tinnīs, like Damietta, produced fine linens in the style of what were known as *daḩik* and *sharḩ* linens, as well as materials for covering furniture in bright patterns (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 882). These materials fetched high prices and a robe with gold embroidery was sold for 1,000 dinārs, one without embroidery for 100 to 200 dinārs (Idrisī, i. 320). In Tinnīs, where there were 5,000 looms, there was according to Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Idā*, iii. 362, a factory working for the caliph, which is confirmed by the inscriptions given by al-Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 181, for coverings for the Ka'ba manufactured there (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 35) as well as by the textile above mentioned from Sāmarrā. Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, according to whom Tinnīs mainly made the coloured *qaṣab* stuffs used for turbans, caps and women's dresses, tells us that the material made in the sultān's workshops was not disposed of to private individuals. A Persian prince had sent 20,000 dinārs to Tinnīs to procure a garment of this precious material, which however was reserved for the use of the crown, so that his agents could get nothing. A speciality of Tinnīs was the *badana* intended for the personal use of the caliph, a

garment that came complete from the loom and had not to be cut or stitched (cf. Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 266—268; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 433). The export of the materials produced in Tinnis was considerable and down to the year 360 A.H. reached a value of 20—30,000 dinārs annually. The village of Tūna, which belonged to the administrative district of Tinnis, made the same kind of stuffs and also kiswas for the Ka'ba (al-Makrizi, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 181; J. v. Karabacek, *op. cit.*, p. 36). There was a tīrāz factory here also. Damietta produced not only the same linens as Tinnis — but white in colour — but also gold brocade and the material known as Balchan (*balḥā*) ('Alī b. Dāwūd al-Khaṭīb al-Djāwharī, MS. A. F., No. 282, fol. 69a; cf. also A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 289) and other textiles. Shaṭā also made kiswas and the stuffs known as *Shaṭawī* (al-Makrizi, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 226, 5 sqq.). Of the former we are told that they were made in a tīrāz factory which belonged to the state, as we know from the kiswa inscription given by al-Makrizi (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 36); as to the latter this is not definitely known. In a papyrus in the Rainer collection (No. 849 in the *Ausstellung*; cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Führer*, p. 227) in line 6 there is a reference to a braided head-cloth from *Shaṭā* (*mandīl shaṭawī mu'lam*) worth 20 carats of gold. This price must be considered fairly high, as those of *Shaṭā* and *Dabkū* (*Dabīḳ*) and *Dumaira* were not so fine as those of Tinnis (Idrisi, p. 320). The work done here by Copt weavers was under strict state control (al-Muḥaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 213; cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 118; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, p. 184) which began the moment the weaver began to work the stuff in his loom. An official stamp had at once to be placed upon it. What these were like we know from the red stamp on the piece of linen, *Inv. Ar. Lin.*, No. 1 in the Rainer collection with the inscription *al-Malik al-Mu'izz* (cf. *Corpus Pap. Raineri*, iii., *Ser. Arab.*, 1/i., p. 59 sq. and fig. 2). It could only be sold through brokers appointed by the state and a government official had to keep a record of all transactions; only when this had been done, was the cloth given to one workman, who folded it up, then to another who wrapped it in a packing, made of bast (*kisr*, perhaps the coarse papyrus packing is meant), then to a third who did it up in bales and finally to a fourth, who tied these up; each of these men received a definite fee. The bales were then taken to the gate of harbour and here also a charge was made and each man put his mark on the bale. The whole process does not very much suggest that we have a state factory here. In the Delta at least, we seem rather to have an industry conducted in private houses, probably alongside of the state factories. The lot of the workmen — women spin and men wove and the workrooms were rented by them — was wretched; the half dirhem, which was the daily wage, was not sufficient for the minimum necessities of life. Wages throughout Egypt, however, were very low. Silks and brocades along with the fine sharb linens were mainly made in Alexandria, also however in Tinnis, Damietta and Shaṭā (cf. A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i. 353) which even in Roman times was celebrated as a silk-weaving centre and where the Byzantine court had a gynaeceum. While the quality of the material under Muslim rule was

at first not so fine as in the earlier period, in the viiith and ixth centuries Alexandria was supplying Byzantium and the Pope in Rome (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i. 48, 51, 110); and several popes used beautiful stuffs with the horseman pattern as gifts to churches. The state factories in Tinnis, Alexandria and Damietta worked mainly for the wardrobes of the Fātimid caliphs (al-Makrizi, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 413; al-Kāḷashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'sḥā*, iii. 476; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geographie*, p. 175 sq.) and their successors, and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Tārīkh al-Khamis*, iv. 101 mentions that the *Dār al-Tīrāz* in Alexandria worked for the ruler's private requirements (*li 'l-Khaṣṣ al-sharīf*) (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturgischen Gewänder*, p. 195). *Dabīḳ*, which produced the curtains which were used to drape the throne of the Fātimid Caliphs on ceremonial occasions (al-Kāḷashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'sḥā*, iii. 499), was celebrated for its linens and turban cloths. *Dabīḳ* textiles are frequently mentioned in literature, notably in al-Makrizi. The manufacture was an old established one here; a richly embroidered sash of the Coptic period in the Austrian Museum has within the border the inscription

TBIRK, the Coptic name of the town (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die Theodor Graf'schen Funde*, No. 427). Of the manufacturing town of *Banshā* we know little more than the name. The fragment of a silk tīrāz embroidered in black from the Rainer collection (*Inv. Ar. Lin.*, No. 18) published by J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 39, has the inscription [*hadhā minmā a*]mara bi-'aml fī tīrāz al-khāṣṣa *Banshā* ["this is part of what was ordered to be made in the factory of the royal property of *Banshā*"]. Here then we have the case of a silk factory, which supplied the caliph only, and was state property. We also know the name of the place from papyri. Besides the Faiyūm in Upper Egypt, al-Ushmūnain was celebrated for its manufacture of textiles (cf. al-Iṣṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, i. 58; Ibn Hawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 105; al-Idrisi, i. 124; A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i. 353) as was *Takhā*, where woollen goods were made (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 432). Al-Bahnasā occupied a special position; in it, according to al-Idrisi, i. 128, valuable materials were produced which bore the name of the town and were used for making garments for the ruler and high officials; ordinary kinds were also made. The lengths of stuff, which was made in pieces of about 30 ells, cost 200 dinārs the pair. Every piece of cloth, whether woollen or cotton, cheap or dear, bore the name of the quality, so that the purchaser could know what he was buying. As to prices, we get some information from a papyrus in the Rainer collection (*Ausstellung*, No. 849), according to which a long turban cloth from *Bahnasā* (*mandīl bahnasī ṭawīl*) cost 1 carat of gold. Idrisi, unfortunately, does not tell us whether the stuff intended for the court came from a tīrāz factory or from a private firm. A *tīrāz sa'd* is mentioned in 'Alī b. Dāwūd al-Khaṭīb al-Djāwharī, A. F., No. 282, fol. 91b, but it is not stated where in Upper Egypt this state factory was. Two papyri in the State Library in Cairo (*Inv.*, No. 96 and 103) assist us on this point, for a certain *Kimāh b. Yūsuf* is described in them as *al-Mutawakkil bi-Tīrāz Ushmūn wa-Anṣinā*. The man was therefore manager of the tīrāz factory of *Ushmūn* and *Anṣinā*, and managed them both together, in which connection it may

be noted that the two originally separate *kūra's* of this name were later combined into one (cf. C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 20). In Cairo (al-Fustāt) under the 'Abbāsids, there was already a public *tīrāz* workshop (*tīrāz al-'amma bi-Maṣr*) as we know from the already mentioned piece of cloth in the Arab Museum in Cairo. The *'amma* is here apparently contrasted to the *khāssa*, which means a factory which worked only for the caliph. This does not mean that in al-Amin's time the Cairo factory had become a purely private concern; it can quite well have been a state undertaking, which supplied private individuals as well as the court. In no particular case can we see with certainty how the question of ownership stood. We cannot imagine, as it has hitherto been usual to do, following Karabacek, that the crown had exclusive control.

While the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids had already devoted great attention to the manufacture of fabrics with the *tīrāz* and to the preservation of the rights associated with them, the importance of such fabrics increased under the splendour-loving Fātimids. The account which al-Maḳrīzī gives, following the very well informed Ibn al-Tuwair (*Khitaṭ*, i. 469), sufficiently shows this. Besides the famous state *Dār al-Tīrāz* in Alexandria there was a factory of the same name in Cairo, which was founded under the successors of the caliph al-'Azīz bi'llāh, in the name of the vizier Abu 'l-Farādī Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf Ibn Killis, who died in 380 (991) and was also called *Dār al-Dibādī*, because silk brocades were made there (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ii. 104, 25 sq.). At the head of the administration of these state factories there was always an official of high rank from the judicial or military service, who was held in particular estimation by the caliph. A picked staff was at his disposal for the transport of the products of the *tīrāz* factories, as well as the necessary means of transport. When he arrived with the fabrics intended for the royal use, among which were the parasol and the robes called *badla* and *badana* and the ruler's personal apparel, he was received with the highest honours and a steed from the caliph's stables was placed at his disposal for the duration of his stay. His quarters in town were in the Manzara al-Ḡazzāla on the bank of the great canal, opposite the door of the *Djāmi'* Ibn al-Maghribī, which had also fallen into ruins in Maḳrīzī's time, and he received the same hospitality as foreign embassies. When the bales with the precious fabrics were brought in, the superintendent of the *tīrāz* presented himself to the caliph, showed him all that he had brought with him, and called his attention to each piece, that went into the caliph's palace through the hands of his chamberlain. When the presentation was over he was given a robe of honour by the caliph at a private audience, — the public being excluded, an honour which was shown only to him — and then returned to his lodging. Only at certain clearly defined times, could he be represented by his son or brother. He held a very prominent position and his salary was 70 dinārs monthly, that of his deputy 20. The latter took charge in his stead, when he had to go to deliver the fabrics, and was present as his witness at the packing of the bales. When the parasol and other articles for the personal use of the caliph were brought into the public room of the *Dār al-Tīrāz*,

during which ceremony the people present stood up, the superintendent of the *Tīrāz* sat in his seat and his deputy carried through his task standing (cf. also al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣḥā*, iii. 476; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geographie*, p. 175 sq.).

As already mentioned, the *tīrāz*-factories brought a considerable sum to the state by their valuable products. It is significant that out of the treasuries of the towns of Tinnīs, Damietta and al-Uṣḥmūnain in 363 A.H. under the Fātimid vizier Ibn Killis could pay 200,000 dinārs into the treasury in one day (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ii. 6) and the expenditure for gold thread was usually 31,000 dinārs and under al-ʿĀmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh even amounted to 43,000 dinārs (*ibid.*, i. 469). Under the Mamlūk sultāns, conditions seem to have been somewhat altered. At least, Ibn Khaldūn (i. 223) tells us that the fabrics and garments with *tīrāzes* were no longer made in their factories and palace-workshops, and were no longer produced by the state in its own buildings but what the state required was simply woven from silk and pure gold in the houses of the weavers.

The institution of royal *tīrāz* factories was of course not limited to Egypt. We find them in other lands also. If we turn to the west we find one in Palermo in Sicily. Ibn Džubair, *Rihla*, p. 329, even records the name of an embroiderer who worked in the *Tīrāz al-Malik*, as the royal factory was called. The chief piece of evidence from this factory is still the cloak woven for Roger II in 528 (1133), later the coronation robe of the Austrian Royal Treasury. In its *tīrāz* inscription the factory is called *Khizāna al-malikiya* (cf. F. Bock, *Kleinodien*, p. 29). This *regium ergasterium* produced finely woven silks down to the xiiith century A.D. (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i. 119, 121). In Spain, Almeria, where 800 looms were working in Idris's time and valuable brocades, *siḳlātūn* and silver were made in the style of those of Djurdžān and Iṣfahān, was the principal centre of manufacture, but Murcia, Seville, Granada and Malaga should also be mentioned. In the latter town there was a factory for gold brocade (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 6; M. J. Müller, *Beiträge*, p. 5; F. Bock, *Geschichte der liturg. Gewänder*, p. 39 sqq.). In Asia Minor there was a *tīrāz* factory at the Saldjuḳ court; one of its products is the gold brocade of the Lyons Textile Museum, the inscription on the border of which mentions Sulṭān Kaikubād, son of Kaikhusraw (1219—1236 A.D.). Marco Polo (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i. 106) notes the industry of the Greek and Armenian population of the Saldjuḳ empire, who made the finest carpets and rich silks. In Syria, Damascus and Antioch were famous for their textiles (O. v. Falke, *op. cit.*, i. 108; J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturg. Gewänder*, p. 196). In the 'Irāk, Baghdād was the most important; its speciality was the white Marw fabrics (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B.G.A.*, v. 252) but it also made silks and richly embroidered brocades which were celebrated throughout the west as *baldachinus* or *baudekinus* (O. v. Falke, *op. cit.*, i. 108). Silk-weaving here can be traced back to a colony of weavers from Tustar who settled here at least as early as the middle of the tenth century (J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 28). On a piece of silk published by A. F. Kendrick in the *Burlington*

Magazine, xlix. 261—267 is the following *ṭirāz* inscription at the top (twice, as in a coat of arms) *al-baraka min Allāh wa 'l-yumn wa*— "the blessing of God and good fortune and —"; below in the same arrangement *bi-ṣāhibibi Abū Naṣr mimmā 'umila fī Baghdād* "to its possessor Abū Naṣr. This is part of what was manufactured in Baghdād". Presumably this is the production of an official *ṭirāz* workshop. The court however imported a great deal from Egypt but under the Fātimids the export from there was forbidden (A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 433).

The development of the weaving of silk in Persia seems to begin with the transplanting of workmen from Mesopotamia, Āmid and other Byzantine provinces to Sūs, Tustar and other places in Ahwāz by Shāpūr II (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 124). In the province of Fāris, which was celebrated for its weaving of linen, there were factories like those in Egypt, which, for example in Fasā, worked both for the ruler and for commerce, while the ruler had also his own establishments in Shīnīz, Djannāba, Tawwādj and al-Ḡhundiḡān (Ibn Ḥawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 213 sq.; J. v. Karabacek, *Susandschird*, p. 106 sqq.; al-Idrisī, i. 391, 399 sq.). Kāzrūn, "the Damietta of Persia", later became the chief centre of the linen manufacture and about 500 A. H. (beginning of the xith century A. D.), this was so strictly controlled that the Rabbān canal, important for the making of the yarn and the transport of the finished articles, being the property of the royal treasury, was only available to those weavers who wove cloth for the emir; here also we find the production under state control (cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 434). Not less celebrated than Persia was Khūzistān (Susiana) as a centre of textile weaving. In Tustar, where silk fabrics, brocades, velvets, turban shawls, curtains, and the heavy khazz stuffs were manufactured, there was a state factory with a superintendent (*ṣāhib*) at its head. The curtains for the Ka'ba were made of brocade produced there and as these, as we have seen, were sent by the court in Baghdād, we can understand the significance of the remark by Ibn Ḥawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 175, that every one who reigned in the 'Irāk had a factory and a superintendent in Tustar (*ṭirāz wa-ṣāhib*) (cf. also J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 30—32). In Idrisī's time, the material for the kiswas was already made in the 'Irāk (*Nuṣṣat al-Mushkīlāh*, i. 383). Not less important than Tustar were the two towns of Sūs and Ḳurḳūb. In Sūs, where there was a state factory, khazz fabrics and fine linen was made (al-Iṣṭakhṛī, *B. G. A.*, i. 93; Ibn Ḥawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 175; al-Mukaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 416). There was also one such factory (*ṭirāz li 'l-sultān*) in Ḳurḳūb, where as in Sūs, royal robes, rich brocades, and the striped materials, which took the name of the town were made (al-Iṣṭakhṛī, *B. G. A.*, i. 93; Ibn Ḥawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 175; al-Idrisī, i. 383 sq.; J. v. Karabacek, *Susandschird*, p. 107); finally it may also be mentioned that in Sijḡistān also, there was a *ṭirāz* factory working for the ruler, in which robes of honour were made, with which he was very liberal (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 458).

On the origin of the institution of the *ṭirāz* nothing has been definitely ascertained. J. v. Karabacek (*Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 27) endeavoured to

trace its origin to foreign, probably Babylonian-Assyrian influences and even thought that the many factories of fabrics in Fārs which were state monopolies and the erection of great storehouses for garments (*khazā'in al-kiswāt*) might be taken as a royal custom inherited from the Sassanians (*Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 20). Karabacek seems to be right in quoting in this connection the statement in Ibn Khaldūn (i. 222) to the effect that the Persian kings before Islām put the portraits of kings or figures and pictures made specially for the purpose on ornamental borders, and the Muslim rulers replaced these by inscriptions containing their names and auspicious formulae. Karabacek also points out that they were in this matter influenced by the Byzantines, among whom they found the *ṭirāz*, which had come from the same source. G. Ebers, *Cicerone*, i. 205 also connects the *ṭirāz* with the *clavus*, and O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i. 77, holds the view that the key pattern was imitated by the Persians also in the fifth and sixth century A. D. on the celebrated robe of Yazdegerd (before 640 A. D.; cf. Falke, i. 83 and fig. 105), the dress of the great king has these typical key pattern stripes woven in it, which run downwards from the shoulder and also down the back, as we frequently find in tunics from Akhmīm. Falke sees in the borrowing of the key pattern from the west on the tunic a sign of a new Persian style (p. 85) and a comparison with the famous Sassanian fabric with the horseman in the Berlin Kunstgewerbe-Museum (Falke, i., fig. 107) arouses misgivings against the assumption of adoption of the key pattern into Persian court-dress, when we see here in what an un-Roman and confused fashion the key pattern has been interpreted by the artist. Perhaps there are connections here which we cannot yet see in their completeness, but it is well worth noting that the Roman *clavus* — the sign of the senatorial and knightly rank — is ultimately traced to an Etruscan origin (cf. the article *clavus* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enckyl.*, vii., col. 4 sqq.), so that an Oriental origin for this remarkable institution is not absolutely excluded. Memories of the ancient *clavi* survived until quite late in the external form of the *ṭirāz* borders. Thus the two pieces No. 921 and 922 of the Aiyūbid and Mamluk period published by A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, Pl. 7, still show the same fundamental form as the Coptic fabrics, although the decoration is slightly varied (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i., fig. 26); even the custom, so frequent in Muḥammadan *ṭirāz* borders, of placing a figured or decorative strip between two bands of writing is already found on the border of a strip of Coptic cloth of the viith century A. D. (cf. A. Riegl, *Die ägyptischen Textilfunde*, Pl. 9 opp. p. 48). The text used here is Psalm 44, verse 10 sq. The continuity in art in Egyptian industry, which in the Muslim period, as far as the production of textiles is concerned, was mainly in the hands of Copts, makes the preservation of old forms and customs quite intelligible. It is worth noting that, in Muslim fabrics also, the band of writing was often embroidered or woven in red silk. Perhaps the preference for this colour is due to the fact that the *clavi* of the Romans were usually done in purple. The privilege of the *Princeps* to grant the *latus clavus* to the senators and the reservation of purple for the use of the

ruler and, from 369, the limitation of the production of gold braid to the gynaecea, at least, afford parallels to the sovereign right of the Muslim Caliphs to the *ṭirāz* and its presentation. The institution of the gynaecea was not imitated in Islām however. Only in Cairo was there for a time a similar institution, where the garments intended for the caliph underwent a slight fitting by a staff of 30 women under a female superintendent (C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i. 183 sq.). The institution of the *ṭirāz* in Islām is in any case found quite early under the Umayyads; we know this from al-Kisā'i's account of 'Abd al-Malik's reform of the coinage and adoption of the Arabic language for the text of official documents. So far, it is true, we have only found only one caliph of the Umayyad house—probably Marwān II—mentioned, on a piece of silk from Akhmīm which bears the inscription ['*Abd*] *Allāh Marwān Amīr al-Mu'minin*] (A. R. Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 390 and A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 35). With the Muslim fabrics which were imported to Europe in considerable quantities inscribed *ṭirāz* bands were brought into fashion. As early as *Parcifal* (231, 8), Anfortas wears an Arab *ṭirāz* braid on his head dress and it is very curious to find that the vestments of high dignitaries of the church were adorned with *ṭirāz* braid, which contained the Muslim confession of faith. A collection of Arabic *ṭirāz* inscriptions on robes of the Madonna and on pictures by Italian masters was made by Sewell, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 164. I may add that on fol. 2a of the fine Vienna manuscript of René d'Anjou's *Le livre du cœur d'amour épris* (written after 1457 A. D.), Cupid is represented with a blue tunic with Arabic *ṭirāz* borders written in gold on a blue ground, and two Brussels gobelins of the xvth century show Abraham with *ṭirāz* inscriptions in gold at the wrists and sides. The often clumsy imitation of Arabic inscriptions on North Italian silks is well known.

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(A. GROHMANN)

TİRE, a town in Anatolia, capital of the kaḍā of Tīre in the wilāyet of Aidin, in the valley of the Küçük Menderes, 18 miles S. E. of Smyrna with which it is connected by railway. The present town presumably occupies the site of the ancient Arcadiopolis, later called Teira (i.e. "town", e.g. in Thyá-teira; cf. W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 104, 114). In the Byzantine period the town appears as Thyrea (Θύρεα) and Thyraia (Θύραια; cf. Ducas, p. 38, 73, 97, 109, 175, 196) and repeatedly plays a part in history. In 1308 Sasan transferred many of the inhabitants of Ephesus to Tīre (cf. Pachymeres, ii. 588). Travellers like Ibn Battūta (ii. 307 sq.) who went via Birge to Tīre which lay in the midst of orchards, gardens, and streams in the land of the "Sultān of Birge", i.e. of the Aidin-oghlu or the adventurous Catalanian chronicler Ramon Muntaner (sect. 25) used to pass through Tīre. When in 1403 Timūr advanced against the town, the inhabitants fled to Smyrna (cf. Ducas, p. 38, 97, 109). After the collapse of the petty kingdom of the Aidin-oghlu in 830 (1426), Tīre became Ottoman. It plays no particular part in later history; it was a mint down to the xvth century and is occasionally mentioned in connection with risings (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 398, note and v. 50 note). In Tīre is the tomb of the celebrated "ulemā" 'Abd al-Latif b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Firishte (Ar.: Ibn al-Malak, Turk.: Firishte-oghlu, d. according to the *Sālnāma* of Aidin of 1302, p. 239 in 799 [1396]; cf. on this point *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, p. 66 sq.) known as the author of a once much used Turkish dictionary in verse (*Lughat-i Firishte-oghlu*) and of a commentary on the principles of jurisprudence, *Manār al-Anwār* of al-Nasafi [q. v.]. He taught there in a medrese which bears his name and is still in use. Tīre was also the birthplace of several Ottoman authors, e.g. Shaikh Haidar b. Sa'd Allāh (cf. 'Atā'i, *Dhail* on the *Shakā'ik*, p. 191), Molla Naṣr Allāh al-Rūmī (*ibid.*, p. 123) and the scene of activity of kādīs who also played a part in literature (cf. *ibid.*, p. 130, 172 and F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 146: Djarrahzāde). Tīre is also mentioned as a place of banishment; the versatile historian Shāhīn-zāde for example ended his life here (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 346). The earlier European travellers rarely visited Tīre. The chaplain of the English factory in Smyrna, Edm. Chishull (d. 1733) is one of the few who visited Tīre (cf. *Travels in Turkey and back to London* [London 1747], p. 19 and Thos. Smith, *Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum Notitia*).

It was then thought that Tīre represented Thyáteira (= Ak-ḥiṣār), one of the "Seven Churches of Asia". Ewliyā Celebi [q. v.] describes Tīre in the ninth, still unpublished, volume of his *Travels*. The town does not seem to possess any antiquities. Mention may be made of the library of 1,325 volumes (including the holograph of the above mentioned commentary of Firishte-oghlu), presented by Nadjib Pāshā, governor of Baghdād. Down to the Turko-Greek exchange of population, Tīre had about 15,000, mainly Greek, inhabitants (cf. V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 508 sqq.) who were mainly occupied in carpet-weaving and the cultivation of the vine.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the text): Karl Buresch, *Aus Lydien* (Leipzig 1898), p. 32, 165, 214; Stephanus Byz., ed. Westermann (Leipzig 1839), p. 273; Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, civ. 38; Fr. V. J. Arundel, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, London 1834; do., *A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia*, London 1828; Ḥādjidjī Khalifa, *Djihān-numā* (Stambul 1145), S. 636; Meḥammed 'Ashik, *Manāzīr al-'Awālim*, Vienna Ms., fol. 213r; F. Taeschner, *Anatol. Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924/6, i. 176; ii. 39; Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī al-Yazdī, *Zafar-nāme*, ii. 468; do., transl. by F. Pétis de la Croix, Delft 1723, iv. 44; W. Tomaschek, *Zur histor. Topographie Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, CXXIV/viii. 8, 34.

(F. BABINGER)

TİREBOLİ, capital of the kaḍā of Tīreboli in the wilāyet of Trapezunt in Anatolia on the Black Sea, picturesquely situated on three capes from which the town of Tripolis, founded by Greeks from Miletus in the eighth century B. C., received its name. The town is commanded by a mediaeval castle; the remains of two small churches still recall the Byzantine period. In view of its proximity to Trapezunt and Kerasunt, Tīreboli played no special part in history in ancient or modern times. The Comnenoi of Trapezunt were fond of living in the castle here. The conquest of Trapezunt by Meḥammed II in the autumn of 1461 also sealed the fate of Tīreboli. The inhabitants fled to the fortress of Petroma 20 miles away and only surrendered after a long siege, when starved out. Henceforth Tīreboli belonged to the Ottoman empire. While the Spaniard Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo on his journey to Samarkand in 1404 still found Tīreboli ("Tripil") a very large town, the place later sank into comparative insignificance. European travellers have often visited and described Tīreboli, e.g. J. Pitton de Tournefort (cf. *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, ii. [Paris 1717], 222 sq., with picture); Wm. J. Hamilton (cf. *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i. 255); A. D. Mordtmann (cf. *Anatolien*, ed. v. F. Babinger, Hannover 1925, p. 411); J. Ph. Fallmerayer (*Fragmente aus dem Orient* 2, i. 131, 135 sq.) etc. In Tīreboli, besides 8 mosques, there are a number of Greek churches, some of them old. Near it is the now deserted dervish monastery of Şarī Khalifa (cf. thereon J. H. Mordtmann in *M. S. O. S. As.*, xxix. 112 sqq. and xxx. 206, perhaps the individual in question). Before the Turko-Greek exchange of population Tīreboli had about 8,000 inhabitants, 1/4 of them Greeks.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned): V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 53 sqq.; C. Ritter, *Erkunde von Kleinasien*, i., Berlin 1858, p. 821 sq.; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt*

nach Skutari, Gotha 1860, p. 4b; Shākir Shewket, *Trabesün Ta'rikhi*, [Stambul] 1294; Hādjī Khalifa, *Djihannumā*, Stambul 1145, p. 429, l. 18; Ewliyā Ćelebi, *Seyāhetnâme*, ii. 80.

(F. BABINGER)

TIRHĀLA, the Turkish name for TRIK(Κ)ALA, a town in western Thessaly (Greece), on the well watered Trikkalmos, 400 feet above sea-level, on the Volos-Kalabaka railway. Tirhāla, not far from the ancient Triikka, now completely disappeared, with the famous temple of Asclepius and belonging since 1881 to Greece, formerly to the Ottoman empire, in which it was incorporated in 798 (beg. Oct. 16, 1395) by Bāyazīd I (cf. Hādjī Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, ed. by J. v. Hammer, p. 100, and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 249). The town was taken at the same time as Larissa (Turk. Veñi Şehir, q. v.). Later it belonged to the dominions of the Ṭurakhān-oghlu [q. v.], one of the oldest and most distinguished Ottoman noble families. In the reign of Sulaimān the Great the Jews deported from Budapest were settled in Tirhāla (cf. F. Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez* etc., Paris 1555, fol. 58a). In it 'Omar b. Ṭurakhān founded a medrese roofed with lead, in which among others, the Ottoman historian Aḥmad called Para-Parazāde taught; he died in Tirhāla in 968 (1560) and was buried in the mosque of 'Omar b. Ṭurakhān, which now no longer exists (cf. 'Atā'i, *Dhail on Shaḳā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, p. 20, and F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 83 sq.); cf. also Na'imā, *Ta'rikh*, iv. 38. Tirhāla was also the official residence of a kāḍī, and several famous scholars like 'Aṭā'i and Weist held this office. Of the four mosques of Ghāzi Ṭurakhān, 'Osmānshāh Beg, Hādjī Muṣṭafā and Husain Agha only two survive. The first is that built by the famous architect Sinān, that of 'Osmānshāh Beg, called Kara 'Osmānshāh, a nephew of Sulaimān the Great, who held the governorship of Thessaly and died in Tirhāla (975=1567) (cf. Pečewi, *Ta'rikh*, i. 45 and Ewliyā, *Siyāhet-nāme*, i. 172; do., *Travels*, ed. J. v. Hammer, i. 1, p. 87). The mosque with the *türbe* of its founder, although falling into ruins still bears traces of its former splendour. Of the tombs of celebrities here, the following may also be mentioned: Djalāl al-Dīn Baba, Sinān Baba, Ramaḍān Efendi, Dja'far Efendi and Etli Kalkān (اتلى قالكان). The 14 wells built by Muḥsin Pasha-zāde 'Abdullāh Pasha are evidence of Tirhāla's plentiful supply of water. Tirhāla is now entirely abandoned by Muslims and only Greeks (mostly Wallachians) and Jews live in the town, which, while not particularly healthy, with its commanding Byzantine fortress and its wealth in gardens, forms a picture not easily forgotten.

Bibliography: Hādjī Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 99 sq.; Sami, *Kāmis al-Ālām*, p. 1637 sq.; *Sālnāme-i Wilāyet-i Yānia Sene 1288*, p. 115 sq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 249 sq.; Léon Heuzey, *Excursion dans la Thessalie turque en 1858*, Paris 1927, p. 80 sqq.; Const. Chr. Vaytsakis, *Σύντομος ιστορία τῆς πόλεως Τρικκάλων*, Athens 1892, 38 p. 8°, pays almost no attention to the Ottoman period; Ewliyā Ćelebi, *Siyāhet-nāma*, VIII (Stambul 1928), p. 202 sqq. — On the mosque of 'Uṭhmān Shāh built by Sinān, cf. Ewliyā, *l. c.*, p. 203 sqq.; F. Babinger in *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, iv, 1929, January; K. K. Orlandos, *ibid.*, June (with plans and illustrations). (FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-ṬIRIMMĀH B. HAKIM AL-ṬĀ'Ī, a celebrated poet of the first century of Islām. He was descended from a highly respected clan of his tribe and his grandfather Kais is numbered among those who came to Mecca in the year 9 of the Hidjra to pay homage to the Prophet. He himself, according to the most reliable accounts, was born in Syria and spent the earliest years of his life there. Later he came as a soldier to al-Kūfa and through the influence of some Khāridjī leaders became himself one of their sect, and remained true to their doctrines to the end of his life. Either as a soldier or in some other capacity, he visited several parts of Persia. His collected poems, which are preserved only in part in a very old Spanish manuscript, are distinguished from those of his contemporaries by a studied use of uncommon words, similar to the compositions of the *radjaz*-poet Ru'ba, who made a kind of speciality of this. Ru'ba was for the grammarians of Baṣra a source of information on questions of obscure words and he alleged, according to the grammarian al-Aṣma'i and a few others, that he had learned these strange expressions from Ṭirimmāh. This claim is most likely unfounded because Ṭirimmāh was dead when Ru'ba came into prominence. Different was the intercourse of Ṭirimmāh with the poet al-Kumait [q. v.], a fervent Shī'a poet of no mean order, for in spite of their differences in almost every other thing, their friendship was sincere and lasting. The betrayal of the Tamīmīs of the family of al-Muhallab and the downfall of Yazid b. al-Muhallab in 102 (720—721) and the undisguised joy of the Tamīmīs brought Ṭirimmāh into opposition with the poet al-Farazdaq and in the end after a stinging *hidjā'* poem by Ṭirimmāh it seems as if al-Farazdaq gave up the contest. This poem remained for more than a century the pride of the Yamanīs and was continually cited against the Tamīmīs. Ṭirimmāh's grandson Amān a century later lost a post as secretary in North-Africa when Ibrāhīm b. Aghlab, who claimed to be descended from Tamīm, became governor of North-Africa in 184 (800). The fragmentary state of the *diwān* of the poet gives us only an imperfect idea of his character, but through some of his verses runs a pious vein, so different from that of his profligate adversary. Verses of his from the descriptive poems, abounding in uncommon words, are often cited in Arab dictionaries as evidence of their existence in the language; but I have been able to ascertain with a fair amount of certainty that Ṭirimmāh uses many words which are also found with the same meanings in the poems of his tribesman Abū Zubaid, and of Ibn Muḳbil (Tamīm b. Ubaiy b. Muḳbil al-Āḍilānī) whom he may both have known personally in his younger years and we may assume that the words he uses were really found in the speech of some Arab tribes and not newly-coined words, as is frequently the case with Ru'ba.

Bibliography: *The poems of Ṭufail al-Ghanawī and Ṭirimmāh b. al-Hakim*, ed. F. Krenkow, Leyden 1928; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, x. 156—160; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Shī'r*, ed. de Goeje; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*. — He is cited in the *Lisān al-Ārab* more than a hundred times and the *Asās al-Balāgha* of Zamakhsharī alone cites 56 verses, which are not found in the manuscript of the *Diwān* nor in any other accessible work. (F. KRENKOW)

TIRMIDH, a town on the north bank of the *Āmū Daryā* [q.v.] near the mouth of the *Surkhān*. As Sam'ānī, who spent 12 days there, testifies, the name was pronounced Tirmidh in the town itself (*G. M. S.*, xx., fol. 105^b) which is confirmed by the Chinese Ta-mi (e.g. Hiouen Thsang, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, I, 25). Russian officers in 1889 also heard the pronunciation Termiz or Tarmiz (*Sbornik materialov po Azii*, lvii. 393 and 399). The town is now officially known as Termez.

Tirmidh does not seem to have been touched by Alexander the Great and is not mentioned in antiquity, although its foundation was afterwards ascribed to Alexander. According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (q.v.; text by Barthold in *al-Muḡaffariyya*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 20) not only Tirmidh but also Burdāghūy, not far from it on the river, was built by Alexander; Burdāghūy is said to be a Greek word and to mean "inn" (*mihmānkhāna*) (? Greek *τριπαδονχείον*?).

At the time of the Muslim conquest Buddhism was predominant in Tirmidh; there were 12 monasteries and about 1,000 monks there (Hiouen-Thsang, *loc. cit.*). Tirmidh was then under an important ruler who bore the title Tirmidh-Shāh (Ṭabarī, ii. 1147; *B. G. A.*, vi. 39); there was a powerful fortress on the bank (Ṭabarī, ii. 1147). In the year 70 (689–690), Tirmidh was conquered by Musā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzim, who had thrown off allegiance to the Muslim government, and ruled for 15 years by him (cf. Balādhuri, p. 417 sqq.; Ṭabarī, ii. 1145 sqq.). Only towards the end of 85 (704) did 'Uthmān b. Mas'ūd by order of the governor al-Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab succeed in taking the town for the government. In this fighting and in later sieges and bridge-building, the island at Tirmidh, called in the Arab period *Djāzīrat 'Uthmān*, played an important part; in the Özbek period the island is called *Orta-Aral* or *Orta-Aralī* ("middle island") (J. Senkowski, *Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns etc.*, St. Petersburg 1824, text, p. 20, and the passages quoted from manuscripts in Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914). The worship of the prophet *Dhu 'l-Kifl* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 291) mentioned as early as the fourth (tenth) century in Kalif, was transferred here; after this cult, the island is now called *Aral Paighambar* ("island of the prophet").

On geographical conditions in the fourth (tenth) century cf. especially *B. G. A.*, i. 298 and iii. 291. Tirmidh was an important port on the *Āmū-Daryā*; boats were built and exported from there (*B. G. A.*, iii. 325, 7). Like Balkh, Tirmidh was noted for its soap (*op. cit.*, p. 324). Two natives of Tirmidh have attained fame in Muslim literature: the author of the famous collection of traditions Abū 'Isā Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Tirmidhī [q.v.] (d. 279 = 892) and the traditionist and mystic 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Tirmidhī [q.v.] d. 255 (869); cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 164. The latter's tomb, probably erected in the ninth (xvth) century is now the finest building in the ruins of Tirmidh and one of the most beautiful in Central Asia (picture e.g. in *Izv. Geogr. Obshch.*, xlv., 1908, on p. 652 with a Russian translation of the inscriptions and in Barthold, *Islam*, St. Petersburg 1918, p. 57). The inscriptions give us in part what we are told about Muḥammad b. 'Alī in the *Tadkhīrat al-Awliyā'* (*Pers. Hist. Texts*, v. 93) of Farid al-Din Aṭṭār [q.v.], and in the *Nafahāt al-Uns*

(lith., p. 77) of Djāmī [q.v.]; we are further told that he studied under the same scholars as al-Bukhārī, which Sam'ānī (*G. M. S.*, xx. 106a) refers to Muḥammad b. 'Isā.

Tirmidh afterwards shared the political history of Khorāsān and Mā warā al-Nahr, sometimes, as at the present day, the Oxus frontier and sometimes the connection with Balkh being of greater importance. Under Maḥmūd and his immediate successors, Tirmidh like other dependencies of Balkh north of the Oxus belonged to the empire of the Ghaznavids [q.v.]. When as a result of the battle in the desert of Kaṭwan near Samarkand (5th Šafar 536 = Sept. 9, 1141) rule over Mā warā al-Nahr passed to the Kara-Khitai [q.v.], Tirmidh remained to the Saldjūks as is shown by the fact that Sultān Sandjar [q.v.] sought refuge here in 551 (1156). Tirmidh was later in the possession of the Kara-Khitai from whom it was taken in *Dhu 'l-Kāda* 601 (June–July 1205) by 'Imād al-Dīn 'Omar, governor of Balkh for the Ghōrids [q.v.] (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 135). 'Imād al-Dīn's son Bahrām Shāh (the name occurs in Nasawī, ed. Houdas, p. 39) was appointed governor of Tirmidh. The very next year it was taken by the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad, then allied with the Kara-Khitai, and handed over to the latter; according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr (xii. 152 sq.), this news provoked great indignation against the Khwārizmshāh throughout the Muslim world. According to Djuwainī (*G. M. S.*, xvi/ii. 64), the town was surrendered by the governor on the advice of his father to 'Othmān, Khān of Samarkand; in Mirkhwānd (*Hist. des sultans du Khorezm*, ed. by Defrémery, Paris 1842, p. 51 sq.) the Khwārizmshāh is mentioned in place of the Khān. After the fall of the empire of the Kara-Khitai, Tirmidh belonged to the empire of the Khwārizmshāh; in the autumn of 1220 it was taken and completely destroyed by the Mongols. In Djuwainī's narrative (*G. M. S.*, xvi. 102) of the conquest it is mentioned that half of the city walls are in the middle of the river.

A few years earlier, we have the first reference to the sayyids of Tirmidh whose importance was not affected even by the Mongol conquest. When the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad had quarrelled with the caliph Nāṣir, he proclaimed through the learned men of his empire that the 'Abbāsids had appropriated by unjust means the power, which really belonged to the descendants of 'Alī. 'Alā' al-Mulk, one of the great sayyids (*az sādāt-i buzurg*) of Tirmidh, was appointed caliph (*G. M. S.*, xvi/ii. 97, 122). The appointment had no further consequences and we know nothing of the life or end of this anti-caliph. In the *Ta'rikh-i Guzida* of Ḥamd Allāh Kazwīnī (*G. M. S.*, xiv/i. 496) he is called Saiyid 'Imād al-Dīn Tirmidhī.

In the next century Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [q.v.] (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 48) records happenings in the Čaghatai [q.v.] kingdoms. 'Alā' al-Mulk Khudāwand-zāde, a descendant of Ḥusain b. 'Alī, lord (*ṣāhib*) of Tirmidh is mentioned. He is said to have thrust himself upon the Khān Khalīl Allāh at the head of 4,000 Muslims and to have been appointed vizier by him. The members of his house are also called Khudāwand-zāde in later times (in the *Zafar-nāma*, Ind. ed., i. 210, pass. and in the *Bābur-nāma*, facs. Beveridge, fol. 208 contracted to Khān-zāde. The full form is found in the oldest recensions of the *Zafar-nāma*, composed in Timūr's time. [*Tekst po istorii Sredney*

Asii, St. Petersburg, 1895, p. 131 and 199]). In the *Zafar-nāma* the "Khān-zāde" Abu 'l-Ma'ālī and his brother 'Alī Akbar are several times mentioned; in 1371 Abu 'l-Ma'ālī was banished for his share in a campaign against Timūr (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 231), but his exile was not of long duration; in the very next year we find him taking part in Timūr's campaign against Khwārizm (*op. cit.*, p. 241). A Khān-zāde 'Alā' al-Mulk is again mentioned later; Timūr stayed at his home on his return from his Indian campaign in 1399 and from the campaign in the west in 1404 (*op. cit.*, ii. 190 and 593). In 1487 Aḥmad Mīrzā married a wife of the house of the Saiyids (*Bābur-nāma*, fol. 206).

In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, when Balkh was still in ruins, Tirmidh had already recovered from its destruction by the Mongols; the town was not rebuilt on its old site but two Arab miles from the river; it was a fine large town with prosperous inhabitants (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 56 sq.). Among the ruins of this town is the mausoleum described by A. A. Semenov (*Protokoli Turk. Kružka Lyub. Arkh.*, xix. 3 sqq. with pictures) with the tombs of the sayyids now called Sultan-Sadat (probably *Sulṭān-i Sādāt*). The descendants of the sayyids now live in the village (according to the latest census: 724 inhabitants) of Ṣāliḥābād near Tirmidh. A. Semenov obtained from them a manuscript genealogy and history of their house ending on the 4th Dhu 'l-Hijja 1046 (29th April 1637). According to this MS., the sayyid Ḥasan al-Emīr, son of the emīr Ḥusain, came to Samarkand in 235 (849—850) and thence went to Balkh and Tirmidh in 246 (860—861). We are told something of his relations with the Sāmānids, with a number of anachronisms; for the rest, the genealogy only contains names (Sulṭān-sādāt occurs in it as a woman's name) without facts or historical associations.

In the *Zafar-nāma* (i. 57) "Old Tirmidh" (*Tirmidh-i Kuhna*) is mentioned alongside of Tirmidh. In literary works, including the MS. just mentioned, and on coins Tirmidh after the Mongol period is frequently called "The Men's Town" (*madīnat al-riḍjāl*). After Timūr's death, the Oxus frontier again came into prominence for a brief period. Khalil Sulṭān who had seized Samarkand could only hold the territory north of the Āmū-Daryā. During the preparations for war between him and Shāhrukh [q. v.], Khalil Sulṭān in 810 (1407) restored old Tirmidh and Shāhrukh, the defences of Balkh (Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Egypt*, ed., p. 205 sq.). It is to this period that probably belongs the memorial to Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Tirmidhī.

From the xth (xvth) century Tirmidh, and as a rule Balkh also, belonged to the kingdom of the Özbegs. During the fighting for Balkh between the Özbegs and the Indian prince (later emperor) Awrangzēb [q. v.] in 1646 and 1647, Tirmidh was occupied by Indian troops under Sa'ādāt Khān (Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 79, also Barthold, in *Bulletin de l'Acad. etc.*, 1921, p. 204).

In the early years of the xviiith century Tirmidh was in possession of Shīr 'Alī of the Kunghrat family, the founder of the town of Shīrābād (*Z. D.M.G.*, xxxviii. 276). A distinction was made at this time between the "great citadel" (*kal'a-i kalān*) of Tirmidh and the "citadel of the village" (?) where

the bulk of the inhabitants (of Tirmidh?) lived. The unsettled condition of the following decades brought about the complete ruin of Tirmidh as of many other towns. In 1758 Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān rebuilt the town (Barthold, *Kistorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 74); it was afterwards destroyed once more.

In the second half of the sixth century, there was nothing near the ruins of the old town of Tirmidh except the insignificant village of Patta Ḥiṣār (with 1,257 inhabitants) and Ṣāliḥābād (cf. above). Patta Ḥiṣār acquired more importance when it was made the starting point of the Russian steamships on the Āmū-Daryā. In 1894 the Russian fort of Termez was built 5 miles from the ruins and gradually became a town, but with a predominantly male population (according to the last census: 8,052 men and 2,069 women). In 1916 the Bukhārā-Ḳarshi-Termez railway was opened; during the revolution it was destroyed but has since been rebuilt. The excavations conducted on behalf of the Moscow Museum for Oriental Culture have yielded important results; among other things, objects of the Buddhist period have been found.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 440 sq.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, *G.M.S.*, N.S., v. 74 sqq. and index. — On the excavations: cf. B. Denke, *Termez Noviy Vostok*, xxii. (1928), p. 208 sqq.; *Kul'tura Vostoka*, N^o. 1 (1927), p. 9 sqq.; N^o. 2 (1928), p. 3 sqq.

(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-TIRMIDHĪ, ABU 'ISĀ MUḤAMMAD B. 'ISĀ B. SAWRA B. SHADDĀD, the author of one of the canonical or semi-canonical collections of traditions. The *nisba* al-Tirmidhī connects him with Tirmidh, a place on the upper Āmū Daryā, at a distance of 6 leagues from Balkh (about 37° Lat. N. and 67° Long. E. from Greenwich; cf. Ḳazwīnī, *Nushat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. and transl. Le Strange, *G.M.S.*, xxiii., index, s. v.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 440 sq. and map ix., facing p. 433), where he is said to have died in 279 (892—893); according to other reports, he died at Būgh, one of the boroughs of Tirmidh, in 275 (888—889), or in 270 (883—884).

Of his life very little is known. It is said, that he was born blind but also, that he lost his eyesight in his later years. He travelled widely, in Khurāsān, 'Irāk and Hīdjāz, in order to collect traditions. Among his masters were Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal [q. v.], al-Bukhārī [q. v.] and Abū Dāwūd al-Sīdījānī [q. v.].

Two of his works have been printed: his collection of traditions (Cairo 1292, in 2 vols.; lithogr., Mirthal 1283, fol.) and his *Shamā'il*, a collection of traditions concerning the person and the character of the Prophet (Cairo 1306, with a commentary by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim Ḍjassūs, entitled: *al-Fawā'id al-Djalila al-Bahiya 'ala 'l-Shamā'il al-Muḥammadiya*; and *ibid.*, 1318 with 2 commentaries: the first, entitled *al-Wasā'il*, by 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Karī; the second by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī; for other editions and commentaries, see Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 162). Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, mentions also a collection of forty traditions; it does not appear whether this was made by himself or by others. In Arabic sources other works on various subjects — asceticism, names and *kunya's*,

law, history — are ascribed to him, none of which seems to have come down to us.

His collection of traditions bears the title of *ṣaḥīḥ* in the edition printed at Cairo; elsewhere it is called *djāmiʿ*; it deserves the latter qualification (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Stud.*, ii. 231, note 2), at it comprises, besides traditions on law, also some concerning other topics. A glance at the list of chapters shows that nearly one half of the work is devoted to such subjects as dogmatic theology (*Kadar*, *Ḳiyāma*, *Djanna*, *Djahannam*, *Imān*, *Ḳurʿān*), popular beliefs (*Fitan*, *Ruʿya*), devotion (*Zuhd*, *Thawāb al-Ḳurʿān*, *Daʿawāt*), manners and education (*Istīdhān*, *Adab*), hagiology (*Manāḳib*).

The work contains far fewer traditions than those of Bukhārī or Muslim, but also less repetitions. It is chiefly two chapters that are particularly extensive, viz. *Manāḳib* and *Tafsir al-Ḳurʿān*; they are lacking in the other three *Sunan* (by this title the four collections of Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, Nasāʿī and Ibn Mādjā are sometimes denoted). Though traditions showing a predilection for ʿAlī are not rare, those which favour Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān are not lacking.

By two features, however, Tirmidhī's work is distinguished: the critical remarks concerning the *isnād*'s and the points of difference between the *madhhab*'s, which follow every tradition. On account of the latter feature, Tirmidhī's *Djāmiʿ* may be called the oldest work on *ikhtilāf* that has come down upon us; the remarks on this subject occurring in Shāfiʿi's *Kitāb al-Umm* are much less complete and scarcely authentic.

According to the *Taḳrīb*, as cited by Goldziher (*Muhamm. Stud.*, ii. 252, note 1), the MSS. are not uniform in reproducing Tirmidhī's remarks on the *isnād*'s (*ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan*, *gharīb*, *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan gharīb*, *ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*). The author gives no explanation of the principles upon which his distinctions are based. The work opens with an enumeration of the authorities, which have handed it down to the final redactor. It closes with a brief eulogistic formula.

Bibliography: al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, G. M. S., xx., fol. 106a; Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Huffāz*, ed. Wüstenfeld, part iii., p. 57, No. 3; do., *Mizān al-Iʿtidāl*, Cairo 1325, iii. 117, No. 1021; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 624; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-ʿAs-ḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaidarābād 1326, ix. 387—389, No. 236; do., *Taḳrīb al-Tahdhīb*, lithogr. Delhi, no year, p. 230^b; Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahshā, *Tuḥfat dhawi ʿl-ʿArab*, ed. T. Mann, p. 143; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 250 sqq. (A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-TIRMIDHĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĪH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ḤUSAIN, known as al-Ḥakīm (the wise), a Sunni theologian of Ḳhurasān, a *muḥaddith*, a jurist of the Ḥanafī school and a mystic, d. in 285 (898). Some thirty of his works still exist in manuscript; their style is somewhat prolix but they are very fully documented.

In his *Nawādir al-Uṣūl* and his *Khātm al-Wilāya*, he attempts to give an orthodox mystical exegesis of certain gnostic themes (developed by the extremist Shīʿis) like the pre-existence of the *Nūr Muḥammadi* and the *Ḥaḳīka ʿAdamiya*, the value of the 28 letters of the alphabet, angelology, the criteria of the state of "sanctity" which he

was the first to study *ex professo* under the technical name of *wilāya* (borrowed from the Shīʿa); in it he gives a particular role to Jesus.

He tries to explain rationally the form of the canonical rites in his *ʿIlal al-ʿUbūdiyya* (which were condemned), *Sharḥ al-Salāt*, *al-Ḥaǧǧī wa-Asrāruhu*; his curious *Kitāb al-Furūḳ* endeavours to show that there are no true synonyms (which is half-Muʿtazila). He insists on introspection of the heart and professes a very high morality; his *Kitāb al-Akyās* castigates the different professing categories of hypocrisy and refutes the *ḥiyāl* of the casuists of the time. He was the author of the first collection of biographies on the history of Ṣūfīism but this work is only known from quotations.

He is the true precursor of Ibn ʿArabī who three centuries later studied him closely and admired him.

Bibliography: Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Maḥ-ḍjūb*, ed. Shukovski, 1926, p. 177—179, 265 sqq.; transl. Nicholson, 1911, p. 141—142, 210 sqq.; Amedroz, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 584; L. Massignon, *Essai sur... la mystique musulmane*, 1922, p. 256—264; do., *Textes inédits...*, 1929, p. 33—39 and add. (L. MASSIGNON)

TIRMIDHĪ, SAIIYID BURHĀN AL-DĪN, a Ṣūfī, also known as Saiyid Ḥusain Tirmidhī, Saiyid Sirdān, or Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaḳḳiḳ, a native of Tirmidh and a disciple of Mawlānā Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad. After studying for some time with the latter he spent a long time in ascetic practices and finally settled in Tirmidh where pupils gathered around him. After the death at Ḳonya of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad (628 = 1231), Burhān al-Dīn went to Ḳonya (629—630) in response to the appeal of his late master's spirit and undertook the spiritual education of the young Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī who up till then had been studying law and literature. After nine years, in spite of the appeals of Mawlānā, he retired to Ḳaiṣariya. It is evident from his biographies that he was in this town when the Mongols took Ḳaiṣariya and made a general massacre here (the MSS. of Müneddjdim Bāshī, *Djāmiʿ al-Duwal*, No. 5019 and 5020 of the *Kitābkhāne-i ʿumūmī* say that this event took place in 641 [1243]; for the details cf. *Recueil de textes rel. à l'histoire des Seldj.*, ed. Houtsma, iv. 241). Shams al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, the Saldjuḳ governor of Ḳaiṣariya, was the patron and disciple of Burhān al-Dīn. It was he who saw to the performance of his funeral rites and built his tomb. We do not know the exact date of his birth nor can we determine accurately that of his death. Ewliyā ʿČelebī says that the *maḳām* of Saiyid Burhān Tirmidhī was in Ḳaiṣariya and that he died in 474 which is clearly wrong. At the present day there is in Ḳonya near the *türbe* known as the Tātār-khāniler Türbesi, a *türbe* called Burhān al-Dīn Türbesi; although there is no inscription on the latter, it has always been regarded as that of Saiyid Burhān Tirmidhī. Dawlatshāh, who regards Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaḳḳiḳ as the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn and of Mawlānā, says that he accompanied them on their travels in Syria and to the Ḥidjāz and that he died and was buried in Syria. This is not in keeping with the facts (Dawlatshāh, ed. Browne, p. 194; Bombay edition, p. 86; and quoting Dawlatshāh: Fehīm, *Safinat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, Constantinople, Maṭbaʿa-i ʿAmire, 1259, p. 82). Saiyid Burhān Tirmidhī owes his fame more especially to the part he plays in the traditions of the Mew-

lewis. From this point of view, it is in the oldest and most important sources for the history of the Mewlewī order, such as *Sipahsālār Manāḳibī* and *Eḥḳāḳi Manāḳibī*, that we must seek for reliable information about him.

Bibliography: (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): Feridūn b. Aḥmad Sipahsālār, *Manāḳib-i Ḥaḍret-i Khudāwendikār*, Turkish translation, printed 1331, p. 159—164; Eḥḳāḳi, *Manāḳib al-ʿArifin*, Pers. MS.; do., transl. into Turkish by Maḥmūd Dede, MS., chap. ii. (the MSS. of both versions are in many libraries); do., French translation by Cl. Huart, *Les Saints des derwiches tourneurs*, Paris 1918, index; Lāmīʿi translation of the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, p. 515—516; Ewliyā ʿĀlebi, *Siyāḥnāme*, Der-i Seʿādet 1314, iii. 186; Khalil Edhem, *Kaṣariye Shehri*, Constantinople 1334, p. 118; Köprülü Zāde Fuʿād, *Ilk Mutaṣawwifler*, Constantinople 1918, p. 245.

(KÖPRÜLÜ ZĀDE FUʿĀD)

TĪṬ (in the texts one finds sometimes the Berber name *Tiṭ-an-Fiṭr*, sometimes its Arabic translation: *ʿAin al-Fiṭr*, "Source of the Breaking of the Fast"), a place on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, some eight miles S.W. of Mazagan.

According to the local legend, Tiṭ owed its foundation to a saint, Ismāʿīl Amghār (Berber = Arabic *shaikh*) who came from Medina, led by a light which guided him in the sky, and settled among the Gudāla, a branch of the Ṣanhādja of Azemmūr; he settled in the forest opposite a spring "situated in the sea" to which he used to go walking on the waves whenever he broke his fast; hence the name of Tiṭ-an-Fiṭr. If we may trust the synchronisms given by the legend, his settlement here took place in the tenth century.

Ismāʿīl married the daughter of the chief of the country and became the ancestor of the Sharīfan family of the Amghāriyyūn [cf. the article *SHORFĀ*], one of the members of which Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh founded an important *ribāʿ* at Tiṭ in the first half of the xith century. The history of this stronghold is not well known and al-Bakrī, who enumerates with details the ports and towns of the Atlantic coast, does not mention it; but it should be remembered that he also omits Azemmūr. In the xith century, al-ʿUmarī mentions Tiṭ as one of the 42 large towns of Morocco; it paid 5,000 mithkāl of taxes, as much as Tīgīsas and a little less than Ṣufrī. When in 1513 the Portuguese occupied Azemmūr, Tiṭ also submitted to them and paid tribute. But in 1514, fearing that the *ribāʿ* might serve as a base for the Christians, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, the Wattāsid sovereign, dismantled its walls and transported the inhabitants to the region of Fās; Tiṭ henceforth lost all importance, which passed to the neighbouring port of Mazagan which became the principal Portuguese factory in the land of the Dukkāla. At the present day it is only a wretched village among the ruins of the towers and gates of the old *ribāʿ*; its old name is hardly known to the natives who call it after the founder of the *ribāʿ*: Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh.

In spite of the resemblance of meaning, this Tiṭ has no connection with Tiṭ-an-Wagurrāmt "Spring of the Saint (?)" which the Almohad historian al-Baiḍḥaḳ says is in Tāmasnā in the land of the Barghawāta; we know that Tāmasnā lies to the north and not to the south of the Umm Rabʿ. This second Tiṭ should, it appears, be identified with the place-

name wrongly written **تطن وقرى** in the manuscripts of Idrīsī "a little place but nevertheless a town in character, inhabited by Berbers of mixed origin and lying on the road from Tādla to Sale, four days' journey from Tādla and two from Sale". It must therefore lie approximately in the south corner of the lands of the present day tribe of the Zāʿer.

Bibliography: The legend of the Banū Amghār is given at length in a manuscript attributed to Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Zammūrī; H. Basset and H. Terrasse, *Sanctuaires et forteresses almohades: Le ribāʿ de Tiṭ* (in *Hespéris*, 1927, p. 117—156). (G. S. COLIN)

TĪṬĀWĪN, TETUAN, Fr. TĒTOUAN, Sp. TETUAN, the *Tetteguin* of Leo Africanus, a Berber place-name meaning "the springs" (a quarter of the town is still called al-ʿUyūn); al-Idrīsī gives the defective form Tīṭāwīn and the modern popular pronunciation is *Tsīṭāwēn*, *Tsīṭāwūn*. The name Tetuán given it by the Spaniards comes from the form **تطوان** found at the end of the xviith century on coins of the early sovereigns of the Filāli dynasty. It is a town in the north of Morocco, 21 miles S. of Ceuta. It is built on a little terrace which juts out of Mount Darsa and commands the valley of the Martin (or Martil) which flows into the sea 7 miles away. Between Tetuan and the sea lies a little plain encircled by the mountains of Andjera, of Bnī Ḥōzmār and the lower hills of the Bnī Maʿdān. The Martin corresponds to the *Θαυοῦδα* of Ptolemy and the *Tamuda* of Pliny. These old names are perhaps to be connected with the Berber *tamda*: "pond", "marsh", for the low valley of the Martin is very marshy. Pliny also mentions an *oppidum* called Tamuda; this must have been the name of the Berber-Roman town, the ruins of which can still be seen on the right bank of the Martin 2½ miles west of Tetuan near the bridge on which the railway to *Shaf-shāwan* crosses; an old Lybian inscription has been found there. The river was then more navigable and ships could ascend to the *oppidum*. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (Occ., xxvi. 13) mention Tamuda as the residence of the *praefectus* and of the *ala herculea*. The lists of bishops mention a *Tamudensis episcopus*.

The name of Tetuan is not found in the early days of the Arab conquest; the country was then governed by Yulyān (= Julian?) who ruled the whole territory of the Ghumāra but Ceuta was the capital. Tetuan does not appear in the Muslim history of Morocco until the ninth century when the empire of Idrīs II was partitioned in 828; the town fell to al-Ḳāsim along with Tangier, Ceuta, Ḳaṣr Maṣmūda and Ḥaḍjar al-Naṣr but the capital of this kingdom was Tangier.

In the xith century al-Bakrī knows Tetuan as the capital of the territory of the Banū Sikkīn, a section of the Maṣmūda of the coast; it was a town with an old citadel and a minaret.

In 347 (953) the Fātimid general Djawhar came from Morocco to fight the Omayyads and marched on Ceuta and Tetuan after having taken Fās; but having failed in his attack on Ceuta he went no farther and returned to Sidjilmāsa. In 399 (979) the Fātimid general Buluggīn b. Zīrī came to the top of the hill of Tetuan but did not take the town.

In the xith century Tetuan is twice mentioned by the Almohad historian al-Baiḍḥaḳ; the Almo-

ravid general Reverter encamped there when he was pursuing the Almohad troops. Al-Idrisi mentions it as a stronghold (*ḥiṣn*) of the Maǧjaks. It does not seem to have played any special part under the Almohads. In 685 (1286) the Marinid Sulṭān Yūsuf b. Yaḳūb wanting to create a base for operations against Ceuta, held by the king of Granada, built an important fortress at Tetuan around which his successor the Sulṭān Abū Ṭhābit 'Āmir in 708 (1308) ordered a town to be built; the historians are not clear as to whether this was the restoration of the old Tetuan which had fallen into ruins or the creation of a new town on a different site. In 1350 Tetuan saw Abū 'Inān, son of the Marinid Sulṭān 'Alī b. 'Uṭhmān, rebel against his father and proclaim himself sovereign. The new town barely lasted a century; it had become at the end of the xivth century a haunt of pirates, particularly dangerous to Spain on account of their proximity to its coast; in 1400 Henry III of Transtamare, king of Castile, sent a squadron of ships which penetrated into the mouth of the Martín and destroyed the corsairs' fleet; troops were landed who took the town, destroyed it and carried off many of the inhabitants as prisoners.

Tetuan remained deserted for about eighty years. In 1414 the Portuguese established themselves at Ceuta which was now to be held by Christians. After Ferdinand's capture of Granada, in Jan. 1492, many Spanish Arabs went over to Morocco; one of them, a valiant defender of Granada, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Mandari, obtained from the Waṭṭāsīd ruler of Fās, Muḥammad al-Shaikḥ, the concession of Tetuan and the lands round it; gathering round him a number of émigrés from Spain, he built a fortress surrounded by ramparts and ditches: A new town was soon built with its Friday mosque. With a body of Spanish horsemen and contingents of mountaineers who had joined him, al-Mandari began to harass the Portuguese at Ceuta, al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaḡīr and Tangier by his raids, taking many prisoners whom he employed on the building of the town. Leo Africanus passing through Tetuan saw over 3,000 of them, who were shut up at night in siloes (a quarter of the town is still called *al-Mṭāmār*, "the siloes"). After the suppression of the risings of the Muslims of Spain, many came to join al-Mandari in the last years of the xvth and early years of the xvith century, especially in 1501 and 1502. To the war by land against the Portuguese was joined that of the corsairs by sea; Tetuan with the adjoining *Shafshāwan* became one of the principal centres for carrying on the holy war.

With the death of al-Mandari the heroic period of the history of new Tetuan comes to an end; henceforth it was simply a town of bourgeois from Spain whose only desire was to increase their wealth by trade and enjoy in peace the pleasures of arts and letters. Independent and turbulent and favoured by the isolated position of their town, they tried to escape the authority and especially the taxes of the Sulṭān, but whenever they had begun to enjoy a semi-independence, they broke up into factions who afflicted the town and made foreign intervention easy.

Down to the time of the 'Alawid Sulṭān Mawḷāy Ismā'il, the supremacy seems to have belonged to the family of al-Nakṣīs, which this ruler had to exterminate. The period of anarchy which followed the death of Mawḷāy Ismā'il saw the fighting between the Ḳā'id of the Djihād in the Rif, Aḥmad

b. al-Baṭṭūyī governor of Tangier, against the Tetuanese commanded by 'Umar al-Waḳḱāsh; the Rifian leader finally succeeded in extending his authority over Tetuan. After his death (1743) the Tetuanese resumed their old habits, recognising all the pretenders who appeared in the district. In the xixth century, the important fact for the history of Tetuan is the Spanish-Moorish war of 1859—1860, at the end of which the town was taken by the Spaniards, who occupied it till May 1862. In 1890 Tetuan was visited by the Sulṭān Mawḷāy al-Ḥasan. In 1903—1904 it was blockaded by the hillmen of the neighbourhood, who took advantage of the anarchy provoked by the rising of the pretender Abū Ḥimāra. Lastly in 1913, the Spaniards occupied Tetuan which became the capital of their zone of protectorate in northern Morocco and the residence of the Sulṭān's *ḫalīfa*.

Tetuan, whose port is Ceuta with which it is connected by railway, is the centre from which the tribes of the *Ḡhumāra* and the region of *Shafshāwan* obtain their supplies of imported goods. The local industries, especially the manufactures of brocade and of silk, are declining. The population is about 25,000 of whom 12,000 are Muslims and 4,250 Jews.

Bibliography: All the details of the history and topography of Tetuan and its economic life have been collected by A. Joly in the following works: for the description see *Tétuan*, in *Archives Marocaines*, vol. 4, p. 199—343. For the history, cf. *Archives Marocaines*, vol. 5, p. 161—264, 311—430; vol. 8, p. 404—539; vol. 3, p. 266—300 (on the siege of 1903—1904). On the economic life, cf. *L'Industrie de Tétuan*, in *Archives Marocaines*, vol. 8, p. 196—329; vol. 11, p. 361—393; vol. 15, p. 80—156; vol. 18, p. 187—256. — Cf. also: Cerdeira, *Inscripciones árabes de Tetuán*, in *Revista de tropas coloniales*, N^o 11, Ceuta, Nov. 1925; Cuevas y Espinach, *Colección de estudios referentes al bajalato de Tetuán*, in *Bol. Soc. Geogr. Madrid*, vol. 39, 1897, p. 49—74; Gomez Moreno, *Descubrimientos y antigüedades en Tetuán*, in *Revista hispano-africana*, Jan.—Feb. 1924; H. Cohn, *Mœurs des Juifs et des Arabes de Tétuan*², Paris 1927. (G. S. COLIN)

TIYÜL, a term used in the administrative system of Persia (the usual pronunciation *tuyül* is due to a false assimilation to Arabic plurals of the type *fu'ül*; in the same way Chardin's translation "perpetual" is due to an erroneous derivation from the Arabic *ṭawīl* "long").

The *tiyül* (at least in the xixth century and in principle) is the authorisation granted by the government to an individual to levy his salary or pension directly on the taxes which a village or group of villagers has to pay the treasury. In its simple form the *tiyül* was a kind of guarantee to secure the payment of the pension. This guarantee was given sometimes simultaneously with the pension and sometimes later as an additional favour. The beneficiary could be a stranger to the village but he might also be its owner. The economic and social history of Persia still remains to be written and we can only indicate a few facts relative to the origin of the word *tiyül* and the custom to which it gives its name.

Etymology. The word is of eastern Turki origin. Radloff, *Opît Slovara*, iii., col. 1343, 1380, explains it as "property assigned to any one, allotment" (*das Zuertheilte*) and derives it from

the verb *tī-māk* (= Constantinople Turkish, *degmek* > *deymek*). From the point of view of morphology one might compare *tiy-ul* with the word *kait-ul* "camp" which has also passed into Persian (place to which one returns, from *kaitmak*, "to return"). The word *tiyül* is not found in the Mongol period: for example, it does not occur in Rashid al-Din's chapter on Ghāzān's reforms (MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, Suppl. Pers., N^o. 209, fol. 405a—443^b and d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 370—477). It is not even found for the period of Timūr in the *Zafar-nāma*. So far as one can see, the word first appears as an official term under the Timūrids; cf. the *Maīlā' al-Sādain* under 810 (1407); cf. *N.E.*, xiv, 1843, p. 124—125, where Quatremère studies the word and quotes passages from the *Akbar-nāma* (concluded in 1597) and the *Ālam-ārū* (which comes down to 1629).

Origin of the institution. Although the name *tiyül* is comparatively late, the practice to which it is applied existed in the time of the Saldjūks or even earlier. The old Turkish word *tiyül* in the popular language must correspond to an official term like *ikṭā'* "fief" (plur. *ikṭā'āt*) which it finally supplanted. The Arabic term *ikṭā'* disappears just at the time when the terms *siyūrghāl* (cf. below) and *tiyül* come into general use.

In chap. v. of the *Siyāsat-nāma*, Nizām al-Mulk thus defines the prerogatives of feudatories (*mukṭa'ān*): "they must know that their statutory rights (*az farmān*) over the peasants (*ra'āyā*) are simply the levying in a mild fashion of the legal dues (*māl-i haḡḡ*) which have been assigned (*hawālat*) to the feudatories. These dues having been levied, the cultivators remain free (*aimān*) in all that concerns their bodies, their wives and children. Their property — goods and lands (*asbāb wa-dīyā*) — is also free and the *mukṭa'ān* have no claim on it". The *ikṭā'* is thus reduced to the right to levy the dues (*māl-i haḡḡ*) payable by the cultivators. This form of *ikṭā'* (we do not know if it was the only one!) very much resembles the *tiyül* of a later date. In the Mongol period, Rashid al-Din quotes the text of the decree of 703 (1303) by which Ghāzān Khān created the military fiefs (*ikṭā'*). This edict distinguishes between crown lands (*indjū* and *dīwānī*), those of private individuals and of the *wakf*, and those which are uncultivated. As to the first category the lands of the peasants (*ra'āyā*) continued to enjoy their rights but paid all their dues (*bahra*, *māl*, *koḡḡur*, *mutawadjdihāt-i dīwānī*) to the military feudatories (*ḡārikīyān*; on the meaning of a number of these terms cf. Barthold, *Nadpis na meṭeti Mamūc, Aniṣhiya seriya*, N^o. 5, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 32 sq.) in place of sending them to the treasury. This practice is also very close to the *tiyül* although in 703 it formed part of a whole system of privileges which formed the counterpart of military service (d'Ohsson, iv, p. 424, §§ I—9).

Tiyül, a financial expedient. The regular *tiyül* is characterised by the simplification of the process, which is gradually transformed into a simple financial expedient in proportion as the number of payments increases and the central treasury finds a difficulty in making them in specie. Chardin, v. 416, for example, explains the origin of "payments by assignments" as mainly due to scarcity of currency.

The nature of the *tiyül* (i. e. of the right to appropriate the taxes of a village) was often

complicated by privileges granted at the same time to the *tiyüldār* (e. g. that of administering public domains on his own account). This explains the vagueness of the definitions given it by European observers.

Chardin translates the word *tiyül* by "assignation de terre" and distinguishes two categories of *tiyül* "for these estates are either the apauage of the charge, the great charges having all the lands which are annexed to them for the payment of wages and which remain perpetually attached to the charge; or they are assigned at the will of the treasury". In the latter case also, the payments had a character of perpetuity for a series of years. Chardin with much perspicacity criticises the system and concludes (p. 418): "the lands which are assigned for payment of salaries are not under the inspection of the king's men; they are as if they were the private property of the man to whom they are granted. He arranges about the revenue as he likes with the inhabitants of the place".

Similarly Kaempfer (1684—1688) enumerates three kinds of salaries in Persia: *barāt* (claims on remote provinces), *hama sāla* (lands yielding only the amount of the pension) and *tiyül*. These "*tawīl seu tiyuul*" which correspond, broadly speaking, to Chardin's first category are the lands (*pāgi, praedia vel fundi*) given to dignitaries of state (*ministri regni*) who during the term of their service enjoy possession of them (!) and of their taxes (*ut durante servitio eorum possessione et annonā gaudeant*) and only draw from these lands (belonging to the Amīr) a revenue equal to 2 to 10 times their salary.

Siyūrghāl. A distinction must be made between *tiyül* and the document by which the privilege was granted; this usually was given the Turco-Mongol name of *siyūrghāl* (favour) (or perhaps *in'am*?), cf. Chardin, vi. 65 (who limits the meaning too much) and Budagov, i. 650. The firmān of Shāh Ḥusain Ṣafawī dated 1113 [1701] (publ. by Khanykow, *Mél. Asiat.*, iii. 1859, p. 70—76) may be taken as a specimen of a *siyūrghāl* (the only name for it used in the text of the document): the beneficiary has to put at the Shāh's disposition seven armed men; for this he is allotted the annual sum of 6 *tūmāns*, 3 *hazār* and 96 *dinārs* and a half representing the taxes of the district of Dizmār. The peasants have to pay their taxes (*māl-wadjahāt* [?] *wa-wudjūhāt wa-hukūk-i dīwān*) to the beneficiary of the *siyūrghāl* and the agents of the government are not to interfere with the exercise of this privilege. Thus the favour of the monarch (*siyūrghāl*) constitutes the *tiyül* of the beneficiary.

xixth Century. For the beginning of the sixteenth century we have confirmation of the exact sense of *tiyül* in Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz*, *J. R. G. S.*, x, 1840, p. 5: "*tiyül* is a grant of the crown revenues of any town or district; the individual receiving the grant is usually entrusted with its realization, though not necessarily so. The grant also extends only to his own lifetime, unless otherwise specified. It is calculated that about a fifth of the whole land revenue of Persia is at present thus alienated from the crown". But very often the *tiyül* proper continued to be associated with other privileges accorded to the same beneficiary, which disguised the extent of the *tiyül*. Dr. Polak who himself nearly became a *tiyüldār* thus defines *tiyül*: "ebenfalls Kronland,

dessen Ausnutzung aber einzelnen Personen statt des baaren Gehalts überlassen wird".

The system of *tiyul* gave rise to all kinds of abuse. The landed proprietors of Persia are an intermediate class between the state and the peasants. The latter are regarded as the serfs (*ra'iyat*) of the proprietor. The latter (*arbab*) exercised certain administrative rights and among others himself collected all the taxes due from the peasants. Of the sums raised he retained the amount due to him as owner (*māliyat-i arbabī*) and handed the rest over to the treasury (*māliyat-i divānī*). If a *tiyul* is added to this system, the *tiyuldār* and the proprietor, two private individuals, arranged between themselves without the intermediary of the government; if the two titles coincided, the "owner-tiyuldār" escaped the financial control of the state and became a kind of feudal lord whose domains formed an enclave on territory governed by the local representatives of the central government. The *tiyul* often led to the transformation of its holder into a landed proprietor. As the favour of *tiyul* (especially in the 19th century) was granted to *personae gratae* at the court, their privilege put them in a position to extend and strengthen their influence. In the rare cases where the peasants were the proprietors of the soil (*khurda-malik*) the impossibility of resisting stronger neighbours or the oppression of government agents often forced them to seek out a powerful *tiyuldār*, who would grant them his protection, but very often this protection ended in the disappearance of their rights as small owners. The *tiyul* was as a rule given for life; when the heirs of the *tiyuldār* were able to get the *tiyul* extended to them it was usually reduced by a third. In the course of several generations this led to the extinction of the *tiyul* but the heirs easily found means to prevent the disappearance or the diminution of their privilege. The *tiyul* on the state domains (*khālīṣa*) liberally granted by the government finally led to the almost complete disappearance of the *khālīṣa* in several localities, as for example in Adharbāidjān (Tigranow).

Bogdanov alone finds extenuating circumstances in the practice of *tiyul* (the presents given by the *tiyuldār* to the government might be greater than the total of the taxes, which would otherwise have reached the capital; the *tiyuldār* protected the peasants against the extortion of government agents), but the disadvantages of this mediaeval system were too obvious and the Madjlis at its first assembly on June 1907 hastened to decree that all *tiyul* should return to the state, which was done.

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(V. MINORSKY)

TLEMCEN, in Arabic TILIMSĀN, from the Berber *tilmas* (pl. *tilmisān* and *tilmasin*), "spring, well of water" is the "town of the springs". The old town a few hundred yards E.N.E. of the modern town was called both Tlemcen and Agādīr, the latter, the old Phoenician name, which passed into Berber with the meanings given above [cf. AGĀDĪR] and also that of "steep cliff or plateau", which corresponds exactly to the position of the place on a slightly inclined plateau rising abruptly from the plain which it commands to N. and E. Perhaps we may see in this name of Agādīr the origin of the Arab legend which calls Tlemcen al-Djīdār or Madinat al-Djīdār and makes it the scene of the meeting between Moses and al-Khaḍīr (q. v. and cf. Kūrān, xvii. 64 sqq.). The following other names of this town may also be noted: Pomaria "the orchards", of the little town which the Romans had there and which is found in some Latin inscriptions found on the site of Agādīr; — Tāgrārt, "the camp" (Berber), given in the 13th century A.D. by the conquering Almoravids who founded the modern Tlemcen and its principal Mosque when they were besieging the older Tlemcen, i. e. Agādīr, — and lastly that of Maṣūra or al-Maḥallat al-Manšūra (Arabic), the "Victorious" or "Victorious Camp", a town 250 acres in area built by the Marinids of Fās a mile to the west with a great mosque, a palace and a walled fort at the end of the 13th century and beginning of the 14th, at the time of their first and great siege of Tlemcen. Of the three successive towns forming Tlemcen, Agādīr in the east, Tāgrārt in the centre and Maṣūra to the west, only the central one has survived and retained the name Tlemcen.

Geographical position. Tlemcen lies in 1° 30' W. Long. of Greenwich and 34° 53' N. Lat. It is 2,600 feet above sea-level. It is built on the north flank of a ridge of the massif of Tlemcen facing the sea, which can be seen 30 miles to the north, on the ravine which the Tafna makes in the chain along the coast. The massif of Tlemcen is a geographical unity; it consists of parallel chains running S. W. to N. E. which rise by stages towards the south from 400 feet just behind Tlemcen to 6,000 commanding the steppe of Alfa in the south. This Jurassic massif is bounded on the south by the ancient alluvial formations of the steppes, in the W. and N. and E. by the argillaceous plains of the Cartenian (Marnia) period, of the Cartenian and Middle Myocene (Hennaya) and Lower Eocene, of the Helvetian and Pleistocene alluvial deposits of Lamoricière and Bel-Abbès. From its geological formation of Dolomitic limestones resting on porous sandstones resting on clays and gravels so suitable for the collection of the rain water in vast subterranean basins, the Tlemcenian massif is a vast reservoir which distributes during the long summer the precious liquid from the countless springs, which never fail and give the region of Tlemcen for miles around the town the beautiful orchards and rich vegetable gardens which constitute its fortune and the luxuriant vegetation and beautiful woods which adorn it.

The Jurassic massif, down the slopes of which run perennial rivers (Tafna, Mafrush, Wād-Shūli, Wād-Isser) with their waterfalls and which is covered with forests (oaks of various kinds, thuyas, terebinths, wild olives etc.) and which gives a home to a large fauna (lynx, hyena, jackal, fox, wild boar and other smaller quadrupeds as well

as countless birds). In the mountains are also many subterranean galleries, caves and caverns filled with pigeons and sometimes affording shelter to the animals and homes to the natives.

The soil is fertile and the flora varied: in the orchards of Tlemcen the trees and plants of the Mediterranean coast are grown as well as the species of Central Europe. The average annual rainfall is about 26 inches. It is spread over all the months of the year but is very low in July, August and September, which only have a few thundershowers. Snow makes a brief appearance each winter. The climate is healthy and invigorating and especially beneficial to anaemic or neurasthenic people.

History. A situation so favourable for human habitation has naturally been occupied by man for millenia. Almost everywhere traces of prehistoric man have been found; but there is still much to be found in this region, so far little explored from this point of view and especially in the numerous caves, none of which, so far as I know, has been systematically excavated.

We know very little about the Roman Pomaria of which a few inscribed stones survive nor of its divinity Aulisva (called on the inscriptions *deus invictus* and *deus sanctus*) nor of the body of cavalry which garrisoned it.

Nothing is known of the history of Tlemcen between the Roman period and the Muslim conquest. If we do not know how Islām penetrated into this region in the viith century A.D. we know no more about the Sofri Berber principality whose chief in the viiith century was Abū Qurra. We know that on several occasions this emir of Tlemcen at the head of his Zenāta Khārīdjīs undertook military expeditions to the east as far as the Zāb and Ifrikiya.

Sunni Islām was definitely established in Tlemcen and its vicinity at the end of the viiith century. Idris I "built a fine mosque in which he put a beautiful pulpit" in 790. Henceforth Tlemcen-Agādīr was the seat of a Muslim provincial government which experienced all the vicissitudes of the central and western Maghrib.

Modern Tlemcen (Tāgrārt) founded at the end of the xith century by Yūsuf b. Tāshfin developed considerably and the Almohads at the end of the viith (xith) century surrounded this town (Tāgrārt) with a rampart, for Agādīr already had its own walls.

Of the Almoravid Tlemcen, which was a centre of theological and legal studies (1081—1144) in which celebrated masters flourished, there remains as an expression of religion in art, the great mosque with its vigorous and elegant floral epigraphic ornamentation of carved slabs around the *mihrāb*. It was about 55 years after the occupation of Tlemcen that the Almohads finished the decoration of this part of the great mosque as we know from a beautiful inscription running round the cornice of the drum of the dome in front of the *mihrāb* giving the date 530 (1135 A. D.).

It is remarkable that the great builders of beautiful monuments like the Almohads have left no trace of their rule in Tlemcen (1144—1236) except the solid rampart of terre pisé around the town. No building in Tlemcen or its immediate neighbourhood can be attributed to them. It was during this period (1197) that the great mystic, Abū Madyan [q. v.] of al-Andalus, who is buried at Tlemcen, became the patron saint of the town.

In the first half of the viith (xiiith) century when the Almohad empire, weakened by lack of energy and authority in its rulers, was being exposed to the attacks of nomad Berber tribes in the west and the Ḥafṣid governors of Ifrikiya rebelled against the imperial authority and declared themselves independent, the Zenāta tribes of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād [cf. 'ABD AL-WĀDIDS] in the Central Maghrib and the Banū Marin [cf. MARINIDS] successively formed two kingdoms having Tlemcen and Fās as capitals.

In spite of the almost continual attacks, often successful, of which Tlemcen and the 'Abd al-Wādid kingdom were the objects during the viith (xiiith) and viiith (xivth) century, especially from their Ḥafṣid neighbours in Tunis and the Marinids of Fās, the kings of this Tlemcen dynasty found time to embellish their capital with various buildings, some of which still exist. They also cultivated the sciences and founded *madrasas* for students, one of which, in the village of al-'Ubbād near Tlemcen to which the great historian of the Berbers, Ibn Khaldūn, retired for a time, still exists. They realised the commercial importance of Tlemcen for relations with the Ṣāhāra, the high plateaus and the Tell and entertained constant relations with Spain through their port of Ḥunain; they also did not fail to take advantage of the favourable position of the town for trade with east and west since it was on the great natural road from east to west.

Tlemcen was not only a centre of trade, a market for the products of the country around, but its own industries produced articles which were much sought after as they still are. At the time of the emigration of the Moors from Spain in the ixth (xvth) century, Tlemcen received an important contingent of them, which gave it renewed activity in various fields (learning, industry, art, literature and music, agriculture, etc.).

Unfortunately this town so well gifted by nature and climate was never able, even at the height of its power when it was the capital of the central Maghrib, to spread Muslim culture as one would have expected. This was because it was surrounded by nomad tribes in a continual state of agitation: Berbers of the Zenāta or Hilālī Arabs; the latter especially were much too turbulent neighbours and politically too unreliable for the capital to enjoy for sufficiently long periods the peace necessary to develop its culture.

The Turks and Christians of Spain disputed Tlemcen at the beginning of the xth (xvth) century. The last 'Abd al-Wādid princes accepted the suzerainty of the Spaniards in Oran. Ṣalāḥ Ra'īs, pasha of Algiers, took final possession of Tlemcen for the Turks in 1555.

With the Turks, Tlemcen entered upon a period of moral and intellectual decay; commerce gradually declined and education ceased; no more fine buildings were erected; a number of public buildings and palaces were even allowed to fall into ruins. The popular poetry of this period gives an idea of what Tlemcen had become under the military and fiscal rule of the Beys:

"God has sounded Tlemcen's last hour! has He not devoted everything to an irrevocable end? For it the glorious days are over; the days of sadness and misfortune have come. It is ruined, it has perished, ruined by tyranny. It is clothed in mourning and covered with shame; vice has supplanted the former virtues".

In addition to the memory of three centuries of oppression, the Turks have left an important ethnical element in Tlemcen, the *Ḳulughlis* (*Ḳorhli*, "son of a slave or of a soldier"), the result of the union of the Turks with the women of the country. The *Ḳulughlis* still form a quarter of the native Muslim population of the commune of Tlemcen of which they form the most active element, the closest to European in character and the most accessible to progress.

From 1830 to 1833, Tlemcen, rid of Turkish domination, was under the *Sultān* of Morocco. This Moroccan suzerainty was even recognised by the emir 'Abd al-Ḳādir, who with the support of the *Ḥaḍar* (Moors and Berber-Arabs) had succeeded in establishing a precarious authority over Tlemcen.

The French entered Tlemcen for the first time in 1836 but abandoned it on May 30, 1837 (treaty of the *Tafna*) surrendering it to 'Abd al-Ḳādir's lieutenant. After the breach of the treaty of the *Tafna*, Bugeaud came and retook Tlemcen on Jan. 31, 1842. Henceforth peace and prosperity reigned in the town which had been ruined by the years of fighting between Muslims (*Ḳulughlis* and *Ḥaḍar*). Tlemcen was made a "commune de plein exercice" in 1854 and capital of an *arrondissement* in 1858. It is now also the capital of a judicial district, of a military subdivision and has a regiment of infantry and one of cavalry (*spahis*), many educational institutions, banks and agricultural credit offices etc. The population is about 30,000 Muslims, 6,000 Jews and 4,000 Europeans.

The attraction of Tlemcen lies not only in its verdant and picturesque situation but also in its monuments of Muslim art, which make it a regular museum of the best period of Hispano-Moorish decoration and in the public and private life of its Muslim *Mālikī* population, who have for the most part remained faithful to the manners and customs of their ancestors. No other Algerian town can be compared with Tlemcen in this respect.

Besides the imposing remains of the old ramparts around *Agādir*, *Tāgrārt* and *Manṣūra*, and the numerous mausoleums of Muslim saints, the following may be mentioned as worthy of the attention of the archaeologist and lover of Muslim art: the great mosque (vith [xiiith] century), with its minaret of the viith (xiiiith) century, the minaret of the great mosque of *Agādir* (viith [xiiiith] century), rising on the site of the old mosque founded by *Idris* in the second (eighth) century which is no longer in existence; the mosque of *Sidi Bel-Ḥasan* (viith [xiiiith] century) with its graceful *mihrāb*, its elegant minaret and the lovely lacework of its fretted and carved plaster, its floors of cedar in geometrical patterns (this building houses the Museum of Muslim archaeology). The mosque of the *Ūlād al-Imām* (beginning of the viiith [xivth] century) stood beside the *Madrasa al-Ḳādima* which has disappeared. In the town (*intra muros*) one can still admire the *Maṣḥwar*, the fortified palace built in the viiith (xiiiith) century in the highest part of the town by the first 'Abd alwāḍid ruler of Tlemcen. Next we may mention for their art, the mosque and sanctuary of *Sidi Brāhim*, the mosque of *Sidi Sanūsī* and of *Sidi al-Banna*.

In the faubourg (*extra muros*) are to be found further treasures of Muslim art and architecture: 1. the ruins of *Manṣūra*, this Tlemcen of the west built by the *Marinids* of *Fās* at the end of the viiith (xiiiith) and beginning of the viiith (xivth)

century when laying siege to the 'Abd alwāḍids, their relatives and rivals, besides the imposing remains of the flanking towers and of a part of the surrounding walls 4,000 yards in circumference, the ruins of an ancient royal palace, we are particularly struck by the remains of the outer wall and majestic minaret in hewn stone of the vast huge mosque; what still remains, some 120 feet high of this minaret of the beginning of the viiith (xivth) century recalls by its vigour, beauty of decoration, coated with polychrome faïences, Almohad works like the *Giralda* of *Seville*, the tower of *Ḥasan* at *Rabat* and the *Kutūbiya* of *Marrākush*.

2. To the E. S. E. of the town in the Muslim village of *al-Ubbād* still stands in perfect preservation the Mosque of *Sidi Bū Madyan* founded by *Abu 'l-Ḥasan*, the *Marinid* lord of Tlemcen for several years; it is dated 1339 A. D.; with the memorial porch of its main entrance, the swinging doors of cedar wood studded with carved bronze work, its halls of prayer with the walls covered with floral and epigraphic arabesques, its ceilings ornamented with protruding bricks, the dome lit by panes of many coloured glass in front of the *mihrāb*, the minaret patterns traced on its sides in protruding bricks with the remains of paintings and faïences in delicate enamels, this monument, which is exactly dated, is a valuable document for the Muslim art of this period and country. Beside this mosque which the ruler built in honour of the saint whose name it bears, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan* erected a number of subsidiary buildings: a *madrasa* (1345 A. D.) quite well preserved in spite of the fact that some of the outer covering of plaster and faïence has disappeared, latrines and lavatories, a *ḥammām*, a palace now much decayed but whose splendour is recalled by the remains of its walls richly adorned with plaster and faïence. It was here between the mosque and the ruins of the palace that there was buried at the end of the viith (xiiith) century the famous mystic, patron saint of Tlemcen, *Sidi Bū Madyan*; his mausoleum — an object of pilgrimage for every Muslim passing through Tlemcen — is a building on a square plan covered by a dome in 12 sections surmounted by a roof of green tiles; inside, the walls are covered at the bottom with Italian faïence of the xviiith century and at the top with moulded and painted plaster work. Many princes have adorned with some new decoration this hall which the faithful have filled with their gifts. The framework of the arch of the door is ornamented with arabesques in plaster of the Turkish period; a well with a border of onyx and four pillars of onyx with capitals supporting the roof stands in front of the mausoleum.

3. To the north of the town at the very foot of the walls in the centre of the Muslim faubourg of *Sidi 'l-Halwī* (the name of another great Andalusian mystic) rises another *Marinid* mosque, the work of *Abū 'Inān*, son and successor of the sovereign *Abu 'l-Ḥasan*. This very well preserved building which, like the other mosques still standing at Tlemcen except that of *Sidi Bel-Ḥasan* (now a museum), is still used for worship, is another monument of *Marinid* art of the viiith (xivth) century (1353). In the technique of its interior decoration (plaster covering of the walls, ceilings of cedar-wood in compartments covered with geometrical patterns, columns and capitals of onyx which support

the principal hall of prayer and come from Man-šūra) this mosque may be compared with the madrasa of Bū 'Ināniya in Fās, founded by the same ruler at the same time. In the one as in the other of these two monuments we can clearly see signs of the decadence of the Muslim architectural art of Barbary. It is the period when Muslim culture is beginning to lose its hold on Tlemcen as on the rest of the Maghrib. This is not the place to examine the causes. But in the domain of minor arts (weaving, embroidery of gold and silver, ornamentations of articles of copper and wool, wood and metals) Tlemcen long retained an honourable place among the great cities of Islām in North Africa. Its countless artisans in these minor arts and industries are still renowned; they still hold the first place for embroidering in gold or silver thread on leather, especially the ornamentation of harness and saddle-cloths for horses for state occasions.

The population. One can easily understand that in this old metropolis of Islām, the native population (Muslim and Jewish) always very conservative, has preserved its original character in spite of the material and intellectual development produced by a long contact with Europeans, especially the French.

The Muslim population (agriculturalists, artisans, traders, workmen, clerks and minor officials) is the most numerous; it is formed of elements of diverse origins: the Ḥaḍar (lit. "citizens") or Moors are the result of the intermarriage of the former Berber occupants of the land with the Arabs; among them are also descendants of the Moors driven from Spain in the viiith (xivth) century and ixth (xvth) century; the negroes, not numerous, descendants of former slaves who came from Tuat and the Sūdān; the Ḳulughlis, since the Turkish occupation. To these may be added an element in the rural suburbs, which are known as *ḥūū*, whence their name of *ḥaūūi*. The whole forms the Muslim community of Tlemcen united by one faith, the same beliefs, a common family law, but deeply divided by racial *ṣoff* and family feuds.

Early converted to Islām and having probably adopted the Arabic language in the Idrisid period, the people of Tlemcen and its suburbs have always shown themselves greatly devoted to the cult of saints and the practice of magic.

The Jewish population has for some centuries been an important community here which, for long oppressed, has preserved its habit of close combination against the foreign and non-Jewish elements around it. The Jews themselves are for the most part of Berber origin belonging to the district or to Morocco. To these have been added from time to time foreign Jews especially Spanish at the emigrations. The old costume is no longer worn except by the old men; the younger generation educated in the French schools has adopted European costume and shown aptitude and willingness to study. All however have remained faithful to their ancestral customs and beliefs, sufficiently close to those of the Muslims, in the belief in spirits and occult powers, in magic, in funeral rites, in the cult of saints and even for usages of family life. As usual throughout North Africa the Jews speak an Arabic dialect; it is here strongly influenced by Moroccan and clearly different in phonetics, morphology, and even

lexicography, from the Arabic dialect of the people of Tlemcen and that of the rural districts around it.

To sum up then, Tlemcen, an ancient Berber city converted to Islām in the viiith—viiith century using the Arabic language since the third (ixth) century, has since then remained Māliki (no other Sunni school or Muslim sect has representatives in Tlemcen). During the middle ages it was an important provincial capital, then the royal capital of a Muslim Berber dynasty of the viiith (xiiith) to the xth (xviith) century. From the period of its glory it has retained intact precious monuments and numerous remains of buildings of great interest, traditions and customs, testifying to an established culture of its own.

The coming of the Turks, practically without influence from the cultural point of view, was of importance ethnically. The Ḳulughli (Turkish) element however has been absorbed by the natives so far as customs and religion are concerned but remains distinct from the social point of view and is hostile to the proper native element or *ḥaḍri*. Ḳulughlis and Ḥaḍar do not intermarry or very rarely and are readily distinguishable by intellectual as well as physical features.

Next in order of numerical importance to the Muslim group, which is by far the largest, comes the Jewish group, then the French and other Europeans. No more here than in the rest of North Africa is there any fusion between the three great groups by marriage. Religion which for Muslims and Jews decides customs, family life and mental outlook, has established between these two groups and between them and the European element an impassable barrier to reciprocal penetration.

Leading their daily lives side by side, on terms of unrestricted and friendly intercourse bound by common interests of business, these three groups of the Tlemcen population are clearly separated by profound differences in upbringing and private life. If it happens that an individual of the Muslim or Jewish group joins one of the two other groups through change of religion or simply by marriage he becomes to some extent excommunicated and banned from the society to which he formerly belonged and may even be cut off by his own family.

Bibliography: Besides the Muslim geographers and historians should be consulted of publications relating to Tlemcen: L'Abbé Bargès, *Histoire des B. Zeiyan, rois de Tlemcen*, vol. i., Paris 1850; do., *Mémoire sur les relations commerciales de Tlemcen avec le Soudan s. le règne des B. Zeiyan*, in *Rev. de l'Orient*, Paris 1853; do., *Complément à l'Histoire des B. Zeiyan, rois de Tlemcen*, vol. i., Paris 1887; Brosselard, *Les Inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen*, in *R.A.*, 1858–1861; do., *Tombeaux des Emirs Beni Zeiyan et de Boabdil*, in *J.A.*, Paris 1876; Darmon, *Origine et constitution de la communauté israélite de Tlemcen*, in *R.A.*, 1870; M. Weil, *Notice sur le cimetière israélite de Tlemcen*, chap. i., Avignon 1881; Canal, *Monographie de l'Arrondissement de Tlemcen*, in *Bull. de la soc. de géographie et d'archéologie d'Oran*, 1886 sq.; Audollent, *Sur un groupe d'inscription de Pomaria (Tlemcen) en Mauritanie césarienne (Mélanges Rossi, Pub. de l'Ecole fr. de Rome, 1892)*; A. Meyer, *Etude sur la communauté*

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(ALFRED BEL)

TOBNA, a town of Central Morocco, which no longer exists. The few traces of it, that survive, lie 3 miles south of Barika (department of Constantine) between the Wādī Barika in the north and the Wādī Bitham in the south. The advantages of this position, which commands the passage between the Sahara and the plateaus of the Tell, the *Shott* Hodna, and the mountains bordering the east of this depression, had been recognised by the Romans. They built here on this site the town of Tubuna, which became a *municipium* in the time of Septimius Severus, and after a fortress had been built there it protected the country from the incursions of the nomads. The Byzantines in turn built a large fortress there and made it the capital of a district governed by a *praefectus limitum*. During the early expeditions of the Arabs, Tobna seems to have been one of the centres of the joint resistance of the Byzantines and Berbers. The Arabs however succeeded in taking it, probably at the beginning of the viiith century A. D., and in the governorship of 'Omar b. Ḥaṣṣ Hazarmerd (151 = 768) they strengthened its defences. This same 'Omar was besieged three years later by the Khāridjīs, who, however, did not succeed in taking the town, although they repeated their attempts in the years following. Tobna remained in the power of the Arab governors of Ḳairawān, formed part of the Aghlabid kingdom, belonged to the Fāṭimids, to the Zirids, and finally fell to the Ḥammādids in 1017.

During the early centuries of Muslim rule, Tobna seems to have been a populous and prosperous town. Ya'kūbī mentions it as the capital of the Zāb. Al-Bakrī says it is the largest town of the Maghrib between Ḳairawān and Sidjilmāsa. It was, according to his description, surrounded by a brick wall, with monumental gates and flanked on the south side by a castle, built of stone covered by vaulted chambers, provided with cisterns and used as official residences. Inside the town were a *djāmi'a* and a main street with shops and bazaars. Outside lay the suburbs, a cemetery, gardens and fields irrigated by the waters of the Wādī Bitham. The environs were fertile and well tilled, cotton especially

being grown. The population consisted of the Afarec, descended from the intermarriage of Romans and Berbers, and of Arabs descended from the soldiers of the *djund* settled in the region. These two elements were however often at loggerheads and the first had the support of the people of Setif and the second of those of Biskra. The Hilālī invasion dealt a decisive blow to the prosperity of Tobna. Sacked in 1064, after the defeat of the Ḥammādids by the Arabs, Tobna rapidly declined. Its importance declined in favour of Biskra and it was not long in disappearing completely.

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TODJIBIDS. [See **TUDJIB.**]

TODMİR, the name given to the province (*kūra*) of al-Andalus, of which Murcia was the capital down to the time of the breaking up of the Omayyad caliphate. If we may believe the Arab authors, the word is an Arabic transcription of the name of the Visigoth governor Theodimir, who, at the time of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, was the representative in Murcia of Roderick, king of Toledo. He is particularly known for the treaty which he made with Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q. v.], the Arabic text of which has been preserved by al-Ḍabbī and Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī. It was first published by Casiri, *Bibliotheca Hispana*, vol. ii., p. 106 and has been the subject of an elaborate study by Gaspar Ramiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, p. 11—37.

The *kūra* of Todmir, according to the Arab geographers, was adjacent to those of Jaen and Elvira and its principal towns were Lorca, Orihuela, Alicante, Cartagena and Murcia. For the history of this part of al-Andalus during the Muslim period see the article **MURCIA**.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TOGHA TIMUR. [See **TUGHHA TIMUR.**]

TOGHRUL. [See **TUGHRUL.**]

TOGHUZGHUZ, a Turkish people. The name was variously written and pronounced. The Arabic notices of the settlements of the Toghuzghuz correspond to the Chinese and later Muslim accounts of those of the Uighur; according to Chinese sources, the Uighur were divided into nine tribes; according to Rashid al-Dīn (text in *Trudg. Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obslč.*, vii. 161), the Uighur were divided into two main groups, the On-Uighur (ten-Uighur) and the Tokuz-Uighur (nine-Uighur). It was on these facts that Grigoryev based his formerly generally accepted view (*Vostochny Turkestan*, v. 2, St. Petersburg 1873, p. 203) that for Tughuzghuz one should read Toghuzghur, which

was a contraction from Toghuz-Uighur. This view was disseminated in western Europe by M. Th. Houtsma in his article "Turks" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; he was followed by M. J. de Goeje (*de Muur van Gog en Magog*, Amsterdam 1880 = *Mededelingen K. Ak. Wet.*, Ser. 3, v. 36—122). In the first five volumes of the *B. G. A.*, de Goeje adopted the reading Toghuzghuz; in vol. vi. (1889) Toghuzghur is used throughout and in vii. he went back to Toghuzghuz. In the preface to this volume a few extracts are given from a letter from Th. Nöldeke, quoting *Pahlavi Texts*, ii. 329 (*Sacred Books of the East*, xviii.). Nöldeke observes that in the book by the Persian high priest Mānōšēhr written in 881 A. D. (cf. now *G. J. Ph.*, ii. 104 where the form is Mānūshtshihar), we find *Tughuzghuz* "in absolutely clear Pāzend script; Ghuz and therefore not Uighur is the form in it". A few years later, the name Tokuz-Oghuz was found in the newly discovered Orkhon inscriptions. The form Toghuzghuz is now perfectly certain; it is equally certain that it contains the name of the Ghuz (Oghuz); nevertheless the view has been recently upheld by several scholars that by Tughuzghuz the Arabs meant the Uighur and no one else. J. Marquart (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 390) lays stress on the fact that the first edition of Ibn Khurdādhbih, said to have been written about 232 (846—847), already has the Toghuzghuz in the district to which the Uighur did not come till 866. As the identity of the Toghuzghuz with the Uighur seemed doubtful to him, Marquart thought the explanation was that we really had a recension of the book prepared not earlier than 272 A. D. Apart from the references given under GHUZZ, in which the Toghuzghuz appear much farther west than usual (cf. also Makrizi, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 313 on Tūlūn, father of Aḥmad b. Tūlūn [q. v.] who came from the people of the Toghuzghuz), the Toghuzghuz are also still mentioned in the east in the first half of the ninth century A. D. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmī identifies the two Scythias of Ptolemy with the land of the Turks and the land of the Tughuzghuz (*Bibl. arab. Historiker und Geographen*, iii. 105, No. 1600 and 1601). Even the text of Djāhīz (d. 869 A. D.) quoted by Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 91 shows that the Toghuzghuz were regarded as having long been neighbours of the Kharlūkh. As Reinaud (*Relation des Voyages etc.*, Paris 1845, *Discours préliminaire*, p. cxxxvii. sqq.) has shown, what we are told in Arabic sources (e.g. in Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, i. 288 and 365) about the doings of the Toghuzghuz in China refers not to the Uighur but to the Turkish, i. e. Oghuz, Sha-t'o (on this tribe, cf. now also E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 96 sqq. and 272). In spite of the Chinese references to the nine Uighur tribes, the expression Tokuz-Uighur has not yet been found in sources of the pre-Mongol period; the Uighur Khān of the viith century of whom an inscription has been published by Ramstadt, *Zwei uigurische Inschriften aus der Nord-Mongolei*, Helsingfors 1913, p. 13, calls his people On-Uighur Tokuz-Oghuz.

The name Toghuzghuz, which properly belonged to the predecessors of the Uighur, the Sha-t'o Turks, seems to have been transferred by the Arabs to the Uighur. The Arabs apparently did not know that the Sha-t'o had been driven away by the Tibetans and the latter in turn supplanted by the

Uighur. From what sources the Arab notices of the Toghuzghuz are taken and to what date they refer has not yet been established; nor is anything known about the date of the journey mentioned by Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam*, i. 840 supra) made by Tamīm b. Bakr al-Mufawwā'i to the "Khākān of the Toghuzghuz". The best sources, the account in the anonymous *Hudūd al-'Ālam* and in Gardīzī have been in part used by Marquart (*op. cit.*, Index under "Toguzguz s. Uiguren"). The account in Idrīsī (transl. Jaubert, i. 401) is quite different. It is important to note that the only Arab author who writes on Central Asia, not from books but from his own experiences, knows nothing of the Toghuzghuz; on the other hand we find in him the Uighur (without a numeral) hitherto quite unknown to his Arab predecessors. Later writers quoting literary sources again mention the Toghuzghuz in place of the Uighur; cf. the note by Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥarrak Shāh al-Marwarrūdī (beg. of the vii. [xiiith] century) on the scripts of the Soghdians and Toghuzghuz (*Adjab-Nāme, A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 405 sq., p. 407 wrong vocalisation: Toghuzghuz). It was only, when during the Mongol period more accurate information became available about Central Asia and especially about the Uighur, that the name Toghuzghuz for a people disappeared from Muslim geographical literature; in the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (printed in 740 = 1339—1340) it does not occur.

Bibliography: given in the text.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TOKAT, a town in Asia Minor, situated in the northern part of Cappadocia, to the south of the middle course of the Tozanlı Şu, the ancient Iris. The town is situated on both sides of a mountain valley opening to the north and between the town and the river there is a beautiful plain. In a northeastern direction, facing the river, lay in ancient times the well-known town of Comana Pontica, the name of which still survives in the village of Gümenek; the site of Tokat was occupied by a fortress called Dazimon (on this identification cf. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 329 sqq.). This fortress must have gained in importance during the frontier wars of the Byzantine Empire. The name Tokat, however, which occurs in the Muḥammadan geographers since Yāḳūt (Tūḳāt, Yāḳūt, i. 895; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, Paris 1840, p. 384—85), is said to have been derived from the Armenian form of the name Eudoxia (St. Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i. 188), but this identification still presents difficulties. Ewliyā Celebi gives a number of other etymologies. After the Saldjūḳ conquest, Tokat kept its strategical importance and was occasionally a princely residence; during the Mongol invasion, the Saldjūḳ sultān tried to put his possessions in safety in the citadel, and resided there, when the Ḳaraman Oghlu had taken possession of Konya in 1275 (Ibn Bibi, *Rec. de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldj.*, iv. 325). Afterwards Tokat belonged to the states of the Eretna Oghlu and of Ḳādī Burhān al-Dīn of Siwās (vide 'Azīz ibn Ardāshīr Astarābādī, *Basm-u Rasm*, ed. Constantinople 1928); from him the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd II took the town in 1392. Tīmūr is said to have been unable to take this stronghold (Ewliyā Celebi, v. 55), and, after his withdrawal, the Ottomans were soon again

masters of the town. Under Muḥammad II Toĳat was devastated by the army of Uzun Hasan, during the Ķaraman wars, in 1471, but after that time it does not play an important role in Turkish history; occasionally its prison in the citadel, called Ćartaĳ-i Badawī, was used for political offenders. It remained, however, an important town, as it lay on the main caravan and army road from Constantinople to the East; by this road it was linked to Amasia in the north and Siwās in the south. Other roads also converged to Toĳat, so that, in the xviith century, it was the chief crossing point of trade roads in those regions (Tavernier).

Toĳat has also traditions in religious history; in the xiiith century it was invaded by the adherents of Baba Işhāĳ (Ibn Bibi, p. 229) and Ewliyā tells a probably legendary story about the attempts of Ḥādĳdĳi Bektash to win the town from the infidels in the time of Ertoghul.

Until the xixth century, Toĳat was a *kaṣā* in the *sandĳak* of Siwās, belonging to the *eyālet* of Siwās. The legislation of 1864 made it the chief town of the *sandĳak* Toĳat in the *wilāyet* of Siwās, while, under the Turkish Republic, Toĳat has become the capital of a *wilāyet* with six *kaṣā*'s: Toĳat, Zile, Arba'a, Nıksār, Reshādiye, Artıĳ Owa. Towards the end of the xixth century, the population was about 30,000 inhabitants, 17,500 of whom were Muḥammadans (Cuinet). The chief industries were the manufacture of copper utensils and yellow leather, the copper being imported from the mines of Kebān Ma'den and Arghana Ma'den.

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TOĶHĀRISTĀN, also written TOKHĀRISTĀN and TOĶHAIRISTĀN, a district on the upper course of the Āmū-Daryā [q.v.]. It is the name of a district formed from that of its inhabitants (like Afghānistān, Balōĳistān etc.), but the question of the nationality and language of the Toĳhārians was of no significance in the Muslim period. With the exception perhaps of the mention of Balkh as *Madinat Toĳhārā* in Balādhurī, p. 408 there is nothing to show that anything was known in the Muslim period of the Toĳhārians as a people, although as late as 630 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-Ćuang (or Yüan-Ćuang) mentions, in addition to the land of Tu-ho-lo on the Āmū-Daryā, another district of Tu-ho-lo, then a desert, east of Khotan (Hiouen-Thsang, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, transl. St. Julien, i. 23 and ii. 247). The land of the Tu-ho-lo on the Āmū-Daryā was in those days divided into 27 small principalities; the northern frontier formed the "Iron Gate", i.e. the Buggala pass between the valleys of the Kashĳa-Daryā and the Upper Āmū-Daryā. In the Muslim period also Toĳhāristān in the wider sense included all the highlands dependent on Balkh, right and left of the upper course of the Āmū-Daryā. According to Yāĳūt (*Mu'djam*, iii. 518), there were two Toĳhāristāns, Upper (*al-ulyā*) and Lower (*al-sufā*), but he does not seem to have had any exact idea of this division. Upper Toĳhāristān was said to be east of Balkh and west (according to modern

maps south) of the Dĳaiḥūn (Āmū-Daryā); Lower was also west of the Dĳaiḥūn but more to the east than Upper Toĳhāristān. The latter is also mentioned in *B. G. A.*, vi. and vii. and in Ṭabari. According to *B. G. A.*, vii. 93 (Ibn Rusta) Upper Toĳhāristān, as was to be expected from the physical features of the country, lay north of the Āmū-Daryā; on p. 292, 8 the high lying territory on both sides of the Upper Āmū-Daryā is included in Upper Toĳhāristān along with Badakhshān and Shughnān. In *B. G. A.*, vi. 34 on the other hand it is assumed, as in Yāĳūt, that Upper Toĳhāristān lies east of Balkh and south of the Āmū-Daryā. In Ṭabari (ii. 1589 and 1612) the expression Upper Toĳhāristān twice occurs without its situation being defined. In another passage (ii. 1180), we are told that the lands of the Shūmān and Akharūn (north of the Āmū-Daryā on the Upper Kāfir-nihān) were in Toĳhāristān, without the qualification *al-ulyā*. Yāĳūbī, *B. G. A.*, vii. 289 and 290 calls the district of the town of Bāmiyān [q.v.] "the first" (*al-ūlā*) or "the nearest" (*al-dunyā*) Toĳhāristān. Bāmiyān was the "first of the districts (*mamālik*) in the nearest, western Toĳhāristān". Ibn Khor-dādhbih assumes that Toĳhāristān extends far to the northwest including Zāmon, the modern Kerkī (*B. G. A.*, vi. 36) as well as to the south where the frontier lands (*thughūr*) of Toĳhāristān are said to be Zābilistān (p. 35) and Kābul (p. 37).

The frontiers of Toĳhāristān in the narrower sense are given most accurately by Işĳāĳhri (*B. G. A.*, i. 270 sq.); they were the lands east of Balkh, west of Badakhshān, south of the Āmū-Daryā and north of the main ridge of the Hindūĳush; the most important towns besides the capital Ṭāleĳān or Ṭāyeĳān were Warwālig and Andarāber.

The Haiṭal (pl. Hayāṭila) appear for the first time in Ṭabari's history of the Sāsānians during the fighting for the Persian throne after the death of Yazdeĳird II (438). They had conquered Toĳhāristān shortly before (Ṭabari, i. 873, 4; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 119); from whom we are not told. During the Arab wars with the native princes, the last Sāsānians and the Turks for the possession of Toĳhāristān a dĳabĳhū (*dĳabĳhūya*, Ṭabari, ii. 1206) is mentioned as king (*malik*) of Toĳhāristān; he was a prince of the Turkish people of the Kharlūkh (Ķarluĳ); the expressions *dĳabĳhūya al-Toĳhārī* (ii. 1604 and 1612) and *dĳabĳhūya al-Kharlūkhī* (1612) are used promiscuously by Ṭabari, although in one passage (1591) he does make a distinction between Toĳhāristān and the land (*ard*) of the *dĳabĳhūya*. Shortly before 740 A.D. these wars were finally decided in favour of the Arabs. Toĳhāristān later appears as a part of the kingdom of the Ghōrids [q.v.] and of that branch which had its capital in Bāmiyān. The name Toĳhāristān as that of a district seems to have dropped out of use since the viith (xiiith) century.

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TOĶTAMİŞH, also written TOKHTAMİŞH (e.g. regularly in Russian annals), Khān of the Golden Horde. The reading Toĳtāmīsh described as correct by E. G. Browne (*Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 583

probably on the authority of the lines quoted on p. 328) is contradicted by the reading in many manuscripts and on the Uighur coins and documents; for example Ibn 'Arabshāh (Egypt. ed., p. 14 and pass.) regularly writes Toktāmish-Khān. The accounts of his origin vary a good deal. The name of his father (although it is often corrupted in manuscripts) was certainly Tuli-Khodja, who, according to the genealogy given by E. von Zambaur (*Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hanover 1927, Genealogy S) and to that given by Lane-Poole and others, was a brother of the Khān Urus and a descendant of Orda, the eldest son of Djüči; but according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 178), he was descended from another son of Djüči, Tukai-Timūr-Khān. Our only source for the life of Tuli-Khodja and the early days of his son is the anonymous work compiled for Timūr's grandson Mirzā Iskandar described by Rieu, *Catalogue of Pers. MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 1062 sqq., of which another copy is preserved in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (cf. the end of the article LUR-I BUZURG, iii, p. 46). According to this source (As. Mus. MS., fol. 242^b) he was governor (*hākim*) of Mangishlak [q. v.] and executed by order of Khān Urus; his son Toktāmish had once or twice taken to flight but had come back again; as he was still a minor he was pardoned. In the year of the Dragon (= 1376) he went to Timūr and was received by him in Samarqand; according to 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarqandī (q. v.; MS. of the University of Leningrad, fol. 70^b) he had been shortly before defeated by Khān Beg-Pulad. Timūr granted Toktāmish the towns of Otrār, Šabrān and Sighnāk; there he was attacked by Kutlugh-Bughā, a son of Khān Urus: Kutlugh-Bughā fell in the battle but Toktāmish was nevertheless defeated and had to retire to Timūr. The latter lent him assistance and he returned to Šabrān but was soon afterwards defeated by Tokhta-Kīyā, another son of Urus-Khān and had again to flee to Timūr. Timūr himself, according to the *Zafar-Nāma* (Ind. ed., i. 278), at the end of the same year of the Dragon (= beg. 1377) had to take the field with Toktāmish against the Khān. The enemy was routed and Urus-Khān died soon afterwards. He was succeeded by his sons, Tokhta-Kīyā first and then Timūr-Malik. Timūr returned at the beginning of the year of the Snake (= 1377) to his capital; Toktāmish was thereupon defeated by Timūr-Malik but at Timūr's desire proclaimed Khān in Sighnāk (*op. cit.*, p. 284). In the winter (1377—1378) Timūr was told that Timūr-Malik was continually drinking and thus had lost all prestige; Toktāmish was told of this and in the same winter by a rapid campaign he put an end to Timūr-Malik's rule; in the following spring (1378) he undertook from Sighnāk the conquest of the western part of the Golden Horde and successfully carried it through (*op. cit.*, p. 290). The period of these successes can be more exactly ascertained from the Russian annals. On September 8, 1380 the ruler of the Golden Horde, Mamai (in the *Zafar-Nāma*: Mamāk), was defeated by the Russians on the Don at Kulikowo and soon afterwards by Toktāmish in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Azov; in the same year the Russians learned of the victory of the new Khān. When in 1381 the submission of the Russians demanded by Toktāmish was refused, Russia was cruelly ravaged in the following year

by him (1382); on Aug. 26, the capital Moscow was completely destroyed and sacked and Tartar rule re-established in Russia for another century.

According to Iskandar's anonymous historian (*Asiat. Mus.*, Ms. f. 243^a), Toktāmish was a just and vigorous ruler (he is also said to have been a handsome man); but as a result of his ingratitude to Timūr, his abilities were of no avail. Very soon after his rule was established he came out as an enemy of Timūr; Khwārizm was conquered by Timūr in 781 (1379) and by 785 (1383) we find coins struck there in the name of Toktāmish. So far as we know, Timūr on this occasion took no steps either against the Khwārizmshāh or against Toktāmish; in the *Zafar-nāma* (i. 410 sqq.). Toktāmish's first hostile act against Timūr is said to be his campaign through Derbent to Ādhar-bāidjān in 789 (year of the Hare = 1387). Toktāmish in the previous winter had already sent an army against Tabriz [q. v.] (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 392) but Timūr had not yet reached it so that his rights were not directly challenged by the Khān's expedition. Tabriz was laid waste in the most terrible fashion. Killing and plundering went on for 8 days (so the contemporary writer Zain al-Din Kāzwīnī; cf. TUGHĀ-TIMŪR). Even on this occasion Timūr still showed great restraint towards his opponent; from his winter quarters in Karā-bāgh he sent his son Mirānshāh against the enemy with a division. After the latter's victory, the prisoners were released and Toktāmish was simply reproached and cautioned by Timūr.

Towards the end of the same year (1387) when Timūr was still in Persia, Toktāmish sent his armies to attack the heart of Timūr's empire. On this occasion the armies of the Golden Horde were everywhere victorious and advanced as far as the Āmū-Daryā; Bukhārā was besieged and the country round it laid waste (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 443). Timūr had to return hurriedly and left Persia about the end of Muḥarram 790 (beg. Feb. 1388). It was not till 1391 that Timūr began his campaign of vengeance against the lands of the Golden Horde; at the beginning of this campaign an embassy arrived from Toktāmish, which of course could have no influence on the course of events. On Monday, 15th Rādjab 793 (June 19, 1391) Toktāmish was defeated at Kūnduzēa. Timūr advanced as far as the Volga, but he returned to his kingdom without having subjected the kingdom of the Golden Horde. Toktāmish had to abandon his throne for a short time but soon returned again. We find a letter from him to the Polish King Jagello, from Tana (Azov) of 8th Rādjab 795 (May 20th 1393) in which these events are narrated from the Khān's point of view. Timūr, he said, had been summoned against him by the Khān's enemies and the Khān only learned too late of this: at the beginning of the fighting these conspirators had abandoned the Khān, so that his kingdom was thrown into great confusion. Order was now entirely restored and Jagello had to hand over the arrears of tribute: his merchants could travel freely about (*Zaf.*, iii. 3 sqq.).

There was now open enmity between Timūr and Toktāmish. In 1385 ambassadors bearing gifts had been sent to Egypt by Toktāmish (Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik materialov otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordʹi*, St. Petersburg 1884, p. 427 sq.) but nothing was said about joint military undertakings on this

occasion; on the other hand the missions of 1394 and 1395 had the specific purpose of an alliance between Egypt and the Kingdom of the Golden Horde against Timūr (*op. cit.*, p. 428, 445 and 450). This was the time of Timūr's "Five Years' War" against the west (1392—1396). In 1393 Timūr had sent an embassy from Baghdād to Egypt (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 642 sq.); by order of Sulṭān Bar-kūk [q.v.] the ambassador was murdered at Raḥba, the frontier town on the Euphrates (*loc. cit.*, ii. 275). In 1394 Timūr wanted to go to Syria, but abandoned this idea and went instead to Northern Mesopotamia (Iskandar's anonymous historian, MS. in the Asiat. Mus., fol. 291b); according to an Egyptian source (Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī in Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 450), the reason for this was the news of a raid by Toqtamīsh into Timūr's territory. Aḥar-baidjān with the lands north of it as far as Derbend had been under the rule of Timūr's son Mīrān-shāh since 1392 [cf. TABRĪZ]; Derbend and Shirwān had previously been expressly claimed by Toqtamīsh and coins had been struck there in his name from 790 (1388) till 792 (1390); but there is no reference to danger threatening from there in the year following. Timūr was delayed for a considerable time by fighting in Armenia and Georgia. It was not till towards the end of 1394 that Timūr in Shākī heard from Shirwān that the country had been invaded by the army of the Golden Horde; they were easily repelled and Timūr took up his quarters for the winter in Maḥmūdābād (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 732 sq.). From here in the spring of 1395 he undertook his main campaign against Toqtamīsh. Before the opening of the campaign Shāms al-Dīn Alwalighī was sent as an envoy to Toqtamīsh; his reply was awaited on the Samur (south of Derbend); when it proved unsatisfactory, the campaign took its course. The decisive battle was fought on the Terek on Wednesday the 23rd Djumādā II, 797 = April 14, 1395 (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 745 sqq.). Toqtamīsh had once more to disappear from the scene for a time. Timūr never, as the *Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 761 says, reached Moscow but only came to the Yelec, where according to Russian annals, he turned on Aug. 26, 1395. Soon afterwards Azāk (Azov) and in the winter Ḥadjdji Tarkhān (Astrakhān) and Sarāy [q.v.] were sacked with much bloodshed: in the spring of 798 (1396) Timūr returned via Derbend to Aḥar-baidjān, once more without establishing his rule or that of one of his protégés over the lands of the Golden Horde. Toqtamīsh was able to return to his throne once more; according to Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, in 799 (Oct. 1396—Sept. 1397) he fought against the "Genoese Franks" (Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 451). On the 3rd Dhū 'l-Ḥijjā 800 (Aug. 17, 1398) Timūr received an ambassador from the rival and successor of Toqtamīsh, Timūr-Kutluḡ, son of Timūr-Malik (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii. 33; the date in the original source, *Tekst k po istorii Sredney Azii*, St. Petersburg 1915, p. 54). Toqtamīsh fled to Witowt, the prince of Lithuania, who took up his cause but was defeated by the Tatars on Aug. 12, 1399 on the Worksla. Henceforth Toqtamīsh led the life of an adventurer. Shortly before his death Timūr received an embassy from Toqtamīsh in ʿOtrār, which he had reached on Wednesday the 12th Radjāb (Jan. 14, 1405), bringing the assurance of his penitence and an appeal for pardon. Timūr promised to come after his return from the campaign to China, to the land of the Golden Horde again

and restore his throne to Toqtamīsh (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii. 646 sqq.). According to Russian sources, Toqtamīsh fell in 1406 at Tūmen in Siberia fighting against a force of Khān Shādī's (802—810 = 1399/1400—1407/1408); according to Iskandar's anonymous historian (Asiat. Mus., fol. 243^b) he died a natural death.

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The earlier European accounts of Toqtamīsh (especially Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, and Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part ii.) are no longer in keeping with our present knowledge of the sources. See also the article TIMŪR-LANG. (W. BARTHOLD)

TOLEDO (Ar. ṬULAITŪLA), a town in Spain in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula 60 miles S. S. W. of Madrid. Built 2,000 feet above sea-level on a granite hill and surrounded on three sides by a bend in the Tagus, which has dug out its bed along the bottom of a deep fault, it commands in its immediate vicinity a fertile *vega* which runs to N. E. and N. W. along the river and beyond it is the plain of denudation of the Castilian plateau. Toledo has at the present day only some 25,000 inhabitants. It is the capital of the province of the same name and the see of the premier Archbishop of Spain. The old capital of the kings of Castille is now a little quiet town, but it has preserved a character of its own and is most attractive in a position of incomparable grandeur.

The Arab geographers who describe the Peninsula all give more or less long descriptions of Toledo. Idrīsī puts it in the *iklīm* of al-Shārāt (= las Sierras). In his time it had already been taken from the Muslims. He describes its excellent strategic position, its ramparts and the gardens which surround it, intersected by canals from which the water is raised for irrigation by means of norias. Abu 'l-Fidā' also praises the beauty of its orchards among the trees of which were pomegranates with enormous flowers. According to Yāqūt, the cereals grown around Toledo could be kept for 70 years without deterioration and its saffron was of excellent quality.

Livy (*Hist.*, xxxvii. 7) is the first to mention the Iberian town of *Toletum* which was taken not without difficulty in 193 B. C. by the proconsul M. Fulvius. It remained very prosperous under Roman rule and when Christianity was introduced into Spain, it soon attained great importance as centre of religion. In 400 a council of 19 bishops met there for the first time. Toledo was taken in 418 by the Visigoths and in the sixth century became the capital of their kingdom in the Peninsula. In 567 Athanagilda made it his capital and when the king Rekkared was converted to Christianity in 587, the Visigothic capital again became the religious metropolis of Iberia, on an even grander scale. The Roman Catholic clergy began to interfere in the political control of the country and to display their activity in numerous councils.

It is in Toledo that is laid the scene of the legendary episode of king Rodrigo and Florinda, daughter of Count Julian of Ceuta, and in the town the spot is still pointed out on the bank of the Tagus where she was bathing when the Visigothic prince saw her and fell in love with her (*Baños de la Cava*). The invader Ṭāriḡ b. Ziyād [q.v.] took Toledo in 92 (714). He found it almost empty; only a few Jews had remained in it. Ṭāriḡ enrolled them in his army, which was

soon rejoined in Toledo by the force he had sent to take Granada and Murcia. It is also in Toledo that the Muslim chroniclers locate the meeting of Tāriḡ and Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q. v.]. The Arab leader only remained a short time there and continued his advance to the north of the Peninsula, going to Saragossa, which he seized.

The Arab writers, who deal with the history or geography of al-Andalus almost all record fascinating but legendary stories which circulated in the early centuries of the Hidjra about the fabulous wealth which the Muslim invaders found in Toledo, when they took the city. The best known story is that of the "closed house of Toledo"; the sources which give it were studied by René Basset in 1898 (cf. the *Bibl.*).

The name of Toledo recurs frequently in the chroniclers of Muslim Spain in the period of the governors and especially after the establishment of the Umayyad emirate of Cordova. According to the accounts which they give and which are confirmed by the Christian chroniclers, the town very soon became a hot-bed of sedition and a continual centre of rebellion against the government. It is certain that in spite of Muslim rule, the greater part of the people of Toledo never abandoned Roman Catholicism and remained Mozarab. In spite of the great toleration shown by the conquerors, their rule was not accepted at all passively. The Toledans never lost an opportunity of throwing off the yoke and, whenever a chance was given them, called to their assistance the ever turbulent Berbers,⁴ over whom the governors of Spain or their successors were never able to exercise complete control. It was in Toledo that the great Berber rising of 122 (740) found most support and it was near it on the banks of the Wādī Salīḡ (Guazalete) that the rebels were crushed by the troops sent from Cordova. It was again in Toledo a little later when 'Abd al-Raḥmān I deprived him of his governorship that Yūsuf al-Fihri sought refuge and he was killed near the town in 142 (759).

From the reign of the first Umayyad emir to that of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir there was not a ruler to whom Toledo was not a matter of care and anxiety, sometimes grave. In 147 (764) Hishām b. 'Udhra rebelled there and 'Abd al-Raḥmān I had to send his two generals, Badr and Tammām b. 'Alqama, against the town. On the accession of Hishām I (172 = 788), his brother and rival Sulaimān had himself proclaimed in Toledo and the emir was forced next year to besiege the town from which he had to retire after two months without success. In 181 (797) soon after the accession of al-Ḥakam I, a new rebellion broke out in Toledo, stirred up by an individual named 'Ubaida b. Ḥumaid. But the Umayyad prince was not long in severely punishing the Toledans for their habitual insubordination. Their spirit of rebellion at this time was being fanned by the verses of one of their townsmen, who was very popular with them, the poet Ghirbib. On the latter's death, al-Ḥakam appointed to the government of Toledo a renegade (*muwallad*), a native of Huesca, named 'Amrūs who, by arrangement with the emir of Cordova, after gaining their confidence, lured the notables of the town into a trap in which they were all slain. This was the famous day of the ditch (*waḡat al-ḥufra*) (191 = 807). But the brutality of this suppression did not prevent Toledo from rebelling less than

ten years later. In 199 (814–815) the emir al-Ḥakam himself went against Toledo and by a stratagem succeeded in entering it and burned all the higher part of the town. In 214 (829) Toledo was again the starting point of a rebellion raised by a *muwallad* named Hashim al-Darrāb (the smith) and it took two years to suppress it. In the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, an expedition was sent against Toledo under prince Umaiya in 219 (834). The next year the emir of Cordova laid siege to the town and it was taken by assault, after being invested for some months, in Radjab 222 (June 837). Toledo remained subject to the Umayyads, to whom it gave hostages, until 238 (852) but in this year, on the accession of the emir Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, it rebelled once more. The intolerance of the emir had exasperated the Toledans and the latter led by one of their number, Sindola, deposed their Arab governor and declared themselves free of Umayyad rule. Not only did they drive out of their town the representatives of the Cordovan government, but they organised an army which in Shawwāl 239 (May 854) defeated the troops of the emir Muḥammad near Andujar. Then in order to resist the force sent against them from Cordova, they made an alliance with the king of Leon, Ordoño I, who sent an army under Gaton, Count of Bierzo, against them. But the resultant battle was disastrous for the Toledans, who lost 20,000 men. In 244 (858) Muḥammad, giving the town no rest inflicted another disaster on it by mining the bridge over the Tagus; it collapsed when crowded with soldiers. Toledo had to beg for *amān* in the following year and Muḥammad appointed a governor there. From this time down to the reign of 'Abd Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, the Arab historians hardly ever mention Toledo. We only know that in 873 its citizens obtained a treaty by which, if they agreed to pay tribute to Cordova, their political independence would be practically recognised.

The final subjection of Toledo was to be the work of the great Umayyad ruler al-Nāṣir. Before tackling it, he had to wait until all the other hotbeds of rebellion in his dominions had been exterminated. Once Badajoz had been taken, the caliph in 318 (930) sent to Toledo a deputation of faḡihs to make the citizens understand that their liberty was no longer compatible with the authority of the government of Cordova. This peaceful effort having failed, he at once laid siege to the town and came himself with a large army to direct operations. He pitched his camp on the heights of Charneacas and made it clear that he would not withdraw his troops until Toledo was taken, by erecting some buildings and a bazaar which were given the name of Madinat al-Faḡḡ (town of victory), opposite the invested city. The blockade was continued into 320 (932) and Toledo had finally to surrender. A strong Umayyad garrison was placed in the town and its capture had a great moral effect throughout Spain. Henceforth it was the capital of the Middle Frontier (*al-thaḡhar al-awṣaf*) and the office of governor of Toledo was one of the most important military offices of the Umayyad *dīwān*. Among the principal holders of this office were Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥudair, the *ḡāḡī* Aḡmad b. Ya'la and, in the reign of al-Ḥakam II, the general Ḡhalīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣiri, the father-in-law of the famous *ḡadḡib* al-Manṣūr [q. v.] Ibn Abi 'Āmir.

During the period of troubles which ended in the fall of the caliphate of Cordova and in the dismemberment of the Umayyad empire in Spain, Toledo no longer played any more than a very minor part in politics. On several occasions it served as headquarters or as a refuge for rival rebels but it does not seem to have itself taken advantage of these occasions to rebel, as it had so often done before. It was for several years the base of operations of the general Wāḍiḥ and between his two reigns Muḥammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār found a refuge there. Soon afterwards when little Muslim kingdoms were founded in the Peninsula, it became the capital of an independent kingdom, that of the Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn.

The Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn [q. v.] were nobles of Berber origin who in the reign of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir had obtained certain military commands. They were settled in the region of Shantaberiya (Santaver, the modern province of Cuenca). It was to them that the Toledans appealed when on the fall of the Cordovan caliphate they wished to give themselves a chief. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Dhi 'l-Nūn, lord of Shantaberiya, sent them his son Ismā'il who took command of the town and the territory belonging to it and appealed to the experience of a notable of Toledo, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥadīdī, to administer it for him. According to several Arab chroniclers, Ismā'il b. Dhi 'l-Nūn was not the first king of Toledo but succeeded other chiefs of other families, Ibn Masarra, Muḥammad b. Ya'ish al-Asadī and his son Abū Bakr Ya'ish: other names are mentioned, Sa'īd b. Shanẓir and his son Aḥmad, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. منبوة and his son 'Abd al-Malik. The new ruler of Toledo, the beginning of whose reign is usually put in 427 (1035—1036), took the honorific *laḡab* of al-Zāfir and was only a few years on the throne for he died in 435 (1043—1044).

His son Yahyā succeeded him and took the title of al-Ma'mūn. On his long reign see the article on him (iii, p. 223, where the date of his accession should be corrected from 429 to 435; cf. Dozy, *Recherches*³, vol. i, p. 238, note 1).

On the death of Yahyā al-Ma'mūn at the end of 467 (1075) the kingdom of Toledo, considerably increased, passed into the hands of his grandson Yaḥyā b. Ismā'il b. Yahyā who took the *laḡab* of al-Ḳādir. The great incapacity of this prince brought a period in which decadence became more and more marked after the brilliant and prosperous long reign of al-Ma'mūn. Left to himself by the old Muslim allies of his grandfather, especially by the prince of Seville, he had to seek the alliance of the king of Castille and Leon, Alfonso VI. The latter granted him his protection, but in return demanded payment of tribute which became larger and larger. To meet his engagements, al-Ḳādir had to oppress his subjects with taxation and the latter ended by rebelling. Al-Ḳādir retorted by more rigorous measures and had several notables of the town executed along with his first minister Ibn al-Ḥadīdī. This only exasperated the Toledans against him still more and he had to abandon his capital and seek refuge at Huete. The kingdom of Toledo was then offered to the Aḥṣad kings of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil, who took in 472 (1077) possession of it. Alfonso VI retook Toledo soon afterwards for his Muslim ally but this was only a pretence: on 27th Muḥarram 478 (May 25, 1085)

the king of Castille, after a treaty concluded between him and al-Ḳādir, which the latter could not escape signing, entered Toledo on his own account, thus making an important step in the progress of the *reconquista*. The taking of Toledo had a great moral effect among Christians as well as Muslims. It, more than anything, determined the invasion of Spain by the Almoravids in the next year.

In spite of the successes, which, first Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, then the Almohads, won in the Iberian Peninsula, Toledo never again passed into Muslim hands. For a century, however, it remained one of the great objectives of their armies. It was twice besieged without success, once on the death of Alfonso VI, and again by the Almohad Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr in 592 (1195) in the course of an expedition which won the towns of Calatrava, Guadalajara and Madrid for the Muslims for some years, and was distinguished by the victory of Alarcos. But the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, on July 16, 1212, soon deprived the Muslims of all hope of retaking Toledo.

Becoming Christian again, and created the capital of their dominions by the kings of Castille, Toledo however long retained a markedly Muslim character. Islām continued to be practised by a certain number of the faithful. A town of Mozarabs under Islām, it was a town of Moscoes for quite a long time after its return to Christianity.

There are very few traces left in Toledo of its long occupation by the Muslims. At most, the remains of the little mosque of Bib Mardōm (Cristo de la Luz), some parts of the palace of Las Tornerías and of the old gate of Visagra can be dated back to the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if*. On the other hand in the *vega* near the town, a considerable number of epitaphs of Muslims of Toledo have been found, mainly engraved on the shafts of columns.

In spite of its position as a frontier town with a population containing a large proportion of Christian elements, Toledo, especially at the end of the Umayyad caliphate and in the reign of al-Ma'mūn, was reckoned one of the intellectual centres of Muslim Spain. A large number of the articles in the collections on the biography of Muslim Spain are devoted to scholars and jurists of Toledan origin.

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TOPAL 'OTHMĀN PASHA, an Ottoman grand vizier. Topal i.e. "limping." 'Othmān Pasha was born in the Morea in 1104 (1692), entered the palace service in Stambul at an early age, where he filled a number of offices until he was promoted to the rank of beylerbeyi at the age of barely 24, soon afterwards he became ser'asker in the Morea and finally vizier with two tails (*tugh*, q.v.). He then held governorships repeatedly, e.g. twice in Bosnia, Naupactos and Widin, next went as commander-in-chief to Persia and finally received the grand vizierate on 19th Rabi' I, 1344 (Sept. 21, 1731) when Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha fell into disgrace. He only held the office for six months however. On 15th Ramaḍān 1344 (March 12, 1732) he was then dismissed and sent as governor to Trapezunt. He was then in turn wālī of Erzerum and Tiflis, until he was given supreme command of the Ottoman army in the war against Nādir Kūlf Khān [q.v.] of Persia. In the battle of the Tigris on July 19, 1733 he defeated the Persians, put them to flight and drove them out of Baghdād. Three months later however in another battle on Oct. 26, 1733 in the plains of Lailan S. E. of Kirkuk, he was severely defeated and was himself slain. By order of Nādir Kūlf Khān his body was taken to Baghdād and buried there. Topal 'Othmān Pasha is described as a rough, superstitious but able and vigorous personality. The best accounts of him are that of his French private physician Sieur Jean Nicodème (in a letter to the Marquis de Villeneuve dated Aug. 10, 1733, printed in J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 599 sqq.) and that of Jonas Hanway in his *Historical Account of British Trade over the Caspian* (London 1753, vol. ii., sect. 12, which deals entirely with Topal 'Othmān Pasha). A description of Topal 'Othmān Pasha's campaign against Nādir Kūlf Khān is given in a work composed by a Christian entitled *Ghaze-wāt-i Topal 'Othmān Pasha*; cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.R.*, p. 289, note 1, N^o. vi. — The sons of Topal 'Othmān Pasha were Rātīb Aḥmad Pasha and the Beylerbeyi Arslān Bey (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, viii. 394). Among his grandsons were Yūsuf Pasha and Mūsā Pasha and a later descendant was the author and poet Nāmīk Kemal Bey [q.v.].

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TOPAL 'OTHMĀN PASHA, Ottoman governor of Bosnia, Sharīf, but usually called Topal 'Othmān Pasha because he was lame from a bullet-wound, belonged to the vicinity of Smyrna where he was born in 1219 (beg. Apr. 12, 1804), as the son of a peasant named Ḥādjī Sharīf

Agha. He first entered the navy and in 1839 as Rear-Admiral, along with the Kaḫudan Pasha [q.v.] Aḥmed Fewşī Pasha surrendered the Ottoman fleet in the Dardanelles to Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha of Egypt, on hearing that Khusrāw Pasha [q.v., ii., p. 978] had been appointed grand vizier. He remained a refugee in Egypt for several years after the conclusion of peace where he enjoyed the Khedive's favour. When an amnesty was granted to the deserters he returned in 1258 (beg. Feb. 12, 1842) to Stambul and entered the civil service. He became Ka'im-makām of Izmid, then Mutesarrif of Karasī [q.v.], in Dhu 'l-Kāda 1265 (Sept. 1849) of Bigha [q.v.], in 1271 (beg. Sept. 24, 1854) of Cyprus. In 1273 (beg. Sept. 1, 1856), he went as commandant (*mushāfiq*) to Belgrade from which he went on 11th Rajab 1277 (Jan. 23, 1861) to Sarajevo [q.v.] as governor (*wālī*) of Bosnia and Herzegovina. His governorship may be described as a golden period in the history of Bosnia under the Ottomans. He held the office for nine years, a period only attained before or after him by one other governor, namely Khosrew Pasha [q.v.]. His great aim was to deprive the powerful begs of their influence and thus to strengthen the power of the Ottoman government. His plan was to place Bosnian notables in public offices, where they soon lost their hereditary prestige and influence with the people. He also raised the status of the bourgeois, especially artisans and small traders, and played them off against the nobles; as the protector of the common people he soon attained enormous popularity and to this day the "glorious days of Ottoman Pasha" are almost proverbial in Bosnia. He devoted special attention to the education of the youth in schools, which under his administration assumed a development hitherto undreamt of. In Sarajevo, in addition to numerous public schools, he built a reading room (*kirā'et-khāne*), a high school (*rüşdiyye*) as well as a technical school for the training of officials (*mekteb-i hukūk*). The object of these institutions was to "Stambulise" the people of Bosnia, i.e. to bring them up to be loyal Ottoman citizens. But the educational institutions of the non-Muslim creeds were also supported in all kinds of ways by 'Othmān Pasha. He endowed the mosque of Ghāzī Khosrew [q.v.] with a splendid library (about 2,000 MSS. and books) and one of his great services was the institution of a printing-works for the wilāyet in which were printed not only the official calendar (*Sālnāme-i Bosna*), but the weekly papers *Bosna* (official Gazette) and the *Gülshen-i Serāy* (in Turkish and also in Serbian as the *Sarajevski cvjetnik*), schoolbooks. From 1863, 'Othmān Pasha endeavoured to regulate the relations between the Muslim landowners and the, usually Christian, serfs, the *kmets*. He established a certain degree of legal protection for the *kmets* from oppression by the landowners and thus gained the affection and reverence of the lower classes. His endeavours to abolish tithes and replace it by a direct tax on land failed against the opposition of the Porte. 'Othmān Pasha was continually making roads in his province and used all the available labour in the work. A number of important routes within Bosnia and also connecting it with the outside world were his work (e.g. from Maglaj to Dōnja Tuzla and Zvornik, from Bosnian-Gradiška-Banja-luka-Travnik-Livno and thence across the Prolog into Dalmatia; the road from Sarajevo to Mostar

completed by the War Office in 1864; the road made in 1868 from Trebinje to Ragusa etc.).

It was only natural that he should continually strive to beautify Sarajevo, which was his official residence. There he built a splendid country house, the Čengić-villa which still exists (called after its later owner Derwish Pasha Čengić, known as Dedaga, therefore also called by the natives *Dedagini konaći*). As a result of the intrigues of his numerous opponents in Stambul, 'Othmān Pasha was removed from his governorship in Ramaḍān 1285 (beg. Dec. 16, 1868) and transferred as Wālī to Siliṣṭria (*Duna Wālīsī*). *Mushīr Šafwet Pasha* was appointed to succeed him. Suddenly, however, these changes were cancelled and 'Othmān Pasha returned to Sarajevo amid the tumultuous enthusiasm of the populace. His new period of activity was of short duration. His Stambul enemies were able to persuade the credulous Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz that 'Othmān Pasha had built himself a Serāy in Bosnia and that, as an old pupil of the rebel Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, he cherished the ambition to make himself independent. The consequence was that 'Othmān Pasha was definitely recalled on the 15th Šafar 1286 (May 27, 1869). He disposed of his estates and his konak and retired on a very modest pension to Stambul, where he lived in complete retirement in a little house in the country on the Bosphorus. He died there on the 10th Dju-mādā II, 1291 (July 26, 1874) and was buried in Stambul behind the Arsenal (*Tersāne*). — One of his sons is Re'uf Pasha.

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TORGHUD, a Turkish tribe in Asia Minor.

The Torghud tribe appears alongside of the Warsak (the *Βαρσάνδες* of the Byzantine historians, cf. the important passage in Chalkondyles, p. 243, 4), quite early in Ottoman history. Its origin is wrapped in obscurity; it is mentioned for the first time in history at the end of the eighth century A. H. when 'Alā' al-Dīn of the Karamānoghlu included the Torghud among the tribes who joined his colours. A century later they appear in the army of Djam Sultān in his Anatolian campaign against Sultān Bāyazid (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 256; 886 = 1481). About this time the Torghud and the Warsak were living in the Cilician Taurus on the other side of the Bulghar Dagh (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 294). Then and later they were in political dependence on the Karamānoghlu, the enemies of the Ottomans. With the decline of the latter the Torghud disappeared from history. They cannot be connected with the place called Torghud-lu in the sandjak of Šarukhān [q. v.], still less with the Kalmuck Torgots (Törga-Uten). (F. BABINGER)

TORGHUD, a general and companion-in-arms of 'Othmān I.

Torghud, usually Torghud-alp (*alp* as a personal name, is Turkish = "brave, fearless, warrior"; cf. Alp-Tekin, Alp-Arslān, and Aighud-alp, Konur-alp etc.), is mentioned among the companions of 'Othmān I and connected with the earliest Ottoman conquests. He is said, for example, to have surprised Angelokoma, the modern Ainegöl, in 699 (1299) with only seventy men and taken it (according to Neshrī, Idris Bitlīsī in J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*,

i. 53 sq.). He remained the councillor of 'Othmān's son Urkhān. On the latter's instructions he took Edrenos on Olympus, the key to Brussa (1326). Nothing is known of his later life. In the Byzantine historians, like Chalkondyles (cf. p. 65, 20, 243, 18, 244, 4 sqq., 491, 4 of the Bonn edition), he appears as *Τουργούτης*. (F. BABINGER)

TORGHUD-ELI, literally "the land of Torghud", is the district around Ainegöl in Asia Minor, which Torghud-alp [q. v.] conquered and received as a fief. According to Leonclavius (cf. *Hist. Musulm. Turc.*, p. 154, 25, 853 infra; cf. on this *Isl.*, xii. 102), the Arabic form *Dhu 'l-Kadr* is a corruption of this, which is very probable, as it is almost certainly derived from some Turkish proper name. The royal family of the *Dhu 'l-Kadr*-oghlu [q. v.] would thus have to be connected with the Turkoman tribe of Torghud [q. v.].

Bibliography: cf. F. Babinger in *Isl.*, xii. 102. (F. BABINGER)

TORTOSA, Arabic *TURTÜSHA* (*nisba*: *Turtüşī*), a town in Spain on the left bank of the Ebro, a few miles above the beginning of the delta of this river, 115 miles from Valencia, 105 from Barcelona and 60 from Tarragona. Tortosa which now has 28,000 inhabitants, is the chief town of a *partido* of the province of Tarragona and the see of a bishop.

The town is built on the site of the old Iberian town of *Dertosa* which was succeeded by the Roman colony of *Julia Augusta*. Its geographical position has always given it considerable commercial importance. It passed early under Muslim rule and most of the Arab geographers who deal with the Peninsula, give a description of it. According to Idrīsī, it was part of the *iklīm* of al-Burtāt; it was, he says, a large commercial town where ships were built with the wood of the pine-trees of remarkable quality which grew in the neighbourhood. According to the historical and geographical dictionary of Ibn Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, the Umayyad rulers built a wall around it of dressed stone, with four gates. It had also a cathedral mosque with five naves which was built in 345 (956—957), four public baths and several suburbs. Its wharves for shipbuilding (*dār al-šīnā'a*) were built in 333 (945) by order of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān IV al-Nāṣir; the foundation inscription happens to have survived.

Information about the history of Tortosa in the early centuries of Muslim rule is scanty and scattered. We only know that it was besieged in 193 (809) by Louis the Debonnaire, son of Charlemagne, whose army was defeated by that sent against him by the emir al-Hakam I under his son 'Abd al-Rahmān. This first siege, which ended in failure, did not prevent Louis from taking Tortosa two years later, but he only held it for a short time. Later it appears that Tortosa, on account of its position on the borders of Muslim Spain, was used as place of compulsory residence for exiles from the Cordovan court; for example, the secretary 'Abd al-Malik b. Idris al-Djazīrī was detained there by order of al-Manšūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir.

On the dismemberment of the Umayyad caliphate and the formation of the kingdoms of the *taifas*, Tortosa became the capital of a little principality of 'Āmirid "Slavs" (*ṣaḳāliba* [q. v.]). The best known of these was an individual called Nabil; he even was able to take advantage of the anarchy prevailing in the east of al-Andalus to seize Valencia,

which he only held for a few years, however. His predecessors had been the *fatā* Labīb, then Muḳātil, who took the *laḳab* of Saif al-Milla. In 452 (1060) Tortosa rebelled against Nabil and the latter handed over the town to the king of Saragossa, al-Muḳtadir Ibn Hūd [cf. the article SARAGOSSA]. Tortosa remained in the possession of the Banū Hūd, down to the end of the Arab kingdom of Saragossa. Later the counts of Barcelona attempted to take it and finally Raymond Beranger IV took it on the 14th Sha'bān 543 (Dec. 30, 1148), the same year as Lerida and Fraga, with the help of the Templars. A counter-attack by the Muslims was a failure, owing to the courage of the women of the town. It had previously been taken by the Christians in 512 (1118).

If we may judge by the scholars who bore the ethnic al-Turṭūshī, Tortosa seems to have been for a considerable time a brilliant centre of Muslim studies. Among these men of letters, the most famous was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walid al-Fihri al-Turṭūshī, known as Ibn Abī Rundaḳa, born at Tortosa in 451 (1059) and died at Alexandria in 520 (1126), the author of the *Sirādī al-Mulūk*, publ. Cairo 1289 A. H. (cf. on him Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, No. 1153; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, No. 295; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibādī*, p. 250; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i., p. 459; M. Ben Cheneb, *Etude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjāza du cheikh 'Abd al-Qādir el Fāsy*, Paris 1907, p. 133, p. 169—170 and the literature quoted).

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TOSKA. [See ARNAUTS.]

TRAPEZUNT, TREBISOND. [See TARABZUN.]

TRIPOLIS. [See TARABULUS.]

TRIPOLI (Tarābulus, Atrābulus), a city on the Northern coast of Africa, 13° 20' E. long., 32° 50' N. lat., now the seat of the government of Tripolitania, one of the two colonies forming Italian Lybia. Its Muslim population, according to the census taken in 1914 by the municipality of Tripoli, was 19,907, including the Menscia; Jewish population 10,471, European population, in the town of Tripoli only, 14,180. The latter, in 1928, may be calculated at 25,000; total about 60,000.

The name Tripolis, applied to the territory of the three cities Sabrata, Oea, Leptis (Lepqi), of Phoenician-Carthaginian origin, does not appear till Roman writers of the 1st century A. D., but the name Tripolitania was already given in the

third century, to the region otherwise called Sirtica, governed from the administrative centre of Tacape (Gabes). In the Byzantine period we find the name Tripoli applied to the city of Oea; this usage was confirmed under the Arab conquerors, in the form Tarābulus and Atrābulus, with the addition of al-Gharb, to distinguish it from Tripoli in Syria.

The ancient city of Oea, one of the *emporía* of Sirtica, was first a Phoenician, then a Carthaginian colony; Roman influence began to prevail in the second century, during the Punic wars; direct Roman rule may be dated from the end of Carthage's rule (149 B. C.).

The ancient city lay mainly in the western part of the present city, round the still existing Arch of Marcus Aurelius, erected in 163 A. D. under the proconsul Cornelius Orfitus by C. Calpurnius Celsus, *curator muneris et publicus munerarius*, and dedicated to the Emperors M. Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus. Oea however had no great political, military or economic importance, notwithstanding its harbour, protected by a barrier of rocks. The *emporía* of Sabrata and Leptis were then of greater military and economic consequence.

The first city wall may be attributed to the 1st century A. D., when the attacks of nomads from the interior became a menace. The Vandals, Procopius says, destroyed the walls of the African cities, but it is certain that the Byzantines hastened to reconstruct them; in Tripoli also the sections of walls still existing after the vicissitudes of ages, and partly demolished since the Italian occupation, preserve traces of Byzantine workmanship. The city was not surrounded by walls on the side overlooking the sea; the Arab invaders were thus able to enter it from the W., following the beach.

Occupied by the Vandals about 439, Tripoli remained under their rule up to 535, save for the expedition of Heraclius, sent by sea from Byzantium in 468. Belisarius, after having conquered the ancient province of Africa in 533, sent troops also to Tripoli, which from 535 may be considered subject to the Eastern Empire; the Catholic religion, troubled by the invasion of the Arian Vandals and by the rebellions of tribes in the interior, seemed to flourish anew in Tripoli for about a century.

Historians do not agree on the date of the Muslim occupation, which according to some happened in 22 (642–643), and to others a year later. It may be that a first vanguard of the Arab conquerors of Egypt pushed as far as Tripoli in 22 A. H., and that a second expedition was led against it in 23.

It is well known that these first Muslim expeditions were raids, rather for the purpose of plunder than of conquest; neither the interior of Tripolitania, nor Tripoli itself, were firmly held at that time; as late as 26 (647–648) 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd with 'Uḳba b. Nāfi' passed through it; in 45—46 'Uḳba b. Nāfi' pushed further the conquest of Ifriḳiya; about that time a garrison (*djund*) was permanently established in Tripoli; the names of the city's governors are not known.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, governor of Ifriḳiya, after 126 H. marched against Tripoli in 131 (748–749), slew two Tripolitans, 'Abd al-Djabbār and al-Ḥārith, Berbers of the Ibādite school, and in 132 restored the city walls. Ibn Khaldūn records

that the city was then governed by Bakr b. 'Isa al-Kaisi, and that he was killed during the revolt. Throughout the second and third centuries, Tripoli and its environs were troubled by the political-religious revolt of the Ibādīs. This sect had found many followers among the Hawwāra and Zanāta Berbers, who formed the predominant element in the population. About 140 (757–758), the Ibādī imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Mu'āfirī set out from Tripoli, in the rising known as the revolt of the Warfaḍjūma, which seriously endangered Arab possession of North Africa, and was put down by Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, sent by the Caliph al-Manṣūr, in the battle of Tawārgha (143 = 760–761). In the following years further risings, due to the rebel Ibādīs, took place, and Tripoli was repeatedly besieged and attacked. We know that Hartama, governor of Ifrīkiya in the name of the 'Abbāsids in 179–180 (795–797), ordered the wall on the side next the sea to be built (al-Bakrī, transl. de Slane, p. 25; Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 49; Ibn 'Adhari, transl. Fagnan, i. 107).

Tripoli remained under Aghlabid rule from 184 to 296 (800–909), but this century was not one of quiet; among many revolts, Ibn Khaldūn mentions that of 196 (811–812) against 'Abd Allāh, son of the Amir Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, and against his successor Sufyān b. al-Madā'; its leaders were once again the Ibādī Berbers, who had their centre of resistance in the Djebel Nefūsa. Under the Aghlabid Amir Ziyādāt Allāh, Tripolitania was invaded by al-'Abbās, son of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, lord of Egypt; the governor of Tripoli, Muḥammad b. Kūrbūb, was vanquished in 255 (868–869) by 'Abbās at Labda, and besieged for 43 days in Tripoli.

During the rule of the 'Ubaidīs in Northern Africa, Tripoli was subject to them, and they appointed its governors; a revolt, put down by Abu 'l-Kāsim, is mentioned in 300 (912). When the 'Ubaidīs transferred themselves to Egypt, Tripoli was at first ruled by the Zirids, left as their lieutenants in Ifrīkiya, but not much later the independent rule of the Berber Banū Khazrūn, of the Zanāta stock, was established there (391–541 = 1000–1145).

The history of this period of a century and a half is not quite clear, notwithstanding the information furnished by Ibn 'Adhari, Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Athīr. Tripoli enjoyed a period of almost autonomous government, but it was ravaged by internal discord.

The invasion of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulaim, an event which was to modify deeply the ethnical and political formation of Northern Africa, swept away also the rule of the Banū Khazrūn in Tripoli. For twelve years (1146–1158), the city was under the Normans; it was then conquered by the Almohads, who held it for about a century, in the midst of raids and risings due to the adventurer Karākush and to the Banū Ghāniya.

The condition of Tripoli under the Ḥafṣids is better known, thanks to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Tidjānī and al-Zarkashī. The dependence of Tripoli upon the Almohads ceased in 646 (1247–1248), when Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Hintātī was appointed governor of the city. Al-Tidjānī, who passed through Tripoli in 1308 A. D., found a Ḥafṣid governor, there living in a castle (*kaṣaba*), probably on the site of the present castle; the city was administered by the governor and a council of 10 notables

(*shaikh*), who used to meet in a sanctuary called *masǧid al-ashara*. The traveller observed in Tripoli a fine bath (*ḥammām*), broad, clean streets, mostly meeting at right angles; he admired the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, a Great Mosque (*al-djāmi' al-a'zam*), many shrines, a *madrasa* (*al-madrasa al-mustanṣiriya*), strong walls in good repair, with a moat in some parts. The city's intellectual life was flourishing at this time; cultivated people abounded.

A short time after al-Tidjānī's visit, Tripoli appears in the history of the internal rivalries in the Ḥafṣid family, at the time of al-Liḥyānī; later, notwithstanding the permanence of the Ḥafṣid rule, the city had a second, almost autonomous dynasty, that of the Banū Thābit or Banū 'Ammār Berbers (1324–1400 A. D.). In this period Tripoli was conquered for a few days by the Genoese Filippo Doria, who sacked it in 1354, and immediately sold it, for 50,000 *mithkāl*s of gold, to the Marinids. The Ḥafṣid Sulṭān Abū Fāris made his direct influence felt as far as Tripoli for a few decades longer; later the city was almost independent under its own rulers, until 1510, the date of the Spanish conquest.

Peter of Navarre, who had conquered Oran in 1509, and Bougie in January 1510, reached Tripoli with his Spanish troops in July 1510; the city was much damaged by the attack and the looting of Spaniards, who however reconstructed the castle in the form it has preserved more or less up to this day; they also repaired the walls. Little is known of the 20 years of Spanish rule (1510–1530).

Already in 1524 the city had been visited by a committee of the Order later called of Malta, which had left Rhodes and had repaired to Civita Vecchia and Viterbo. In 1530, when the Maltese archipelago was conferred on the Order as a fief by the Emperor Charles V, Tripoli also went to the new rulers. The Knights of Malta maintained themselves at Tripoli from 1530 to 1551, holding out against the attacks of the rebel Arabs, who received help from the Barbary corsairs in alliance with the Porte. Khair al-Dīn Barbarossa, who in 1533 had occupied Tunis, now threatened Tripoli; after him Murād Aghā, a corsair arrived from Constantinople, directed from Tadjūra the continual inroads on Tripoli by land and sea. The Order had in Tripoli a garrison of Knights and of Italian and Spanish mercenary troops, its authority was limited to the city and its immediate environs. On August 5th 1551, Sinān Pāshā, with Darghūt Pāshā and Murād Aghā, besieged the city, and took it on August 13th; the Governor-Commander Fra Gaspar de Valier was able to depart for Malta with the Knights of the garrison; most of the mercenaries were slaughtered. Murād Aghā became the new governor for the Porte, with the title of Beyerbey; his name is preserved by the large mosque in Tadjūra; about 1554 he was succeeded by Darghūt Pāshā, an important figure in Ottoman and Barbary history, and especially in that of Tripoli: he was killed in the siege of Malta (1565 A. D.) and was buried in the mosque he had founded at Tripoli. Spain and the Order of Malta tried many times to take the city from the Turks; the expedition of 1559–1560 ended in disaster at the island of Djerba; the attempt of 1589–1590, in spite of an understanding with a rebel *murābiṭ*, Yahyā, was fruitless. Many times the galleys of Malta entered Tripoli's harbour, and burned its vessels.

Tripoli was the seat of the *odjak* of the same name, one of the three *odjaks* of the Janissaries in Barbary. Their chief, sent from Constantinople, bore the title of Pāshā. However in Tripoli, as in Tunis and Algiers, owing to the distance and the decay of the central government, a domineering oligarchy was soon formed in the Janissaries' quarters, and through marriages with the local population, the *Kulughl*? ethnical class developed. Christian renegades were many and very powerful. Rule was wielded by the Pāshā, assisted by a *diwān*; the administration was presided over by a Dey, the army by a Bey. Often Dey and Bey were the real masters of the city; the whole history of Tripoli in the xviiith century and in the beginning of the xviiith, is full of these risings of Janissaries. While the central government grew weaker, and anarchy prevailed in the interior, the Consuls' power increased, especially in the case of the consuls of France, England, and, later, of Sardinia.

A period of great power for Tripoli began with the rule of Meḥmed Pāshā Sakizli, of Chios, who reigned from 1042 to 1059 (1632—1649), and was succeeded by his son-in-law 'Uthmān Pāshā, also of Chios (1649—1672). During these 60 years, within which fell the famous siege of Candia (1645—1669), the corsair navy of Tripoli became more daring than in the past, and captured many prizes; Tripoli was enriched by new mosques and public baths. Under their successors, England in 1676 and France in 1685 broke the pirates' overbearing pride with bombardments and threats. Internal struggles continued up to 1711, when Aḥmad Karamānli (Caramanli) succeeded, by slaughtering his opponents, in establishing a dynasty, which ruled, with the consent of Constantinople, for over a century (1711—1835). The rule of the Karamānli [q. v.] has left to this day many traces in Tripoli, in the part that remains of the Muslim and Barbaresque city; we shall therefore give a fuller account of its history.

Aḥmad Karamānli (1711—1745), founder of the dynasty, was an energetic figure; in the 34 years of his rule Tripoli enjoyed comparative peace and economic prosperity; its power was felt more strongly than ever before, even in the interior of Tripolitania, as far as Fezzan and the territory of Barka (Cyrenaica). Having unmasked, in 1721, a plot against his life, he secured, with his family and friends, the actual control of administration and government. An historian, Ibn Ḡhalbūn, wrote about 1731—1732 the *History of Tripoli*, which is largely concerned with his reign: there were also poets who celebrated his exploits and his generosity. He was, however, cruel, a tyrant towards his enemies and all those who excited his suspicion. He died blind in 1745. Among his acts, Ibn Ḡhalbūn mentions many *wakf* in favour of the city, the construction of an aqueduct which brought the water of a neighbouring spring, by means of a water-wheel, to the castle and the mosques, a fountain on the beach to supply sailors with water. But his best memorial is the mosque erected (1737—1738) on the side overlooking the castle, with its *madrassa*, which is still frequented, and enriched by many revenues, among them that of the neighbouring *sūk*. He also embellished the castle with new rooms and restored it. He had difficulties with the Powers and with the consuls on account of the damage sea-trade suffered at the hands of his cor-

sairs, but showed humanity and often generosity towards Christians, who from that time began to settle in larger numbers in the city and to ply their trades and crafts. The Franciscan mission was also kindly treated by him.

His son and successor, Meḥmed Pāshā Karamānli (1745—1754), reigned too short a time to leave lasting memories; in 1751 the English defended with energy the rights of their citizens on the seas. In 1752 he put down a revolt of Albanians. Muḥammad was succeeded by his son 'Alī Pāshā (1754—1793), whose period of rule is well known through abundant historical sources, printed and MSS. In 1765 he signed in Venice, through an ambassador, a peace treaty with the Republic; in the following year, his promises having been broken, a Venetian fleet, commanded by the captain Giacomo Nani, obliged the Pāshā to observe them. Under 'Alī Pāshā the government was composed as follows: the Pāshā, supreme head of the State, with almost regal authority, the Bey, commander of the troops, the *Aghā*, chief of Janissaries, the *Kāhyā*, first civil authority and the Pāshā's counsellor, the *Ra'is*, commander of the corsair fleet, the *Khaznadār*, State Treasurer, one *sheikh*, administrator of the city, a sort of mayor, a *khōdjā*, assisted by other clerks in the State Chancery. Important decisions were taken in the *diwān* of council composed of men who had been ambassadors to Europe or military commanders. It was said that 'Alī Pāshā had begun to neglect consultations with the *diwān*.

In 1784—1785 Tripoli was ravaged by a terrible famine and by the plague: of the city's 14,000 inhabitants one fourth is said to have perished. 'Alī Karamānli's reign was unfortunate on account of family quarrels, due to the ambition of one of his sons, Yūsuf Bey, who in 1790 went so far as to kill his brother Ḥasan Bey in the arms of his mother Lalla Ḥallūma. In 1793, while Yūsuf Bey had become an outlaw and was waging war against his father, a certain 'Alī Borghul, formerly an official in Algiers, entered the harbour with a few ships and Greek mercenaries, and occupied the city during the night of July 30th. 'Alī Pāshā took refuge in Tunis, whence he returned in 1795, with his children, thanks to the help of Ḥamūda Pāshā of Tunis. 'Alī Borghul turned once more to the sea on the night of February 8th.

Aḥmed II Pāshā, son of 'Alī Pāshā Karamānli, assumed the rule while his father, who died in 1796, still lived, but was unable to hold it against the jealousy of his brother Yūsuf, who took his place in June 1795.

Yūsuf Pāshā Karamānli (1795—1832) possessed, together with courage and foresight, all the perfidy, wiles and cruelty of a Barbary sovereign. He carefully repaired the fortifications, and restored the city walls between the harbour and the castle, as is proved by an inscription of 1215 (1800—1801) in the neighbourhood of the *sūk al-nadīdjāra* (market of the carpenters). During the Napoleonic wars, in consequence of the Egyptian expedition and of the occupation of Malta, the Regency of Tripoli acquired international importance. It was to have been used as a base to victual Malta and to keep up relations with Egypt after the English had gained control of the sea, but this was not possible, as they had blockaded the harbour of Tripoli, and taken in charge the French

consul, whom they landed at Genoa. In 1801 France resumed friendly relations with Yūsuf Pāshā. In 1803–1815 Tripoli was on bad terms with the United States: the ship *Philadelphia*, which had come there to punish the pirates, stuck on the rocks of the harbour and was burnt; the Americans then appealed to Aḥmad Karamānli, the deposed brother, and tried to provoke rebellion in Cyrenaica, but could not get the advantage of the crafty Pāshā. Piracy meanwhile went on, having survived down to the time of Yūsuf Pāshā. At the head of the fleet was his son-in-law Muṣṭafā Gurdjī, who amassed great wealth, and spent part of it in constructing the mosque which bears his name (1249 = 1833–1834). As a consequence of the decisions taken at the congress of Vienna in 1815, and at Aix-la-Chapelle, Lord Exmouth reached Tripoli in 1816 with a British fleet. Capitulations were renewed on England's behalf, and established for the first time on behalf of the Kingdom of Sardinia. The latter, in 1825, sent a fleet to Tripoli, under Commander Sivori, for the purpose of settling difficulties raised by the Pāshā concerning the tribute which used to be paid on every change of consul; some Tripoli ships were burnt, and the Sardinian consul received full satisfaction. In this period (1815–1830) the consuls' authority overruled that of the Pāshā; the French consul Rousseau and the English consul Warrington were rivals and particularly energetic.

After a fruitless expedition of the Neapolitan fleet in 1830, the corsairs' power received its death-blow in the same year, with the French occupation of Algiers. Admiral Rosamel exacted and obtained on August 9th the end of piracy and the freeing of all Christian slaves.

Yūsuf Pāshā, who had wrested the power from his brother, was afflicted in his last years by the rebellion of his nephew Muḥammad (1832); the chaotic conditions of the Regency, the intrigues of the Powers, and, above all, the French occupation of Algiers, induced the Porte, in 1835, to send an expedition to Tripoli. The Turkish forces landed on May 27th and re-established direct Turkish rule in all of Tripolitania, including Barqa (Cyrenaica). Yūsuf Pāshā, who in August 1832 had abdicated in favour of his son 'Alī, died under the new regime on August 4th 1838.

The second period of Ottoman rule (1835–1911) was characterized by the progressive conquest of the interior, hindered by the ambitions and revolts of the tribes. The city however remained for 76 years entirely subject to the Ottomans; the conditions of the native population were practically unchanged; the city enjoyed a certain measure of progress thanks only to the foreign colonies, amongst which the Italian colony predominated as to numbers, influence, and private and financial enterprises. On October 5th 1911 Italian troops landed in Tripoli.

The city; monuments. In the historical summary we have already mentioned some of Tripoli's monuments. Without describing the Roman and pre-Roman remains, like the necropolis to the NW. of the city and the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, we may mention among Muslim monuments, the Djāmi' al-Nāḳa (*an-nāga* according to the local pronunciation), which is one of the most ancient, reconstructed by Ṣāfar Bey in 1019 (1610–1611); Djāmi' Darghūt or Djāmi' Shā'ib al-'Ain was built in 1110 (1698–1699) by Meḥammed Pāshā, called *shā'ib al-'ain*; Djāmi' Karamānli, finished

under Aḥmad Pāshā Karamānli, in 1150 (1737–1738); Djāmi' Gurdjī, already mentioned; Djāmi' Ḥamūda, in front of one of the city doors, recently restored on behalf of the Awḳāf Direction, by Italian architects. Some mosques have attached to them *turbas* of great artistic and historical importance; worthy of mention are those connected with the mosques of Darghūt, of Karamānli, the *turba* and the *madrasa* of 'Uṭhman Pāshā, near the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. The ancient cemetery was outside the walls, on the NW. corner of the city; many gravestones had been built into the fortifications, and when the latter were demolished, were placed in the city museum, founded after the Italian occupation. There are now other cemeteries outside the city; the best known is that of Sidi Minder (Munaidhar, one of the Prophet's Companions). The Ottoman occupation has left no traces in the city monuments, except a few private buildings, and the military constructions outside the walls, especially in the Eastern plain and in the Menscia. The Italian government has but slightly modified the Muslim city's aspect in its native quarters and in the Ḥāra, the Jews' ghetto; a lengthy portion of the walls, however, had to be demolished, part of them has been restored, and adapted to civic and sanitary requirements. The side of the city overlooking the sea has however been completely transformed by the construction of a modern harbour, piers and a large avenue along the beach (Lungomare Volpi, from the name of the Governor for 1921–1925). The Castle (*serāya* of the Arabs), partly adapted to public offices by the Turks, has been restored in 1922–1923.

Administration. At present that part of the city's affairs which is not directly conducted by the Government, is administered by a Municipality, presided over by a Mayor (*ra'īs al-baladiya* for the natives), and by Government commissioners. The administration of mosques and *wakfs* is in the hands of an *idārat al-awḳāf*, composed of Muslims.

Public instruction. Muslim school organizations, with *madrasas* and *kuttābs* for religious instruction, exist alongside of the Italian schools.

Libraries. There is a Government Library in the Castle; it contains a limited collection of works on Muslim history and religion, and some Arabic manuscripts. In the Castle the Ottoman Archives are also preserved; its most ancient documents go as far back as 1850 only. Of great importance for Tripoli's history are the archives of the French and English consulates; the more recent ones of the Sardinian, Tuscan and Neapolitan consulates are preserved in the Government Library.

Private families possess small collections of books, containing also manuscripts. But the most important library is the so-called Library of the Awḳāf (*kutubkhānat* or *maktabat al-awḳāf*). The central nucleus of this collection was established by Muṣṭafā Khōdja al-Miṣrī, first clerk at the time of 'Alī Pāshā Karamānli. The act (*wakfiya*) which founds as a *wakf* the *madrasa*, the *kuttāb* and the library annexed to them, together with a small shrine, is dated: beginning of Djumādā II 1183 (October 1769). Successively various Muslims left books as a *wakf* to the library, which was enriched by part of the books left by the Tripoli historian Aḥmad al-Nā'ib al-Anṣārī, and in 1922 by a gift of printed books from the Governor Count G.

Volpi. A systematic catalogue of this library has not yet been compiled, but an Arabic index-inventory is available. The books are arranged according to subject, following the traditional Muslim classification; printed and manuscript works are not separated; all the books, except a few Turkish ones, are in Arabic.

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TUBŪ, a people of the Eastern Sahara. The Tūbū are distributed over an immense territory lying between the Libyan desert on the east and the Haggar on the west, Fezzan in the north and the region of Tchad in the south. In Fezzan, they constitute the greater part of the district of Gatrūn; they are found in Kūfra; they occupy Tibesti, Borkū, Bodele, the northern port of Wadai, the valley of the Baḥr al-Ḡhazal; they are very numerous in Kanem and in the oasis of Kavar. The name Tūbū or Tibbū was given by Europeans to all these people but the various groups call themselves by particular names. Tūbū is applied more particularly to the natives of Tibesti; in the Kanuri language it means the people of Tū or Tibesti; the latter call themselves Tēda; in the same way are distinguished the Amma Borkūā (Borkū), the Kreda, Norea, Cheurafade in Wadai, the Koherda in the Baḥr al-Ḡhazal. From the linguistic point of view, two groups may be re-

cognised, speaking dialects very different in vocabulary: the Tēda of Tibesti and the Dazāgada settled in the southern districts. The Arabs give the latter the name of Gouṛan.

The Tūbū are very distinct from the black Sudanese on the one side, and the Arabs and Berbers on the other. They are as a rule of small stature, with a lean and slim body, dark skin, straight nose, sometimes aquiline, thin lips, and smooth hair. These physical characteristics are particularly strongly defined in the Tēda, who have remained isolated in their mountains. They are found scattered through the Dazāgada, who are more or less mixed with negro blood. The poverty of their country dooms them to a wretched existence. Some are nomads, others sedentary. The main supplies come from the cultivation of the palm-tree and cereals in the "ennedi" or moist valleys, the rearing of goats in Tibesti and of cattle in the Tchad region. The Tēda also make some money by hiring out their camels: they act as guides to caravans but are particularly given to brigandage whenever an occasion arises. This mode of life develops in them an extraordinary power of resistance to fatigue and privations, but also makes them treacherous and cruel robbers, as European travellers from Nachtigal, who was the first to study them, onwards, are all agreed. — The settled Tūbū are found in groups, not as a rule large. They either dwell in little stone houses, covered with palm-branches, or in huts of wattle with roofs of thatch, or even in caves roughly furnished. The gardens adjoining the huts are cultivated by slaves while the Tūbū themselves fight and herd the flocks.

The Tūbū are divided into two classes: the nobles or "maina" and the common people. Among the Tēda, the tribes are divided into suzerain and servile tribes. The former are three in number, the Thomāghera, the Gūnda, who have almost all emigrated to Fezzan and the Tuzaba. The Sultān of Tibesti, or Dardai, who rules the country with the help of a council of nobles is compulsorily elected among the Thomāghara. Among the Tūbū, on the other hand, as among the Sudanese peoples, the Haddād (smiths and fishers and hunters) form a distinct caste, regarded as inferior and despised by all. From the religious point of view the Tūbū are Muslims but, it seems, only recent converts. The Arabs treat them like dogs and regard them as infidels. They have actually retained fetishist superstitions and practices, and their own customs which are on many points in contradiction with the Ḳur'ānic law. For example, they do not take the *diyya* or pecuniary compensation in case of murder nor do they observe the prohibition relative to fermented liquors. The Tūbū are none the less fanatical Muslims, especially in Tibesti, Borkū and Baḥr al-Ḡhazal; they are very much under the influence of the Sanusiya, of the zāwiya of Waū, of Anigalaka, etc. and have opposed a resistance to European penetration.

We have only incomplete and fragmentary notes on the history of the Tūbū. The Arab authors down to Maḳrīzī make no mention of them. Relying on a passage in this author reproduced by Leo Africanus, they were for long regarded as Berbers and they have been identified with the Bardoa, mentioned by both these geographers. Barth tried to reconcile this view with the fact ascertained by him of the affinity of the Tūbū and Kanuri languages. On the other hand it is now agreed,

that the Tübü originally lived in the Sūdān and were then driven into the Sahara. In any case, they seem to have played a fairly important role in the history of Kanem. Some of their clans took part with the Kanembon in the foundation of this kingdom. Down to the end of the xiith century A. D. the sultāns of Kanem kept up the custom of marrying wives from the Tübü. A certain number of Tübü had settled in Kanem, which the tribes who had remained in Tibesti came to attack in the xiiith century. Sultān Dūname II was forced into a seven years' war with them, out of which he emerged victorious but with the resources of his kingdom exhausted. In the xivth century the Tübü were the allies of the Būlaba and helped the latter to conquer Kanem. Settled in the lands around Lake Tchad, they shared the fortunes of their neighbours [cf. the articles BORNÜ, KANEM]. As to the Tübü of Tibesti, nothing precise is known about them till the xviith and xviiith centuries. In this period they were frequently raiding Bornū and Fezzān. A defeat which they suffered in 1788 forced them to cease their raids into the latter country but in the second half of the xixth century, they had in their turn to defend themselves against the repeated attacks of the Wlad Sliman and the Tüareg.

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(G. YVER)

TUDELA, Ar. TUFILĀ, a little town in Spain, with about 9,500 inhabitants, 860 feet above sea-level and 50 miles N. W. of Saragossa, on the right bank of the Ebro and the left bank of a tributary of the latter, the Queiles (Ar. *Kālāsh*). According to the Arab geographers, it was founded by the Umayyads in the reign of the emir al-Ḥakam I (180—206 = 796—822). In this period and on several other occasions, it was the headquarters of rebel Muslim leaders: for example in 229 (843—844) the emir 'Abd al-Rahmān laid siege to it and in 264 (877—878) al-Mundhir. It was several times taken by the Christians and retaken by the Muslims. 'Abd al-Rahmān III made it his base on one of his expeditions to the north of the Peninsula in 308 (920—921). The general al-Hamid b. Basil had to recapture it three years later for the same sovereign. The Arab historians do not tell us at what period Tudela finally passed into Christian hands.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TUDJIB (BANŪ), the name of an Arab family several members of which attained distinction during Muslim rule in Spain in the period of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if* as well as under the Omayyad caliphs. The family became divided into two branches, the Banū Hāshim of Saragossa and the Banū Ṣumādih of Almeria. The family of the Banū Tudjib had settled in Aragon at the conquest. In the reign of the emir Muḥammad I (239—273 = 852—886), its head was 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Tudjibī and his authority over his fellow-tribesmen was recognised by the ruler of Cordova, who thus tried to put an end to the power of another family in Aragon, of Visigothic origin, the Banū Kasi. On the Banū Tudjib, who were later vassals of Cordova, and then of the independent rulers (Banū Hāshim) of Saragossa down to the time they were dethroned in favour of the Banū Hūd, cf. above, s.v. SARA-GOSSA.

The other Tudjibid branch, that of the Banū Ṣumādih, had early been driven out of Aragon by the descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tudjibī. In the first half of the fifth century A. H., Abu 'l-'Aṣbagh Ma'n [q. v.] b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣumādih al-Tudjibī, the head of the second branch, succeeded in gaining possession of the little principality of Almeria, founded in 1025 by the two "Slavs" Khairān and Zuhair. On his death in 443 (1052) his son Abū Yahyā Muḥammad succeeded him with the *laqab* al-Mu'taṣim. He was then only 14 years of age and for three years his uncle Ṣumādih b. Muḥammad acted as regent. Al-Mu'taṣim remained ruler of Almeria till his death in 484 (1091) and his long reign was very brilliant and prosperous, if we may believe the Arab chroniclers. His son, Aḥmad Mu'izz al-Dawla, succeeded him but soon after his accession, he retired before the Almoravids and when the latter seized Seville he went to Bougie, where he ended his life in obscurity as did his sons.

Bibliography: The history of the Tudjibids has been given in detail by R. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire des Todjibides, les Beni Hāchīm de Saragosse et les Beni Ḡomādih d'Almérie, in Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen-âge*, Paris-Leyden 1881, i. 211—281. Cf. also Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii. (ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930), part 2, *passim*; A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, p. 43—45, 61—62; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leyden 1861, iv., *passim*. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TUFALIL, "parasite, sponger". This is the meaning given to the word in the majority of the European dictionaries of Arabic, Persian and Turkish, e.g. Bēlot, Ghaffārow, Sāmi-bey, etc. But this does not render the exact shade of meaning of the word, which was first of all applied to an individual who goes to a feast without being invited or accompanies a person invited. A little lower class of parasite is called in everyday Persian *kufaili*

the term applied to hangers on of the *ṭufailī*.

According to the Arabic dictionaries, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xiii., p. 429, *Tādī al-ʿArūs*, vii., p. 418 the word *ṭufailī* comes from a native of Kūfa, Ṭufail al-Aʿrās, "Ṭufail the feaster", who used to attend all the feasts without having been invited and was wont to express his delight that Kūfa was like a bowl, nothing in the interior of which escaped his eye. From this name Ṭufail come the Arabic verbs *ṭaffala* or *tataffala*: "to act like Ṭufail". The latter lived in the time of the Umayyads and belonged to the Banū ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghatafān. His story is told as early as Ibn al-Sikkī (d. 244 = 858).

In the form *ṭufail*, the word (in Persian) has the special meaning of "complement, thing thrown into the bargain, thing one gives up". Ḥāfiẓ says in one of his odes: "all human beings and the *pāri* are corollaries (*ṭufail*) of the existence of love".

In Hindustānī (cf. Shakespear, *A Dict. Hind. and Engl.*, p. 1436), *ṭufail* is used adverbially in the sense of "by means of, through, for the sake of".

(V. MINORSKY)

TUFĀN. [See NŪH.]

TUGH (T.), a yak's tail (*kuṭās*), later replaced by a horse's tail attached to a pole, sometimes surmounted by a crescent and used as a standard and rallying point for troops. It was also used as badge of military ranks in the early Ottoman empire: the *mir-livā* and *sandjak-bey* had one, the *beyler-bey* two, the viziers three, the grand vizier five and the Sultān in time of war seven or nine tails. When a Pāshā was dismissed from office he was deprived of this badge. It was abolished by Sultān Mahmūd II along with the other badges of the Janissaries. — In Central Asia the bearer of this standard was called *tugh-begi*.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Rāsim, *Taʾrikh*, Constantinople 1326—1328, i. 5; Wāṣif, in *Djawād-bey, État militaire ottoman*, Paris 1882, i. 181 (album, pl. 5, fig. 105, 106); Tavernier, *Nouvelle relation du Serrail (Voyages*, part vi.), p. 13—14; H. Hugon, *Les Emblèmes des beys de Tunis*, p. 82; Aḥmad Rifʿat, *Lughāt-i taʾrikhiye wa-djoghrafiye*, Constantinople 1299, i. 288; Radloff, *Opst.*, iii. 1429; Sulaimān Efendi, *Lughāt-i Djaḡhātī*, p. 120. (CL. HUART)

TUGHA TİMÜR, a Mongol Khān, whose dynasty began in Djurdjān for a century before 808 (1405).

The Name. The Khān's name may be read Tugha or Togha. The *Zafar-nāma* transcribes it *Teghy* (Tughai?); on a coin published by Fraehn it is spelled Toghān (in Mongol character; cf. Howorth, *op. cit.*, iii. 718).

Family. Tugha Timūr b. Suri (Surikuri?) b. Bābā Bahādur was a descendant in the sixth generation from a brother of Čingiz-Khān (Djuči-Kasar, *Shadjarat*, p. 315, misunderstood by Miles). In 705 (1305) Bābā Bahādur arrived in Khorāsān with his *tuman* (10,000 families) and entered the service of Ūldjaitū-Khān. In 715 (1315) he made a raid into Khwārizm. On the complaint of Özbek, Khān of the Eastern Kiptāk, Ūldjaitū executed Bābā and his son Suri (*Shadjarat*, p. 321, 330; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 572—5). The tribe of Bābā remained in Māzandarān (at this period, *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 159, this term included Djurdjān and the eastern part of Tābaristān).

After the death of the Hülāgī Abū Saʿīd (736), anarchy broke out in Persia. The Djalāyir Ḥasan Buzurg put the pretender Muḥammad on the

throne. As a result of a quarrel among the amirs of Ḥasan Buzurg, a number of them, like the Uighur Igrāndī (Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 315, 320, wrongly Akarpukh) with the help of the amirs of Khorāsān (Shaikh ʿAlī b. ʿAlī Kūshdī, ʿAlī Djaʿfar, Arghun-Shāh) went to Tugha Timūr whom they proclaimed Khān in 737 (1337). Tugha Timūr, accompanied by his amirs, marched on Ādharbāidjān where he was rejoined by the other claimant Mūsā supported by the Oyrats. Tugha Timūr and Mūsā proposed to divide Persia, but on the 6th Dhu ʿl-Hijidja 737 they were defeated by Ḥasan Buzurg on the Garmatūd (west of Miyāna; *Shadjarat*, p. 316; d'Ohsson, iv. 726). Tugha Timūr withdrew to Bistām where he ruled over Māzandarān (in the sense above mentioned) and Khorāsān. At the same time the exactions of the minions of Khodja ʿAlā al-Dīn Muḥammad, vizier of Khorāsān, provoked a rising and the coming to power of the Sarbadārs [q. v.]. The expansion of their power considerably cut down that of Tugha Timūr. With the Kart dynasty of Herāt, Tugha Timūr was on friendly terms, for his daughter Sultān-Khātūn had married Muʿizz al-Dīn Kart (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 320).

In 739 (1338) Ḥasan Buzurg himself invited Tugha Timūr to come to the ʿIrāk. He went there with the amir Arghun-shāh, son of Nawruz and grandson of the celebrated Arghun-aḳā; cf. Djuwainī, ii. 251 [this family held Nishābūr, Tus and Kalāt; it is known by the Mongol name of Djāʿun (Djūn) Churbān (in Persia Djānī-Kurbān)]. Ḥasan Buzurg went to see Tugha Timūr at Sāwa but on the one hand Khodja ʿAlā al-Dīn Muḥammad, who had control of the financial administration, appeased the inhabitants and on the other the Khān himself entered into negotiations with the Čobanid Ḥasan Kūčik. The latter seized the opportunity to compromise the Khān with Ḥasan Buzurg. Disgusted by his intrigues, the simple Mongol that very night broke his camp at Marāgha (?) and returned to Khorāsān (*Shadjarat*, p. 327; d'Ohsson, iv. 732).

In 741 (1341) Tugha Timūr for the third time invaded the ʿIrāk. He was supported by the princess Sati, daughter of Ūldjaitū-Khān, and by Shiburghān, her son by the amir Čoban, but the army of Tugha Timūr commanded by his brother ʿAlī-Gāwun was defeated at Abhar by the troops of Ḥasan Kūčik.

Khorāsān very soon passed under the rule of the Sarbadārs who drove Arghun-shāh, lord of Nishābūr and Tus, out of it. The Sarbadār Wādij al-Dīn Masʿūd defeated the Khān's troops on the Atrak, slew ʿAlī-Gāwun and even held Djurdjān for a time. According to Dawlat-Shāh, p. 236—237, Tugha Timūr had to be content with nominal power (*nām-u-rasm-i saltanat*) although the Sarbadārs appeared once a year at the Khān's court to pay homage as vassals (*mulāzimat wa-tadjiid-i ʿahd*). During one of these visits the Khān was assassinated at Sultān-duwīn (between Gurgān and the Kara-su) by the Sarbadār Yahyā Karābī. The chronogram composed by the poet ʿAzizī gives the date of this event as the 16th Dhu ʿl-Kaʿda 754 (Dec. 1353). According to Dawlat-Shāh, Tugha Timūr resembled the Sarbadārs in his democratic tendencies; he encouraged people of modest origin and distrusted the nobles. He spent the summer at Rādkān and the winter on the Gurgān. He built a fine ʿimārat at Mashhad. Coins in name of Tugha Timūr were struck not only at Āmul, Mashhad,

Kazwin etc. but also at Baṣra (741) and Baghdād, (after 740) which shows the prestige which he enjoyed, in name at least (S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. vi., 1881, p. 98—101). According to the *Maǧmaʿ al-Fuṣḥā*, the poet Ibn Yamin was the panegyrist of Tugha Timūr (Browne, *Pers. Liter. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 216). The Khān himself is credited by some authorities with poetic gifts (v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 341) and his title on coins is *al-Sulṭān al-ʿAlīm*, "the learned sulṭān".

After an interval during which the Sarbadārs appointed their own governor at Astarābād, power in Djurdjān passed to Tugha Timūr's old general 2. Amīr Walī, son of Shaikh 'Alī Hindū (or Bisūd). With the support of the lord of Naṣā (of the Dja'un Ghorbān family), he defeated the Sarbadārs and won himself a principality which included Astarābād, Bistām, Damghān, Samnān and Firūzkūh (*Maṭlaʿ al-Sa'dain* under 761 A.H. in Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 155—157). In 772 (1370) he tried to conquer Raiy but the Djālayirid Uwais defeated him. In the following year Uwais, eager to dispose of Amīr Walī, resumed the campaign but did not go beyond Uđjān. In 774 Amīr Walī instigated by the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ took Raiy and Sāwa. The death of Uwais (776 = 1374) put an end to any further military preparations (Markov, *Katalog Djelajir. Monet.*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. xiv.) When in 783 (1381) Timūr took and razed to the ground Isfarāyīn which had been held by Amīr Walī (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 325), the latter received with all honour the envoys of the conqueror, but once Timūr returned to Samarkand, Walī came to an arrangement with 'Alī-beg, son of Arghūn-Shāh, who took Kalāt and Tūs (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 324) and he advanced against the Sarbadār 'Alī Muaiyid. Timūr returned to Khorāsān in the winter of the same year (1381—1382), besieged Kalāt and went on to Djurdjān. Via Rūghī (?) he went to Kabūd-Djāma and Shāsmān (Kabūd-Djāma, now Hādjīdjilar, on the left bank tributary of the Gurgān, between Nardin and Gunbad-i Kābūs). Amīr Walī hastened to send propitiatory presents to Timūr and the latter returned by Samulkān [in the Atrak valley] (*ibid.*, p. 349, 351). In the meanwhile 'Alī-beg was also reduced to submission. He and his relatives (*muta'allikān*) were deported to Transoxania. 'Alī-beg was executed at Andīdjan in 784 (*ibid.*, p. 355).

In 785 (1383) Timūr sent troops to the lands of Amīr Walī. Having conquered Sistān, Timūr took the field in person against Amīr Walī. After the battle of Gāwars (*Ẓafar-nāma*: Gāwkrsh) the fortress of Durūn (halfway between Ashkābād and Kīzīl-Arwat) was taken (*ibid.*, i. 382). Timūr continued his advance on Dihistān and Djilāwūn (= Mashhad-i Miṣriyān on the Atrak below Čat) and crossed the river of Gurgān. Amīr Walī valiantly fought his advance step by step but his night attack (in Shawwāl 786 [1384]) failed. Timūr occupied Astarābād. Amīr Walī sent his family to Gird-Kūh (near Damghān) and himself fled to the west (*ibid.*, i. 382—386). He took part in the defence of Tabrīz [q.v.] against Toḡtamish and in 788 (1386) finally met his death through the treachery of his host Maḥmūd Khalkhālī (*ibid.*, p. 392, 398).

3. Luḡmān Pādshāh, son of Tugha Timūr, who had been driven out of Djurdjān by the usurper Amīr Walī, was re-established in his hereditary fief by Timūr in 786. The latter enjoined him to

keep on good terms with the saiyid-wālīs of Sāri and Āmul (*ibid.*, p. 387, 391).

During the campaign of 794 (1391) the ruler of Astarābād was 4. Pīr [or Pīrāk] Pāshā, son of Luḡmān Pāshā (= Pādshāh; *Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 570) whom Timūr had installed there after the death of his father. Pīr Pāshā entertained Timūr lavishly and procured him ships for the conquest of Mahānāsar (4 farsakhs from Āmul). His loyal services are also mentioned in 806 (1404) on the occasion of Timūr's expedition against Iskandar Čalāwī in Māzandarān (*ibid.*, ii. 591). At the beginning of the reign of Shāhrukh, Sulṭān 'Alī of Sabzawār having collected a body of Sarbadārs rebelled in Khorāsān. Pīr Pādshāh appeared suddenly in Djuwain and joined Sulṭān 'Alī, but the allies were defeated by Saiyid Khodja sent by Shāhrukh (*Maṭlaʿ al-Sa'dain*, N. E., 1843, p. 26). Sulṭān 'Alī with his allies sought refuge with Mirān-shāh, who had come from Ādharbāidjān but the latter handed him over to Saiyid Khodja. On this occasion several sons of Pīr Pādshāh fell into the hands of Saiyid Khodja (*ibid.*, p. 54, 80). In 808 Shāhrukh promised Pīr Pādshāh that he would be safe and summoned him to his court. Saiyid Khodja, however, overwhelmed with tokens of gratitude by Shāhrukh, conceived ambitious projects, entered into negotiations with Iskandar (of Fārs) and finally rose in rebellion. From Kalāt he had to seek refuge with Pīr Pādshāh. This provoked Shāhrukh's expedition against Māzandarān (809 = 1406). Pīr Pādshāh had considerable forces under him but lost the battle. He fled to Khwārizm and Saiyid Khodja went to Shirāz. Shāhrukh set prince 'Omar Bahādūr up in Māzandarān but he soon rebelled and was replaced by Ulūgh-beg. In 810 the latter informed his father Shāhrukh of Pīr Pādshāh's new preparations. For a second time Shāhrukh set out for Māzandarān and the news of his advance forced Pīr Pādshāh to seek refuge with the Bādūspānid Kayūmarth b. Bisūtūn. Without striking a blow Shāhrukh re-established his authority at Astarābād and Shāsmān.

In 812, the son of Pīr Pādshāh, 5. Sulṭān 'Alī came to Shāhrukh and took part in the expedition to Sistān but on the news of the death of his father fled to Rustamdār. There he obtained the support of the amīr Kayūmarth and collected his father's forces. On the departure of Shāhrukh for Transoxania Sulṭān 'Alī tried to take Astarābād but was defeated and slain by the governor. His head was sent to Harāt (*Maṭlaʿ al-Sa'dain*, in Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 195).

Bibliography: Cf. the article SERBEDĀRS.

Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Browne, p. 236—237, 280, 282—283, Bombay 1887, p. 104, 123; *Shadjarat al-Atrak*, transl. Miles, London 1838, p. 315, 320—326 [this book is a synopsis by an unknown hand of the *Tārīkh-i arba' Ulūs* written in the name of Ulūgh-beg, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, G. M. S., p. 57; it is quite different from the *Shadja-ye turk* of Abu 'l-Ghāzī]; Mirkhond, *Rawdat al-safā*, Bombay 1261 (1845), v. 219, 220, 251; Khondamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Tihārān 1271, III/i., p. 128—129; Dorn, *Die Geschichte der Serbedare nach Chondemir* 1849, p. 146, 150, 155; Dorn, *Auszüge aus Muham. Schriftstellern*, St. Petersburg 1858, cf. the index sub Tugha-timūr Khān, Amīr Walī, Luḡmān and Pīr Pādshāh; Müneddjim-bashī, iii. 12; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv.

726 sqq.; Hammer, *Geschichte d. Ilchane*, ii. 317—342; Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, iii. 638, 717—726; Lane Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, and also the additions of Barthold in the Russian transl., St. Petersburg 1899, p. 249; Rabino, *Mazandaran*, 1928, *G. M. S.*, index.

(V. MINORSKY)

TUGHRA (Ottoman and Saldjuḡ Turkish), cipher or calligraphic emblem of the Oghuz, later Saldjuḡ and then Ottoman ruler, which in course of time became the coat of arms or escutcheon of the state, and was placed by the ruler not only on rescripts and firmans but on title-deeds of property, coins, official monuments, ships-of-war and in more modern times on documents of identification, passports, postage-stamps, sheets of stamped paper, goldsmith's marks etc.

Lexicology. The word *tughra* was synonymous with the Persian *nishān*, *nishāne* or *nishān* (whence the Arabic plural *nayāshīn*) "sign" and with the Arabic *tawḡī* [q. v.] "cipher, signature" and in the concluding formula of firmans the *tughra* is called *alāmet*. All these words have a wider meaning than *tughra*, and it came about, in Egypt for example, that the *tughra* was only a part or a particular aspect of the *alāma*. *Tughra* has passed into Persian (cf. the examples from Ḥakīm-i Khākānī and Mir Nazmī, in *T. O. E. M.*, N^o. 43, p. 56) and Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt al-A'yan*, i. 202), even thought the word was of Persian origin. According to Ibn Khallikān, it was in Persian that the orthography in Arabic characters became fixed as طغرى and طغرا (*tughrā*) with *alif maḡṣūra*.

This is why it has been taken by Turkish literary usage for an elative Arabic feminine *fu'lā*, and declined, according to Turco-Persian syntax, with feminine adjectives: *tughrā-i gharrā* "the illustrious or brilliant *tughra*". Some western writers also put it in the feminine ("die *Tughra*").

Arabic has for some time used the verb *ṭaghghara*, "to place the *tughra* upon" (Maḡrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270, ii. 211). Popular Arabic has confounded *tughra* with *ṭurra* طرة "border of a piece of cloth or the upper border of a document" and this last name is given to the *tughra* in Djabartī (iv. 95, 2) and in present day usage in Egypt. This confusion, easily explained from the place in the document where the *tughra* was put (cf. below), is fairly old (cf. Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*; cf. also Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, II/ii. 308, note).

In dialects, *tughra* is pronounced *tūra* and *tura*, for example in Gagauz (Radloff, *Proben*, x.; Moschkoff, p. 98) and thus becomes a homonym of a word, which means in Turkish "stick or sinew used for playing on a large drum, a twisted handkerchief used in a game to strike someone in the hollow of the hand" (the Arabic *ṭurra*, already mentioned, is also found with this meaning: cf. also Arabic or Persian, *durra*, *derre*, "nerve").

In spite of all these attempts at assimilation by foreign languages, the word *tughra* must be considered as of purely Turkish origin. From valuable notes in Kāshgharī (i. 388), we know that it comes from the Oghuz *tughragh* (تغراغ) which meant:

1. "seal (*ṭābī*) and cipher (*tawḡī*) of the Oghuz ruler (*malik*), but the (settled) Turks do not know it";
2. "any horse provisionally lent to the army for the days of a royal review or for the duration of

a war (it is probable that this comes from the royal mark stamped upon the horse)".

Kāshgharī also gives (ii. 217) the verb *tughragh-la-n-maḡ*, "to receive the *tughragh*" referring to a document or to a page (Turk. *oghlan*, Ar. *ghulām*).

The change *tughragh* > *tughra* is explained by the dropping, regular in Osmanli of the final guttural *gh* of the Oghuz. We have many other examples of the same phenomenon.

Like other Turkish and Persian words ending in *a* and borrowed by the Arabic, *tughra* in the latter language was given the termination *-wāt* in the plural: *tughrāwāt* (cf. Kāḷkashandī, xii. 162) like *aghāwāt*, *bāshāwāt*, *ḡalfāwāt*, *ustāwāt*, *khurdāwāt*, etc.

On the other hand, the existence of the old form *tughragh* enables us to dispose of a number of rash etymologies proposed for *tughra*, like that of Zenker who sees in it, with metathesis, the optative *tur-gha(y)* "let it be so" or that of Tychsen, who sees in it the word *doghru* "truth" (*Introductio in rem numariam Muhammedanorum*, Rostock 1794, quoted in the *Description de l'Égypte*, xvi. 338—339).

The theory which connects *tughra* with the name of the fabulous bird *tughri* deserves more space. The writers who have maintained it, Aḥmad Midhat Efendi, Aḥmad Wefīḡ Pasha, Zīyā Gök Alp (*M. T. M.*, N^o. 3, p. 404, 445) and Colonel 'Alī (*T. O. E. M.*, N^o. 43 and 44 of the year 1334), say that this bird was the badge (Zīyā Gök Alp says "totem") or *ongun* (اونگون) of the great Khākān

of the Oghuz and that each of the 24 tribes under him and each of the 4 khāns who commanded them in groups of six had their *tamga*. Unfortunately not one of these authors gives their authority for their statements. The quotations from Rashīd al-Dīn and Maḥmūd Kāshgharī only contain descriptions of this fabulous bird (we may add that it is mentioned in the *Shāhnāma*, ed. Mohl, in folio, v. 619, 621; the Khākān makes a present of this bird to Bahrām Gūr).

Kāshgharī, although better placed than we are to discuss the etymology of *tughragh*, only says: *wa-lā adrī aṣlahu*, "I do not know its origin".

History of the *tughra*. Unfortunately we do not know the pattern of the *tughra* used by the Oghuz or the Saldjuḡs, who were of the same race. The title of the *tughrāyi* or official appointed by the latter to draw the *tughra* has been preserved through the fame of one of them, who was vizier to Malik Shāh and Maṣ'ūd and author of the *Lāmiyat al-adjam*, d. in 514 according to some, 518 according to others [see the art. AL-TUGHRA'I]. His biographers (Ibn Khallikān, ed. de Slane, i. 462; Ibn al-Wardī, Cairo 1285, ii. 131; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Recueil des Hist. des Croisades*, i. 327) all say that *tughrāyi* means the official who draws the *tughra*. M. Babinger mentions also a *ra'is diwān al-inshā* or *al-tughrawīya* from the *Maṭālī* al-Budūr fī Manāsil al-Surūr (Cairo 1300, ii. 118), a work by 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-Bahā'ī, d. in 815 (1412).

We again find the *tughra* among the Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt, who no doubt borrowed it from the Saldjuḡs (through the Aiyūbids?). According to Kāḷkashandī, it was only used down to the reign of Shā'bān b. Ḥusain (1363—1376). This statement is confirmed by Maḡrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, loc. cit., who says the *tughra* was no longer in use in his

time, i.e. between 766 and 845 (1364—1442).

Ḳalkaṣhandī (xiii. 162—166) gives details of the tughra (طغرى) which the sultāns of Egypt placed upon *manṣūr* (q.v.; plur. *manāshir*) or rescripts addressed to the chiefs of a 1,000 and to the *emir ṭāblkhāna*.

It was the duty of a special official to prepare these tughras on rectangular pieces of paper. The scribes then inserted these rectangles in the spaces left blank for them in the *ṭurra* or "upper part of the document", above the *basmala* (cf. also Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, II/ii. 308—309).

The tughra was formed of the *alḳāb* of the Sultān, written on one line. The text of the tughra of Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn was: *al-Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir, Nāṣir al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn, Muḥammad b. al-Sultān al-malik al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Ḳalā'ūn* (fig. 1).

The uprights (*muntashib*) of all the vertical letters like *alif*, *kāf*, *lām*, *ṭā*, *zā*, which number 35 in this tughra, are considerably elongated isolated uprights alternating with groups of two (Ḳalkaṣhandī gives the exact measurements of the spaces left between the verticals). To secure this regular arrangement, some letters were displaced; this was the case with the *alif* of *al-malik*, which was inserted between the two *lāms* of *al-sultān*. Under the line of titles were the words *khallada 'llāhu sultānahu* which were written, not by the official of the tughra, but by the scribe who wrote out the *manṣūr* itself on which this formula encroaches a little (perhaps intentionally).

The size of this tughra, according to al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, was "a half *dhirā' al-kumash al-kāhira*" in width and height. The size of the characters or of the *ḳalam* varied according to the number of uprights.

We refer to the same work for a description of fig. 2. In it we have 45 uprights (for 47 vertical letters), which are arranged in pairs with their extremities horizontal. But the most striking peculiarity here is the fact that at the bottom of the verticals (traced in the *ḳalam dhāḳil al-thulth*) is written the name of the sultān, *Shā'bān b. Ḥusain* (in larger characters or *ḳalam al-ṭumār*).

We may call attention to the peculiar features of the two *nūn*'s (supplied by the words *Shā'bān* and *[i]bn*) which are in the centre. It is probable that this is the junction of the two curves to be mentioned below.

The Ottoman tughra, although derived in all probability from the same model (Saldjuk), differs markedly, in appearance at least, from the Egyptian tughra.

The oldest Ottoman tughra known to me is found on the coins of the emir Sulaimān (806—816 = 1403—1416). All that von Hammer says on the subject of tughras dating from Murād I or his father Orkhān does not seem to be based on anything tangible. Fekete, it is true, according to Ḳhalil Edhem, who gives no definite reference, speaks of coins of Murād I with the tughra, but this author's *Catalogue* does not mention these coins. Colonel 'Alī (p. 110—111) also gives the scheme of the graphic evolution of the tughra from Murād I but without saying whence he had taken it.

It should be noted that the tughra of the emir Sulaimān already contains the principal elements of this cipher, i.e.

1. The verticals to the number of 3, which are

taken from the *alif*'s in the name of the prince and his father. The words "Emir Sulaimān" are surmounted by "(i)bn", in turn surmounted by Bāyazīd. In a tughra of Mehmed (i)bn Bāyazīd (Mehmed I; cf. Ḳhalil Edhem, *Müce-i humāyūn Meski'kiāt-i 'Osmāniye*, Constantinople 1334, i. 31), there are 4 verticals but this number is exceptional and is only found, for the sultāns, at a comparatively remote period.

2. The oval or elliptical curves, not closed, to the number of two, which meet in the lower part of the name of the prince and which turning first to the left, ascend, then turn to the right to cut the verticals in their upper parts and then disappear on the right. Exceptionally, we find one or three curves. The number two at quite an early period became sacred for the sultān's figure.

These curves seem originally to have been prolongations of the letters *nūn*, which occur in the word (i)bn and in the name of the prince or of his father or in the tughra of prince Sulaimān, in that of Murād I (according to Colonel 'Alī), in that of Mehmed I, where the second *nūn* is supplied by the word sultān (cf. Ḳhalil Edhem, *loc. cit.*) or in the later tughra in which, according to Fekete, the *nūns* of the word *ibn* and *khān* have been prolonged. It is true that they are found very early, even when the names do not supply a second *nūn*; cf. the tughras, incomplete it is true, given by Ḳhalil Edhem, p. 44, 48, 55, 65, 67 and 68.

At first the names and the patronymic were placed in the escutcheon, circumscribed by the curves but in the later development of the tughra this space was left partly vacant. At first only the name of the sultān was left there; the name of his father and later the two names were placed quite at the bottom of the verticals where they formed a crowded group of intersecting lines, forming a more or less geometrical figure called *sere* which means "the little palm, space between the finger and the thumb" (properly "spreading out" = gerundive of the verb *ser-mek*; cf. the saying *ser-e serpe-e, sele serpe*; the word is found with the same meanings in Kirghiz, cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv. 458).

Between the *sere* and the escutcheon is inserted the word *al-muḡaffar* "victorious" with the addition of *dā'imān* "always", which is placed in the form of a very conventional seal in the centre of the escutcheon. The final *alif* of the word *dā'imā* (*dā'imān*) is lengthened and, turning sharply round to the left, cuts through the curves. These words appeared for the first time according to I. Ghālib Edhem (*Catalogue*, p. j and 206 note) on the coins of Ibrāhīm II, whose reign began in 1049 A. H.

The two extremities to the right of the curves are given an elongated and more elegant form. They have become one more characteristic feature of the modern tughra of which they form the arms (*tughra ḳolları*). From the tops of the three verticals descend three broken lines like floating flames. As to the word *Khān*, after having figured at the end of the name of the sovereign's father, it was added to that of the sovereign from the time of Maḥmūd I (1730—1754).

In the field to the right of the tughra, was frequently placed a flower. In the same place the sultāns later put their title of *ghāzī* when they had the right to it (Maḥmūd II put his poetic

nom de plume 'Adlî there, cf. fig. 8). For the other modifications in detail undergone by the tughra, cf. Fekete, p. xlv., note 1.

The form of tughra which we have just described has often been imitated by private individuals who used to substitute for the name of the sultân religious formulae to make *lawḥa* or calligraphic plaques to hang up in mosques, libraries, cafés or private houses. In Egypt we even find tradesmen's signs of this kind, but they are now disappearing and it was quite recently allowable to order a *khaffāf* or a maker of falience to make a tughra in one's own name (cf. fig. 12, 13).

The official use of the tughra ceased in Turkey with the dethronement of the last sultân (law of Ankara from Nov. 1, 1922).

If we now compare the Osmanli tughra with the Mamlūk tughra to ascertain the graphic element which is common to both, we find that this element reduces itself to the uprights of the vertical letters. We are thus led to conclude quite naturally that the essential feature of the tughra is a certain number — not fixed — of upright strokes.

Writers have talked of a tughra formed on the coins of Murād II ('Ali, p. 113; Khalil Edhem, *loc. cit.*) made simply of oval curves but I do not think we really have a tughra here. At least it is an incomplete one. We have seen that if in some Mamlūk tughras there were lines analogous to these curves, they were not an indispensable element.

Although supplied later by the method of writing the words, the decorative motif represented by the verticals must be older than the use of the Arabic script among the Turks.

The symbol of the tughra. If we suppose the tughra is not simply a conventional mode of writing, what symbol does it represent?

We have already mentioned that some see in it the figure of a bird. Others have gone so far as to see in it a horseman galloping at full speed (Tychsen) but the most popular theory is that which owes its fame to v. Hammer (*Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, i. 231). According to him, the tughra would be the imitation of the mark left by the hand of sultân Murād I, who not being able to write, dipped his hand in ink (!) and stamped it instead of a signature on the treaty concluded with the Ragusans. This explanation, which seems to overlook the fact that the sultân in question had a chancellery, is taken by v. Hammer from Engel (*Gesch. des Freystaates Ragusa*, Vienna 1807, p. 141), who does not give any authority. It is not known in the east and is clearly a legend, which originated no doubt in Ragusa itself. It nevertheless has had a great vogue: Barbier de Meynard accepted it (*Rec. des Hist. des Croisades*, iv. 138 note) and it was defended quite recently by arguments taken from the antiquity of the use of finger prints.

Looking at the primitive form of the tughra (cf. above) all the hypotheses which we have just given, fall to the ground at once. It is interesting to note that Fekete came to the same negative result, starting from the design of the Ottoman tughra, which however is more complicated. Later interpretations being based on more elaborate forms of the tughra are of little importance.

This is why the fact that the tughra or the *pençe*, which is the imitation of it (see below), is sometimes given the form of a bird in Turkish

decorative art (a specimen of the year 1181 A.H. is given in figure 14). Similarly the fact that *pençe* means "claw" and *sere* "palm" is not an argument in favour of von Hammer's theory, who however did not think of quoting it (the French word "griffe" is used also with the meaning of "stamp for a signature").

In thus simplifying the problem, one is led to ask if the hooks of which we have spoken have not some symbolical significance. One question arises which we put forward with all reserve: do not these verticals represent the *tugh*, a word which we know was applied by the Turks to the horse or yaktails floating on the end of a pole, or earlier to flags in general? The main argument that can be produced against the suggestion is the rarity of the denominative verbal suffix *-ra*, from which we should have to derive *-ra-gh* (in *tughragh*) by a formation parallel to the well known suffixes *-la* (*-la-gh*). We have however called attention to this suffix in our *Grammaire de la langue turque* and more especially in *L'Anthropologie*, xxxiii. (1923), p. 174. The fate of this hypothesis can only be decided by a more profound study, which has still to be undertaken, of this suffix.

As to the argument that one might be tempted to draw from the flames floating at the top of the tughra or from the fact that in the *pençe* the custom became established of very often drawing two verticals for the pashas of two tails and three for the pashas of three tails or *wasîr*, these are all interpretations *a posteriori* which prove no more than those we have rejected above (as a curiosity we give as fig. 15 a signature in which the words *khalîs al-fu'ad* are arranged in three verticals of a *tugh* although they refer to a woman). It is also to be noted that numismatians sometimes seem to take the word *tughra* in the larger meaning of "motif of decoration by letters" (*J.R.A.S.*, ix. 300, 381 [1848]).

Nishāndji. We have seen that the Saldjuḳ or Mamlūk rulers had officials whose particular duty it was to draw the tughra (in Turkish *tughra çekmek*, in Persian *tughra keshiden*). It was the same among the Ottomans, who had officials for this purpose called *nishāndji* and *tewḳî'i*.

The *nishāndji* was with the three *defterdar* and the *defter emîni*, one of the five high officials of the court of the class of the *khodjagān* (Mouradja d'Ohsson, iii. 350; von Hammer, xvii. 54).

Apart from his special office he had, at least at first, certain quite important legislative duties and he used to be called *muftî-i kânûn*, "jurisconsult of secular law", in contrast to the muftî par excellence or *shaiḳh al-Islām*, "jurisconsult of religious law". In his house the *kânûns* were prepared. The text was checked by his *mümeviz* and the *nishāndji* himself then drew the tughra upon it. It may be further noted that the majority of the *kânûns* that have come down to us were prepared by *nishāndjis*.

These officials had also at first the right to examine and control all documents presented to him to be marked with the Sultân's monogram, which gave them a kind of supervision over the departments which sent them up (Mouradja d'Ohsson, *loc. cit.*).

According to the *Kânûn-nâme* of the *tewḳî'i* (*nishāndji*) 'Abd al-Rahmān (of 1087, *M. T. M.*, p. 515), the following were the formalities to be gone through: When a firman is promulgated re-

quiring official authorisation (*taşhîh firmânı*), the law requires that the tughra should be executed by the grand vizier himself. On receiving this firman, the *nishândjî* inscribes on the reverse the words *defteri gele* "let its register be brought" (in which is the precedent to be examined) and sends it to the *defter emini*. The latter at once sends back the firman with the required register through the *kisedâr* (official in charge of the registers) of the archives (*defter-khâne*). After finding the required reference, then *nishândjî* verifies it and keeps the firman ordering it.

He also receives in a sealed bag (*memhûr kise*) the *berât* issued by the *kaşasker*, writes on the register opposite the names of the beneficiaries of these *berât* the word *şahh*, "verified, seen, approved", again seals the bag and sends it by its *kisedâr* to the *kiaghât emini* (who collects the chancellery dues).

According to the *kânûn* of Mehmed II, the *nishândjîs* had to be recruited from the *müderris* of the grade of *dâkkil* and *şahm* i.e. from among lawyers (evidently on account of the qualifications demanded by them as regards legislation) and also from the *defterdâr* and the *re'is ül-küttâb*. The early *defterdâr* ranked on this occasion as equal to the *beylerbeyi's*, the early *re'is al-küttâb* only ranked equal to the *sandjak-beyi*.

The *re'is al-küttâb* became more important and the *nishândjîs* gradually saw their functions reduced to the calligraphy of the tughras. Among their duties, however, they retained the control of the registration of transfers of *timar* (q.v. *zi'âmet*, *khâşş*) and of the *wakf* villages (*Kânûn-nâme* of Mehmed II, edited by Mehmed 'Ârif in 1330, p. 14, note 5, suppl. to T. O. E. M.).

According to the same *kânûn-nâme*, in the *diwân-i hümayûn*, the *nishândjîs* occupied the place of honour (*şadr*) along with the *wazîrs*, the *kaşaskers* and the *defterdârs*.

Precedence was arranged as follows: the *wazîr* had beside them, on one side the *kaşaskers*, followed by the *defterdârs*, and on the other the *nishândjîs*. If a *nishândjî* had the rank of a vizier or beylerbeyi (which gave him the right to the title of *paşâ*) he had precedence of the *defterdâr*; if he was only a *sandjakbey* or *emir liwâ* (which only gave him the title of *bey*) he came after the *defterdâr*, but before the *kâdîs* of the old and present capitals of the empire. The *nishândjî* and the *defterdâr* had the same chancery title (*elkâb*; cf. *Münşe'at-i Feridûn Bey*, p. 9). The *nishândjîs*, having the rank of vizier, had the same privileges as the other viziers (*kânûn-nâme* of 'Abd al-Rahmân). According to Mouradja d'Ohsson (iii. 373) the *nishândjîs* received a state salary of 6,620 piastres. Other details may be found in the same *kânûn-nâme* of the ceremonial of the *diwân* as far as the *nishândjîs* were concerned. Like the other *diwân khodjaları*, they wore the ceremonial turban called *müdjewwese*. An *üst* or over-garment of wool, a *kaftan* or under-garment of *lokmallı kütüni*. According to v. Hammer (xvii. 54), the robes of the *nishândjî* were red, while those of the other *khodjagîân* were violet. Their horses had a covering (*abıyî*) and harness (*rakht*) of the second class (*orta*). Their *khâşş* was a little over 4 *yük* (400,000 aspers).

T u g h r a k e s h. With the extension of the empire, the *nishândjîs* found themselves obliged to call in the help of other officials and the *kânûn-nâme* of Mehmed II contains the following provision *tughra-*

i-şerifi wüzerâlar (sic) *çeküp nishândjî-ya yardım etmek kânûnumdur* "I have ordered the *wazîr* to assist the *nishândjîs* to draw the *tughra*" (p. 14). It was the *wazîr* of the dome (*kubbe wazîrleri*) who had this privilege: they were called *tughrakesh wazîr* and acted in their own right (Ahmad Rasim, ii. 633; cf. Na'imâ, ii. 72, 7 infra: *'um'um dewlet-i 'osmâniyenin hall u-akdini saha verdiler we-ismini tughra-i sultani-ye mu'abik ola*). The commanders-in-chief had the same privilege, cf. the following expressions: *serdârlik tughra-i gharrâsi ile emirler gidip* "orders were issued with the tughra of the commander-in-chief" (Ewliyâ Çelebi, v. 103); *hâtiâ khatt-ı şerif ile serdar-ı mu'azzam we-tughrakesh düstür-i mükerrem im* "I am by autograph order of the sultân commander-in-chief and vizier" (*ibid.*, iv. 127, 13).

The name *meslek-i tughra* "exercise (or *pensum*) of the tughra" was given to the favour which the sultân granted to those he wished to distinguish by entrusting them with the task of preparing the tughra. (It was done with a brush or *kıl kalem*).

The work of the *nishândjîs* was somewhat lightened by the fact that the orders of the Porte destined for the capital did not have a tughra; only firmans sent to the provinces were *tughralı* ("supplied with a tughra") (Mouradja d'Ohsson, Bianchi and Kieffer, under the word *طغرالو*). Cf.

above however on the tughra of the *tâşhîh fermânı*.

In conclusion, we may add that the high officials and even the governors of the second class in tracing their *pençe* frequently gave it a form very like that of the tughra. I have photographs of orders issued by the former *wâlis* of Egypt (fig. 16 sq.) in which the *pençe* resembles the sultân's tughra. In stead of (in the *pençes* of 1061 and 1062 side by side with) muzzafar two, and later three, elliptic circles are found. With the three shafts they form letters *fâ* which apparently are an *a posteriori* reminiscence of the initial of the word *fâgh*. In stead of *dâ'ima*, *şahh* is found. In stead of being at the top of the document, they were put on the margin of the right side and perpendicular to it. (I do not see why some writers will not admit that this peculiarity was dictated by feelings of deference to the sultân).

When the *nishândjî* disappeared at the reforms, officials called *tughrakesh* were kept to draw the tughra.

In the *sâlnâme* (official year-book) of the Ottoman empire of the year 1334 (1918), p. 123, is found the name of a *tughrakesh* of the rank of *sânîye* (*thâniya*) who belonged to the *diwân-i hümayûn* (*beylikdâji dâ'iresi*).

In the earlier annuals (e.g. 1302 = 1886, 1323 = 1907, 1324 = 1908), there are two *tughrakesh*, known respectively as *evvel* and *sânî* (*thâni*) who are mentioned as forming part of the *muhimme odası*, after the other officials i.e. the *baş kâtib* (later *müdür*), *mümeiyiz* (later), *mu'awin*, *nâmenüwîs* (earlier) and two *mukabeledjî*. They had the ranks of *mütemâyiz*, *sânîye* and *sâlîse*.

The earliest year-book of the Ottoman empire for the year 1263 (1847) does not mention the *nishândjî*, who however no longer existed nor the *tughrakesh*, who was no doubt considered not of sufficient importance: the list of officials was less complete in this volume than in the others (cf. *J. A.*, Sept. 1847).

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TUGHRA, MULLĀ TUGHRA'Ī MASHHADĪ, a Persian literary man, was born in Mashhad (the date is not known) and went to India towards the end of the reign of Dījahāngir. After spending some time in the Deccan, he became *munshī* to Prince Murād Baksh in the reign of Shāh Dījhān. He accompanied the latter on his expedition to Balkh. The conquest of the latter town and of Badakhshān by this prince (1055–1057 = 1645–1647) was celebrated by him in a prose work (*risāla*). This *risāla* called *Mir'āt al-Futūḥ* was later imitated by a certain Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn who in 1135 (1722–1723) wrote a panegyric biography of a high military officer of the Mughal Empire, Saif al-Dawla 'Abd al-Ṣamad (d. 1150 = 1737–1738) entitled *Futūḥāt-nāma-i Ṣamadī*.

Ṭughra' later went to Kashmīr in the train of the *Diwān* (Privy Councillor) Mirzā Abu 'l-Qāsim. Here he spent the last years of his life and died before 1078 (1667–1668). He is mentioned as already dead in a book written in this year (Rieu, p. 742). The year 1130 (1717–1718) in which, according to Pertsch (*Die persischen Handschriften der ... Bibliothek zu Gotha*, p. 24), a work by Ṭughra' was completed, according to the colophon in the Gotha MS. No. 9, is to be referred to the copyist and not to the author of the text. Ch. Stewart (*Catalogue Mysore*, p. 64) gives 1323 A.D. as the year of Ṭughra's death; I cannot suggest how such an error arose.

Ṭughra' wrote poems as well as prose (*rusā'il*). Among his poetical works may be mentioned:

Sāḳi-nāma, a comprehensive *Mathnawī* in imitation of a work of the same name of an earlier poet Zuhūrī (d. 1025 = 1616); *Ta'rif-i Kashmīr*, a description of Kashmīr in *Mathnawī* form. Here also he imitated an earlier poet, Ḥakīm Zulālī (d. 1026 = 1617). Ṭughra' also wrote a preface to the works of this poet (cf. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Pers. MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 816, 819). The *Ta'rif* was apparently composed in Kashmīr i.e. after the poet had left the Mughal court. Ṭughra', like almost all Persian poets, also wrote *ghazals*, *rubā'iyāt*, *muḳaṭṭā'āt* etc. His *risālas* written in very affected, pompous prose seem however to have enjoyed greater popularity than his poems. These exist in a number of MSS., while those of the poems are less numerous (in Europe at least). Ṭughra' wrote about 30 of them — a list of them extant in MSS. will be found in the books quoted below in the *Bibliography*. — Here it is sufficient to mention in addition to the

Mir'āt al-Futūḥ: *Mi'yār al-Idrāk*, an essay on the *Diwān* of Ḥāfiẓ; *Firdawsiya* and *Tadjiyyāt*, two descriptions of Kashmīr in prose; *Tadhkirat al-Aṭkiyā*, panegyrics on twelve contemporary scholars and poets of Kashmīr; *Mir'āt al-Uyūb*, a satire on an emir of the court of Golkonda; *Djulusiya*, a panegyric on Awrangzēb and *Parikhāna*, a panegyric on the Shāh of Persia 'Abbās II.

Lastly may be mentioned Ṭughra's letters to various contemporaries. An edition of 18 of his *risāla*'s with the letters and commentary appeared (lith.) at Cawnpore in 1871 and Lucknow in 1885.

Bibliography: *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, ii. 334, 336–338; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 742, 850, 875, 1068, 796, 677, 971, 1036; Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 205 (where a preface by Ṭughra' to the *Diwān* of Kudsi is mentioned), p. 267; Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, i. 844 sqq.; Ch. Stewart, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore*, p. 64; Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, p. 868 sqq., 963; W. Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, p. 480, 649, 679, 865, 691, 696; do., *Die persischen Handschriften der Herzöglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, p. 24; E. Browne, *Supplementary Handlist of the Muhammadan Manuscripts ... in ... Cambridge*, p. 20, 42, 107, 122, 196, 208, 261, 296, 299, 302; E. Edwards, *Cat. of Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*, London 1922, s. v.

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-TUGHRA'Ī MU'AIYID AL-DIN FAKHR AL-KUTTĀB ABŪ ISMĀ'IL AL-ḤUSAIN B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-ṢAMAD AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, better known by the name of Ṭughra'ī (so named after the scroll, consisting of the name of the sovereign and his titles, written at the top of official documents above the Basmala), Arab poet, was born in 453 (1061) probably in Iṣfahān. His early career is imperfectly known, but he appears to have first been engaged as secretary in Irbil. Then he entered the chancellory of the Saldjūk Sultāns and served during the reign of Malikshāh and his son Muḥammad. He was without equal as regards the beauty of his calligraphy, but according to the prolix statement of 'Imād al-Dīn, his work was tediously slow. The vizier of Sultān Muḥammad who may have feared his rivalry was his enemy and should have liked to have him removed, but could find no cause. That Ṭughra'ī aspired to higher things is evident from the remark of the biographers that he spent money in bribes to obtain the position of vizier, but was not successful. His chance seemed to have come when Sultān Muḥammad died, while he was with prince Mas'ūd at Mawṣil, while the Wazīr al-Sumairimī was with prince Maḥmūd at Iṣfahān. In conjunction with other nobles they persuaded Mas'ūd to throw off allegiance to Maḥmūd, whom al-Sumairimī had proclaimed Sultān of the Western provinces of the Saldjūk empire. Sultān Muḥammad had died in 511 (1117–1118) and it was only in 513 that they tried to make a bid for the throne. An ill-equipped army accompanied by Mas'ūd and Ṭughra'ī, who was at last vizier, marched to meet the army of Sultān Maḥmūd. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Hamadān which

resulted in the complete defeat of Mas'ūd. He himself was made a prisoner as also was Ṭughra'ī who had thus fallen into the hands of his enemy. Mas'ūd was pardoned, but Ṭughra'ī condemned to death, because he was declared a heretic. He was ordered to be shot with arrows by a company of soldiers, but some verses uttered by him as he was facing death caused the vizier to defer the execution of the sentence. It was however carried out at a later date, which is generally fixed in the year 515 (1121—1122). The chronology of these events is far from certain. Ibn al-Athīr dates the battle in the year 514 and one account even gives 518 as the date of Ṭughra'ī's execution. This latter date is certainly wrong, because al-Sumairimī was murdered in the month of Ṣafar 516 in Baghdād near the Niẓāmiya Madrasa by a negro slave who was said to have belonged to Ṭughra'ī and committed the murder to avenge his master.

The reputation of Ṭughra'ī rests principally upon his poem, the *Lāmiyat al-ʿAdjam*, composed in Baghdād in 505 (1111—1112), in which he complains about the evil times in which he lives. This poem, published by Golius with a Latin translation, was perhaps the earliest specimen of Arabic poetry accessible to wider circles in Europe and was several times reprinted and translated into other languages. It has also been the subject to a number of Arabic commentaries. The *Diwān*, printed in Constantinople, was collected after the author's death and contains, in addition to the *Lāmiya*, poems in praise of notables and princes, and the latest compositions are perhaps those in praise of his youthful master, prince Mas'ūd.

There was another branch of study cultivated by Ṭughra'ī, namely alchemy and in this pseudo-science he composed a number of works, which, as Dhahabī put it, were the cause of the waste of untold wealth, both by the author himself and by those who made use of his works. The language in these is abstruse as usual with this class of literature. The following titles of his works are recorded and several of them exist in manuscript: 1. *Djāmi' al-Asrūr* (MS. in Gotha?); 2. *Tarāḳīb al-Anwār* (perhaps only part of the title of the first-named); 3. *Ḥaḳā'iq al-Istishhādāt*; 4. *Kitāb Dhāt al-Fawā'id*; 5. *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Ibn Sīnā fī Ibṭāl al-Kīmīyā*; 6. *Maṣābiḥ al-Ḥikma wa-Maṣātib al-Rahma*, for advanced students only (MS. Paris, No. 2614); in addition to these the Paris MS., No. 2607 claims to be a commentary of the *Kitāb al-Rahma* of Djābir b. Ḥaiyān under the title of *Sirr al-Ḥikma fī Sharḥ Kitāb al-Rahma* but the authorship is uncertain.

Editions of his poems: *Diwān*, Constantinople 1300; *Lāmiya* by Golius, Leyden 1629, reprinted by H. van der Sloot in Franeker 1769; E. Pocock, Oxford 1661 with Latin translation, reprinted in 1770 by J. Hirth in *Institutiones Arabicae*, Jena; L. G. Pareau, Utrecht 1824 and A. Raux, Paris 1903 with French translation. English translations by J. D. Carlyle, *Specimens of Arabic Poetry*, Oxford 1796; reprinted by W. A. Clouston, *Arabic Poetry*, Glasgow 1881; L. Chappelow, Cambridge 1758 (after Pocock's Latin version). French translation by P. Vattier, Paris 1660, after Golius and the one by Raux mentioned above. Commentaries: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafādī, *Ghaith al-Musadidjām bi-Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-ʿAdjam*, also called *Ghaith al-Adab alladhī 'nsadja ma fī Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-ʿAdjam*, printed Cairo 1290 and 1305. This is a

voluminous work and enlarges upon all subjects connected with the poem or otherwise. Several abbreviations exist in this commentary: one, called *Kaṭr al-Ghaith al-Musadidjām* by ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-ʿAlawāmī, was printed Bulāḳ 1290; another, much curtailed abridgment with the title *Kitāb al-ʿArab min Ghaith al-Adab*, was printed Bairūt 1897. Other commentaries found in manuscript are *Nashr al-ʿAlam fī Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-ʿAdjam* by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Ḥaḍramī (died 939) of which a number of copies are found in libraries; *Nabdh al-ʿAdjam ʿan Lāmiyat al-ʿAdjam* composed in Constantinople in 962 by Djalāl b. Khidr; the oldest commentary is perhaps that by Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Baḳā' ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusain al-Ukbarī (d. 616). The commentary by Kamāl al-Damiri is also a mere extract from that of al-Ṣafādī, and many more.

Biographies of Ṭughra'ī are found in almost all historical works giving obituaries; all appear to draw upon the same sources: Yāqūt, *Irshād*, iv. 50—60; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Cairo 1310, i. 159; Ṣafādī, *Ghaith*, Cairo 1305, i. 6 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, *passim*; Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii., *passim*. Verses of his are cited in all later anthologies.

Bibliography: given above.

(F. KRENKOW)

ṬUGHRIĪ I B. MUḤAMMAD, a Seldjūḳ ruler in the ʿIrāḳ 526—529 = 1132—1134, b. 503 = 1109, had as his guardian (*atabeg*) the doughty emir Shīrgir and received as his fief a large part of the province of Djibāl with the towns of Siwa, Ḳazwīn, Abhar, Zandjān, Ṭalākān etc. On the death of his father (511 = 1118), the Atābeg Shīrgir was thrown into prison and his place taken by the emir Kündoghdl, who was on bad terms with Sultān Maḥmūd, Ṭughri'ī's brother. With Kündoghdl he took part in the unfortunate campaign against the Georgians in 515 (1121) and was in a serious position when his atābeg died in the same year and his relations with his brother, never very good, became still worse. In these straits he was easily persuaded by the able and turbulent Arab Dubais b. Ṣadaḳa [q. v.] that it would be easy to seize the province of al-ʿIrāḳ and get rid of the caliph and the sultān. The enterprise failed however and the two sought refuge with Sultān Sandjar, who took up their cause and began negotiations on their behalf with Maḥmūd in al-Raiy (end of 522 = 1128). Some years later (525 = 1131) Maḥmūd died and his son Dāwūd was summoned to the throne temporarily until Sandjar had finally decided the succession. The latter declared for Ṭughri'ī, but in the meanwhile another brother Mas'ūd had claimed the throne and was approaching with considerable forces. In the battle that followed at Dinawar (526 = 1132) between Sandjar and Mas'ūd the latter was defeated and sent back to his province of Gandja while Ṭughri'ī was installed as sultān. Sandjar then departed and left his nephew to enforce his recognition upon his opponents. He was successful in routing Dāwūd's adherents but the latter himself escaped to Baghdād. Mas'ūd was soon in power there and was able to persuade the caliph to mention him in the *khutba* and designate Dāwūd as his successor (527 = 1132). Ṭughri'ī was not a match for his brother and, after wandering about a great deal, sought refuge with the ispahbad of Ṭabaristān where he spent the whole of the winter of 1132—1133. In the

following year fortune was rather more favourable to him and he succeeded in again taking the capital Hamadhān but, on arriving there, he fell ill of a choleric and died early in 529 (Oct.—Nov. 1134). *Recueil*, ii. 174, wrongly gives 528. His widow later married Ildegiz [q. v.] who raised Tuğhrīl's son Arslān to the Seldjūk throne (555 = 1160).

Bibliography: Cf. the article SELDJÜKS (M. TH. HOUTSMA).

TUĞHRİL II B. ARSLĀN, the last Seldjūk Sulṭān in the 'Irāk 571—590 (1175—1194) was born in 564 (1168—1169) and when still a minor was raised to the throne by the Atābeg Pehlewān, after his father had been poisoned to thwart his endeavour to escape the burdensome tutelage of the atābeg (cf. Houtsma in *Acta Orientalia*, iii. 140 sq.). It was only on the death of Pehlewān in 581 or 582 (1186) that Tuğhrīl, now grown up, who had enjoyed a careful education and was distinguished by physical and intellectual gifts—he composed a number of short Persian poems—showed that he was not at all inclined to do as his father had done, and be content with the mere name of sulṭān. He was assisted by the fact that Pehlewān's successor, Kīzīl Arslān, had quarrelled with the widow of his deceased brother and their two sons, so that he was able to make arrangements with a number of Turkish amirs and seize the Seldjūk capital Hamadhān. In order to be more sure of completely disposing of his dangerous opponent, Kīzīl Arslān asked the caliph to send him troops from Baghdad while he himself advanced from Ādharbāidjān but the incapable leader of the Baghdad army, the vizier Ibn Yūnus, attacked Tuğhrīl at Dāymarg (584 = 1188) and suffered a terrible defeat from the impetuous bravery of his opponent. Little however was won thereby for Tuğhrīl's cause, for Kīzīl Arslān was coming nearer and the caliph was equipping a new army. To add to his troubles, the young Sulṭān quarrelled with his own people and on his return to Hamadhān hanged several of his most prominent supporters. The result was that he could not hold out in his capital, which was very soon taken by Kīzīl Arslān, spent some time ravaging the region of Urmiya, Khōi and Salmās, endeavoured in vain to win the caliph to his side, applied without success to several Muslim princes, including Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, for help and had finally to surrender to Kīzīl Arslān, who imprisoned him in the castle of Kahrān near Tabriz in 586 (1190). Kīzīl Arslān then himself occupied the throne of the Seldjūks but, when he was murdered next year at the instigation of the widow of his brother, Tuğhrīl succeeded in escaping and found an asylum with the Banū Kafshūd in Zandjān. The lack of unity among the sons of Pehlewān, now the rulers of Ādharbāidjān, gave him the opportunity of coming again to Hamadhān and marrying Pehlewān's widow, only however to put her to death. He also took Isfahān and al-Raiy and sacked the stronghold of Ṭabaraḳ near the latter town (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 507 sq.) but this brought upon him the enmity of the powerful Khwārizmshāh who only a short time before had taken al-Raiy. He was not inclined to lose this city and sent troops there to take it from the Seldjūk Sulṭān. The wise course would have been to avoid their superior numbers but Tuğhrīl felt it a point of honour to defend the Seldjūk claims on the 'Irāk even at the cost of his life,

calmly awaited the approach of the enemy in spite of the advice of his friends, then threw himself with a few faithful followers on the foe and was immediately slain (29th Rabi' I 590 = March 25, 1194).

Bibliography: Cf. the article SELDJÜKS (M. TH. HOUTSMA).

TUĞHRİLBEG, RUKN AL-DĪN ABŪ TALĪB MUHAMMAD B. MIKĀ'IL, the first Seldjūk Sulṭān, 429—455 (1038—1063). For the beginnings of Seldjūk power, the rise of Tuğhrīlbeg and of his brother Čaghribeg, the reader may be referred to the article on the latter. Here we begin with the year 429 (1038) when Tuğhrīlbeg entered Naisābūr and his name was mentioned in the *khutba* there. Al-Baiḥaqī, p. 691, gives interesting details of this. Ibn al-Athīr and others say that as early as this he received an envoy from the Caliph, who complained of the robberies of the rude Ghuz which is very probably correct, for we know that the Seldjūks in their earliest document (Baiḳaḳī, p. 583) call themselves *mawālī* (clients) of the Commander of the Faithful and that there were from the first certain relations between the Seldjūks and the Caliph. Tuğhrīlbeg had however very soon to abandon the town again on account of the Ghaznawids, and only after the defeat of Mas'ūd at Dandānāḳān on 7th Ramaḍān 431 (May 22, 1040), were the latter forced to withdraw from Khorāsān and leave this province to the Seldjūks. The leaders of the latter, among whom may be mentioned Tuğhrīlbeg, Čaghribeg, Ibrāhīm Ināl and Kutulmish, had begun to extend their rule over the adjoining lands also, each for himself, although Tuğhrīlbeg was conceded a certain pre-eminence. The first to submit to him were the Ziyarids of Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān on payment of an annual tribute in 433 (1041—1042). In the following year he assisted his brother Čaghribeg in the conquest of Khwārizm; he then restored order in al-Raiy, where the unruly Ghuz were laying waste the country under Ibrāhīm Ināl, and conquered the Būyid Maḍjīd al-Dawla, who had still been holding out in the stronghold of Ṭabaraḳ. The rule of the Seldjūks was recognised in Kāzwin and Hamadhān also; Farāmarz, the lord of Isfahān, agreed to pay a sum of money. Through the intervention of the Caliph, who sent the celebrated jurist al-Māwardī to Tuğhrīlbeg for this purpose (435), the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla sought to make peace with the Seldjūks but, as he died in the same year, the result desired was only attained under his successor Abū Kalīdjar in 439 (1047). Ibrāhīm Ināl, who had ravaged Kurdistan with his Ghuz and was now on his way to Baghdad and had reached Hulwān and Khānikīn, was therefore instructed to retire and seek another field for his activities. He thereupon turned against the Abkhaz and Byzantines, took the prince of the Abkhaz, Liparites, prisoner and carried off such vast booty that 10,000 waggons were not sufficient to transport it (440 = 1048). A quarrel resulted between him and Tuğhrīlbeg which ended in his being taken prisoner, but he was pardoned and even later installed in al-Mawṣil as commander. Tuğhrīlbeg released the captured Liparites without a ransom and sent an embassy to Byzantium to negotiate peace but, owing to the raids of the Ghuz, this could not be of long duration. In the meanwhile he was continually extending his power, received the homage of the Marwānids of Diyār-

bakr and in 492 (1050) besieged Iṣfahān whose ruler Farāmārz, according to circumstances, kept in the good graces of the Seldjūks or of the Būyids in turn. The siege of a fortified town was not a task for his rude warriors, so that it dragged on and Farāmārz was only forced to surrender for want of supplies in the following year. The town pleased him so well, that he decided to make it his residence and to give Farāmārz Yazd and Abarkūya in compensation. In 446 (1054) we find him, after a severe illness, in Ādharbāidjān to receive the homage of the lords of Tabriz and Gandja. A raid into Byzantine territory had no particular results, the siege of Malāzkart had to be abandoned (cf. Matth. of Edessa, ch. 78; Cedrenus, ed. Bonn, ii. 590). It is true that he was then busy with other schemes; in the autumn he collected his troops and had large supplies of munitions accumulated in Hamadhān with the object of undertaking the great campaign against Baghdād. He was invited to do this by Ibn al-Muslima [q. v.], vizier of the caliph, who had been conducting a secret correspondence with him, because the Būyid rule of Malik al-Raḥīm, successor of Abū Kalidjār since 440 (1048), which was exercised by their military commandant in Baghdād al-Basāsiri [q. v.] who had a secret arrangement with the Fātimids, was intolerable to him and the caliph. Ṭughrlībeg did not hesitate to accede to this appeal and in Ramaḍān 447 (1055) reached Ḥulwān on his way to Baghdād where his arrival caused great dismay. Al-Malik al-Raḥīm, who was in Wāsiṭ, at once hastened to the capital but al-Basāsiri found it advisable to depart and seek refuge with the Maz-yadid of al-Ḥilla, Dubais. There was now no obstacle to open negotiations with Ṭughrlībeg. By Ramaḍān 22, 447, the caliph had his name mentioned in the *khutba* and three days later the sultān entered Baghdād. The presence of the rough Ghuz however soon led to plundering and murdering and threatened to end in a regular street war with the citizens, so that Ṭughrlībeg had at once to intervene to put an end to this state of affairs and, under the pretext that al-Malik al-Raḥīm had brought it about, he had him arrested in spite of the Caliph's intercession and the rule of the Būyids was ended for ever. The alliance with the caliph was cemented by his marriage with a daughter of Čaghribeg, but the sultān and caliph only met after the former had brought Dubais and other rebellious Arabs to terms (end of 449 = beg. 1058). He was given the title of "King of the East and of the West". Soon afterwards however a change set in; al-Basāsiri had in the meanwhile been working actively for the Fātimids and even Ibrāhīm Ināl had been tempted to rebel against Ṭughrlībeg, handed over his post in al-Mawṣil to al-Basāsiri and himself went to Hamadhān where many of the Sultān's Ghuz who were restive under the long period of inactivity in the Irāk, joined him. Ṭughrlībeg therefore set out from Baghdād with the troops that had remained faithful to him and when the sons of Čaghribeg came to his assistance with more troops, was able to take Ibrāhīm Ināl prisoner at al-Raiy and had him promptly executed. In the meanwhile al-Basāsiri entered Baghdād, which was now empty of troops, and had the name of the Fātimid caliph al-Mustanṣir inserted in the *khutba* (8th Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da 450 = Dec. 27, 1058), while the Caliph and his vizier Ibn al-Muslima appealed for the

to Ẹuraish b. Badrān [q. v.] who was a friend of al-Basāsiri's. The latter succeeded in bringing the Caliph in safety to Ḥadīṭhat 'Āna and handed over the vizier to the vengeance of al-Basāsiri who inflicted a cruel death upon him. Exactly a year later Ṭughrlībeg appeared on the scene, brought the caliph again into his capital and defeated the troops of al-Basāsiri, who was himself slain in the battle (end of 451 = beg. 1060). The memory of these events was still kept alive in Yāqūt's time in Baghdād by certain proverbial sayings (*Mu'djam*, iii. 595, 10 sqq.). Ṭughrlībeg then went to Wāsiṭ, made peace with Dubais and appointed farmers for the collection of tribute in Wāsiṭ and Baṣra. In 452 (1060) he was again back in Baghdād attending to a business which he had very much at heart, namely, the seeking of a daughter of the caliph in marriage, against which the pride of the 'Abbāsids revolted. It was only when Ṭughrlībeg's vizier, al-Kunduri, threatened to confiscate the revenues of the caliph, that the latter yielded and the wedding took place during an absence of the sultān in Armenia (454 = 1062). On his return to Baghdād, in the following year, however, he was only allowed to see his bride veiled, and he departed for al-Raiy without the consummation of the marriage being mentioned. Moreover he was now an old man of 70 and his end was near, for he died in al-Raiy on 8th Ramaḍān 455 (Sept. 4, 1063). On the death of his brother Čaghribeg, he had married one of his wives, as he was himself childless. He had designated her son Sulaimān as his successor but the latter was at once compelled to leave the field for another son of Čaghribeg's, namely Alp Arslān [q. v.].

Bibliography: See the article SELDJUK.
(M. TH. HOUTSMA)

ṬUGHTEGİN B. 'ABD ALLĀH AMİN AL-DAWLĀ ZAHİR AL-DĪN ABŪ MAṢṢŪR, founder of the dynasty of the Būrids. Ṭughtegin began his military career as a mamlūk in the service of the Seldjūk Sultān Tutush [q. v.] who afterwards manumitted him, entrusted him with the education of his son Duḳāk and even gave him the latter's mother Ṣafwat al-Mulk as a wife. After Tutush had fallen in battle with his nephew Barkiyārūk (488 = 1095) Duḳāk was recognised as lord of Damascus. He showed the greatest respect for his stepfather and, following the example of so many other Atābegs, Ṭughtegin soon thrust himself into the position of actual ruler. On the death of Duḳāk in Ramaḍān 497 (June 1104) he had homage paid first to a son of the deceased named Tutush, who was only a year old, and then to a brother of Duḳāk, the 12 year-old Artāsh (or Bektāsh). Artāsh however was soon thrust aside and Ṭughtegin recognised as the ruler. The former thereupon entered into negotiations with king Baldwin I of Jerusalem. It was not long before Ṭughtegin came into conflict with the Franks. When the Fātimid vizier al-Malik al-Afḳal sent a large army to Palestine, Ṭughtegin was persuaded to send forces to support him. In Dhū 'l-Hidjja 498 (Aug. 1105) however Baldwin inflicted a severe defeat on the Muslims near al-Ramla. In Ṣafar 499 (Oct. 1105) Ṭughtegin defeated a Frankish Count who had been harassing the district of Damascus by repeated raids and destroyed his fortress, only two days journey from the town. Soon afterwards — or according to another authority a little earlier —

he also took Rafaniya where a nephew of Count Raymond was in command. He was less successful when he tried to take the fortress of 'Irka N. E. of Tripolis, the commander of which had broken his allegiance to his lord, al-Kāḍī Ibn 'Ammār [q.v.] of Tripolis, and sought the help of Tughtegin. The latter succeeded in taking several strongholds but on hearing of his success, Count William of Tripolis took the field and defeated the Damascus troops so thoroughly that they fled in disorder to Himṣ whereupon he took 'Irka (Sha'ban 502 = March 1109). In 504 (1110/1111) the Saldjūk Sultān Muḥammad [q.v.] at the request of the Syrian fugitives decided to intervene vigorously against the Crusaders, ordered the ruler of al-Mawṣil to collect an army and take the field against the Franks and issued orders to all the vassals of the Saldjūks to join Mawdūd's army. After a few successes, the Muslim leaders began to quarrel and on Rabi' I, 507 (Sept. 1113) Mawdūd was murdered by an Assassin in Damascus. Several Muslim rulers including Tughtegin were suspected of complicity in this deed. But when Sultān Muḥammad appointed the police-prefect of Baghdād, Aḡ-Sonkor al-Bursuḡi [q.v.], as Mawdūd's successor, the Ortoḡid Ilghāzī I [q.v.] rebelled as he felt himself insulted by this appointment. Tughtegin joined him, as he was regarded in Baghdād as the instigator of Mawdūd's assassination and therefore feared the vengeance of the Sultān. On the alliance of these two Muslim leaders with the Christians and the further course of the war, cf. the article ILGHĀZĪ. In Dhu 'l-Ka'da 509 (March–April 1116) Tughtegin went to Baghdād and submitted to the Sultān who gave him a friendly reception and even appointed him governor of Syria with the right to recruit levies and regulate taxation. Tughtegin after some time again joined Ilghāzī and they continued their joint war on the Franks [cf. ILGHĀZĪ]. In course of time however Tyre fell into the hands of the Christians. This important commercial town belonged politically to Egypt but in 506 (1112–1113) the citizens out of fear of the Franks had appealed for help to Tughtegin. The Atābeg sent them a governor named Mas'ūd who held his office for some years. The Tyrians then complained of his conduct to the Fāṭimid caliph who at once dismissed him and appointed another governor. When the Crusaders threatened to attack the town, the new governor appealed to Tughtegin. The latter could not force the besiegers to retreat and had to begin negotiations. The garrison and the inhabitants were given free passage with their portable possessions and in Djumādā I, 518 (July 1124) the Franks entered Tyre.

Tughtegin, "one of the most dreaded enemies of the Christians", died on the 8th Šafar 522 (Feb. 12, 1128). He is described by the Oriental historians as an able and just ruler. In accordance with his wish, his eldest son Tādj al-Mulūk Būrī succeeded him as lord of Damascus.

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ed. Popper, ii. 304, 336–338, 345, 348, 362 sq., 382, 388; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 150, 165, 177, 195–198, 200–202, 234 sq., 237, 241, 243, 250; *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, Hist. orientaux, i.–iii., see index; Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, see index. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ṬULAIḤA B. KHUWAILID B. NAWFAL AL-ASADĪ AL-FAK'ADĪ, one of the tribal leaders who headed the *ridda* as prophets.

In 4 A.H., being in command of the Banū Asad with his brother Salama, he suffered defeat from the Muslims in the expedition of Ḳaṭan. The following year he took part in the siege of Madīna. Early in 9 A. H. ṬulaiḤa, as one of ten Asadis, probably representing only a section of the tribe, came to Madīna and submitted to Muḥammad; Sūra xlix. 14–17 is said to rebuke their arrogance, but a tradition that only ṬulaiḤa embraced Islām, points to political submission rather than conversion, he alone being considered a convert only because the *ridda* was explained as religious apostasy. The whole story may have been invented as a parallel to Musailima's visit to Madīna.

ṬulaiḤa rebelled in 10 A.H.; he concentrated his forces at Samirā, assumed the role of prophet, and is said to have offered terms to Muḥammad, who sent Dirār b. al-Azwar to keep him in check. No encounter of any consequence followed until after Muḥammad's death, when ṬulaiḤa succeeded in gaining the support of the Banū Fazāra and an important portion of Ṭaiy, and joined the revolt in central Arabia, sending troops to the battle of Dhu 'l-Kaṣṣa.

In Radjab 11 Khālid b. al-Walid marched against ṬulaiḤa, and with threats persuaded most of the Banū Ṭaiy to follow him. The battle took place at Buzāḡha; ṬulaiḤa's defeat was due to the defection of 'Uyaina b. Ḥiṣn, chief of the Banū Fazāra, disappointed, it is said, by his failure to obtain an encouraging revelation. ṬulaiḤa fled with his wife; many of his followers, refusing Islām, were burnt alive, and his mother sought death in the flames.

After Buzāḡha, ṬulaiḤa lived for a time in obscurity, near Ṭā'if or in Syria. He was eventually converted after the Asad, Ḥaṭafān and 'Amir's submission; passing through Madīna on the *umra* some time later, his presence was denounced to Abū Bakr, who mercifully refused to molest the convert. On 'Umar's election, ṬulaiḤa went to do homage to him; the Caliph reproached him for slaying 'Ukkāsha b. Miḡṣan and Thābit b. Aḡram at Buzāḡha, and asked him what was left of his divination. "One or two puffs of the bellows", ṬulaiḤa modestly answered.

His subsequent military career was long and creditable: he performed acts of valour at Ḳādi-siya, at the head of his tribesmen, led the Muslim infantry at Djalūla, and the victory of Nihāwand has been credited to his plan of attack. He is generally reported killed in this action (21 A. H.), but we find him mentioned in 24, one of 500 Muslims who garrisoned Ḳazwīn, and the date of his decease remains uncertain; 21 was probably fixed upon because it was the year in which Khālid, Nu'mān b. al-Muḡarrin and 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib also died.

His real name was Ṭalḡa; the diminutive is contemptuous (cf. Maslama–Musailima). Of his revelations, which he claimed to receive from an angel

(Gabriel or *Dhu 'l-Nūn*), very little is known; one is a prophecy of conquest in Syria and 'Irāk, another mentions the millstone, a common metaphor for victorious military action. He appears rather as a soothsayer than a prophet, for his few known utterances concern actual events, and no religious system is discernible.

Tulaiha was a gallant warrior, considered the equal of a thousand horsemen, but he lacked the qualities of a leader, to judge from his short career as a rebel. 'Umar wrote to al-Nu'mān b. al-Muḥarrir concerning him: "use him in action and consult him on military matters, but do not entrust any command to him". Mention is also made of his oratory and poetical improvisations on the field; he appears to have been a perfect type of the pagan tribal leader, combining the offices of soothsayer, poet, orator and warrior.

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AL-TULAIṬILĪ, an ethnic by which the learned Spaniard ABU 'L-KĀSIM ṢĀ'ID B. AḤMAD AL-ANDALUSĪ, commonly called "the Kāḍi Ṣā'id", is sometimes known. Born at Almería in 420 (1029), Ṣā'id began his studies at Cordova and completed them at Toledo, then the capital of the dynasty of the *Dhu 'l-Nūnids* [see this article] and the centre of a very brilliant intellectual activity. He very soon made a name for himself by his knowledge of law, history, mathematics, astronomy. Appointed Kāḍi of Toledo by the *Dhu 'l-Nūnīd* emir Yahyā al-Ma'mūn, he held this office till his death in Shawwāl 462 (July 1070).

Ṣā'id wrote a treatise on astronomy, a universal chronicle and a work in the style of the *Kitāb al-Nihāl* of Ibn Ḥazm, which now appears to be lost. At the present day, we only possess by this author a history of the sciences, called *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam* (ed. by Cheikh, Bairūt 1912). This book is divided into two parts. In the first, the author treats of the peoples who do not cultivate the sciences, and confines himself to generalities. In the second, Ṣā'id studies the eight nations who have been interested in the sciences namely the Hindus, the Persians, the Chaldeans, the Greeks, the Occidentals, the Egyptians, the Arabs and the Jews. At the present day only the chapters on the Greeks, Arabs and the Jews deserve our attention. The brevity and the anecdotal form of the notices, the absence of any technical development, moreover, show clearly that Ṣā'id had never intended to compose a profound treatise after the manner of the specialists but only a simple popular work. The *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam* unfortunately soon lost in the eyes of the public the character, which its author had given to it. Very soon from being a summary of the history of the sciences, it came to be regarded as a leading work dealing thoroughly with all human knowledge. Soon, and this is more serious, the work of Ṣā'id was even regarded, no longer as a compilation but as a first hand source of information. In the xiiith century

this error was definitely sanctioned by the Arab authors who wrote on the history of the sciences. Ibn al-Kifṭī borrowed largely from the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam* and it can be estimated that the parts taken from this work form a good quarter of his *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā'*. Even Ibn Abi Uṣayb'a, in his great work called '*Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbā'*', has reproduced several biographies of physicians, the text of which has been taken from Ṣā'id's work. Finally the Christian Bar Hebraeus has taken from the same treatise the division of peoples into the friends and the enemies of science as well as the general sketch of each of the races studied in his Arabic chronicle, *Mukhtaṣar al-Durwal*.

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TULUMBADJİ, a Turkish noun meaning:

1. (obsolete) regular fireman; 2. (modern usage) volunteer or irregular fireman; 3. (figuratively) a badly brought-up person (R. Youssouf); a street rowdy, a rough (Red-house), derived from *tulumba*, "pump, hydraulic machine" (Meninski, *Thesaurus*, 1680, p. 1375; cf. *Relation de l'Ambassade de Mohammed Effendi*, Paris 1841, p. 52).

The word *tulumba* is for the Italian *tromba* with the same meaning, with change of *r* into *l* and epenthesis of the disjunctive vowel *u* between the two initial consonants. One also says *yangın tulumbası* "fire-engine" to distinguish it from the other meanings of the word *tulumba* which are "sounder, pipette of the surgeon or douanier (*istimara tulumbası*: wine-pipette); waterspout in the sea". The word *tulumba* has become popularised in Turkey by its naval use, if one may judge from the common phrase *çarga tulumba etmek*, a transitive verb, which means "to work (cf. Venetian *carga*) the pump, i. e. for two or more people to carry some one — especially ill, wounded or dead — by taking him by the head and feet" (Meḥmed Djewdet, *Akhis-i İhār*, p. 156; Husain Rahmī, *Diyan pazarı*, *İkdam* of the December 8, 1922). The Turkish *tulumba* (and the Italian *tromba*) may be compared with their synonyms, the old French *trompe* (Jal, *Gloss. Nautique*), the Basque *tromba* (*ibid.*), the modern Greek *τρομπά* or *πομπά* (Hesseling, *Les mots maritimes*). The word *tulumba* has passed into most of the Balkan languages: Roumanian (*périmé*, *Damé*), Bulgarian, Greek of Rumelia (P. Louis Ronzevalle). The Persian *tulunbe* (Nicolas) and, in part at least, the Arabic of Syria and Egypt and the north coast of Africa *ṭurumba* or *ṭulumba* must be borrowed from the Turkish.

One knows how frequent and violent are the Constantinople fires, especially in the past. A Turkish proverb says "if it were not for the fires in Constantinople, the thresholds of the houses would be of gold" (*İstambulun yangını olmasa, ewlerin eşiği altundan olurdu*).

Many things combined to make the old capital of Turkey perpetually threatened by fire and to keep away from it until quite recently even the most enterprising insurance companies.

1. The houses were almost all of wood (*akhsāb*) and painted with oil (aspic oil, in the time of Baron de Tott). Through laziness, as well as from fatalism and fear of earthquakes, of relatively rare occurrence, however, the Turks did not build of stone. The government, which, it was said, was afraid to allow any places of any strength in which rioters might hold out, was very reluctant to grant permission to build houses of stone (*kiārgir*, popularly *kīāgir*, *kīawgir*, *kīewgir*, *giewgir*). Apart from Pera, where hewn stone appears relatively early, there were only the mosques, fountains, *khāns*, public baths, *bezesten* (markets, covered in and closed at night, for valuable merchandise) and a few houses of the Fanariots, some ancient monuments, like the aqueduct of Valens, which might escape the action of the fire and sometimes even served to bar the advance of the flames.

It should also be noted that the lead melted from the domes of some of these buildings during a fire ran into the street and made approach to them dangerous. There were also places for shelter built of masonry in the better class houses. Called *giewgir* par excellence, and strengthened by iron doors, they were regular strong-boxes for articles of value. They were fire-proof, but one had to wait some weeks to open them after a fire, for fear that a premature draught might carry the flames inside. As, in the case of a fire, nothing was left but these cellars, the chimneys and the foundations of stone, the debris was easily cleared away and the town was rapidly rebuilt, but this was only an illusory advantage for it sometimes happened that an afflicted quarter was burned down again, even before it had been completely rebuilt.

2. The streets were narrow and the landlords were able to prevent the government from widening them (as was the case, for example in the reign of 'Othmān III).

3. Rises in the wind are frequent on the shores of the Bosphorus, where the breeze from the sea frequently changes its direction. It is said that there is a recrudescence of fires, when aubergines (*patlıdjan*) are in season, when the breeze which bears the same name (*patlıdjan meltemi*) blows on the kitchens.

4. The older Turks used to be exceedingly careless in the use of tobacco-pipes (*čubuk*) and *tandır* (or *tandur* for *tannūr*), a kind of heating box for the winter.

5. Attempts by incendiaries (*ķondakčī*) were not rare. They used to throw into the houses dolls made of inflammable material (*ķondak*, a word of Greek origin) either for political reasons, or simply out of vengeance. It may be said that every crisis in domestic politics was accompanied by violent fires, the people adopting this simple method of manifesting their discontent. The firemen were sometimes their accomplices and fed the fire instead of extinguishing it. Among the best known cases of incendiarism are those which occurred during the rule of the unpopular chief eunuch, Beshir Agha under Mahmūd I (according to Jouanin, *Turquie*, p. 343, this was the first occasion on which the *ķondak* was used), during the occupation of Egypt by the French and on the accession of Mahmūd II. As to fires started out of personal vengeance, they were very frequently the work of negro slaves dissatisfied with their masters (according to Basili).

It would take too long to enumerate the fires recorded in Turkish annals. We shall mention only those which were of particular violence of the period from 1750 to 1756 (principally from v. Hammer, *Histoire*, xv., p. 200 sq.). In 1750: on February 3rd, a fire which lasted 30 hours and burned up 6,667 houses and the "Porte" of the Agha of the Janissaries; 18 days later: a fire which destroyed the house of the mufti among others (started out of malevolence), two months later the market for arms. In 1751: 2,000 houses destroyed at the same time as the *eski odalar* or "old barracks" of the Janissaries. In 1752: several fires directed against Beshir Agha (cf. above). In 1754: four great fires. In 1755, reign of 'Othmān III: on 12th July, 16 hours' duration, 2,000 houses; 3 months later, a fire of 36 hours which consumed a large number of houses, notably the Sublime Porte or Porte of the grand vizier and that of the *defterdār*. Finally in 1756 on July 6th, there broke out the greatest fire recorded since the conquest of Constantinople: 8,000 houses were destroyed (Théophile Gautier writes 80,000). Fanned by the wind, after being temporarily checked by Saint Sophia, the flames went in 13 directions and ultimately combined to form one vast conflagration. This catastrophe has been described by de Tott.

Théophile Gautier noted 14 fires, most of them considerable, in one week during his sojourn in Constantinople. In his time, there were very few houses over 60 years old. In our own day the Fātih quarter has been completely destroyed. Thus in spite of Muslim fatalism, the outbreak of fire was no trifle. Watchmen, usually musicians (*mehter*), were stationed in the tops of the towers of Galata, and later on those of the Seraskerat, and announced outbreaks by beating drums and by hanging from the towers baskets during the day and lanterns during the night, varying in number according to the quarter to be indicated: Stambul, Galata, Scutari.

The night watchmen (*bekçi* or *parwand* for *pasbān*) used to utter their cry of *İstambolda* (or *Galatada*) *yangın var!* which travellers have made well-known (de Amicis used it as the title of a chapter of his *Constantinopoli*). As soon as the alarm was given, the grand vizier, the *kapudan paşa* and the Agha of the Janissaries, sometimes the sultān himself, went to the spot and each official had to pay a kind of fine to his superior, if he allowed the latter to reach it before him. Th. Gautier particularly noticed the local colour provided by the odalisque dressed in red, whose duty it was to warn by his mere appearance the sultān who was in his harem (cf. Robert de Flers, *Vers l'Orient*, p. 362).

The institution of firemen in Turkey is however of relatively recent date. Ewliyā Çelebi (xviith century), who gives a long and varied list of trades including the very humblest, does not mention any particular organisation for fighting fires. They were content to limit the area affected by demolishing houses with the help of long poles with hooks on the end (*ķandja*) and the destruction was completed with axes. Castellani also mentions the chains which were tied round walls in order to pull them down, and Basili talks of sheets sewn together and soaked with water, to protect the houses adjoining the centre of the conflagration.

According to the historian Rāshid (1st ed., vol. iii., fol. 111^b—112), it was in Ramaḍān 1134 (June–July 1722) in the reign of Aḥmad III and in the viziership of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Paṣha, who was fond of innovations, that pumps were used for the first time, made and directed by the renegade Gerçek Dāwūd (of French origin, according to Mouradja d'Ohsson). The results were so encouraging that a body of firemen was established with Dāwūd as commandant (*tulumbadji bashi*). He was given quarters in the recruits' barracks (*adjami odaları*) situated near the new barracks or *yeṇi odalar* in the *Shahzāde-bashi* quarter. This body of picked men was recruited at first from the Janissaries and the other regiments (*odjaḳ*). It enjoyed special pay and various privileges. The office was hereditary, according to Thalasso. As to precedence, they ranked next to the Janissaries and before the *djebedji* or army service corps. Gradually however, they lost their military character, just as the *djebedji* did. A connection with the different *odjaḳs* survived, however, in this way that each corps of soldiers had its own firemen but, except for those of the *odjaḳ* of the *bostandji* who were regarded as regular Janissaries, the others were young artisans (*eṣnāf delikanlıları*), who only remotely resembled soldiers. The corps of Turkish firemen seems however to have very soon degenerated. Less than thirty years after their creation, they were holding to ransom and extorting money from people whose houses had been burned, or who had asked them to protect threatened houses, and sometimes, de Tott says, gave themselves up to such pleasantries as turning the hose on the spectators.

They wore a plated (*kalaylı*) helmet (*tas*) without a visor, held in horror in Muslim lands, a head-dress which, according to Castellani, was surmounted by a spike and resembled, according to him, the *galerus* of the Salian priests, while Luṭfi Efendi, more prosaically, compares it to a soup-tureen (*çorba tası*). On it was the badge (*nishān*) of the *orta* to which the fireman belonged. The helmet of the *tulumbadji bashi* was of solid silver. The firemen turned out to fires with arms, legs and chests bare. At other times they wore huge turbans (*sarık*) and red cloaks (*kapot*) called *kaṭal kanat* (for *kanadı*) i.e. eagle's wing. On their bare feet they wore *yemeni*, also red.

The pumps were quite small and two men were able to carry them. They were a little improved in 1754 by the adoption of hose of more pliable leather. The number of pumps was increased shortly afterwards, in the reign of ʿOṯmān III, and they were distributed among the watchmen, instead of, as previously, storing them with the chiefs of the different quarters (v. Hammer, *Histoire*, p. 263).

The destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 precipitated the break-up of the corps of firemen. There only remained the pumps of the War Ministry (*bāb-i ser'askeri*), served by a collection of vagabonds (*derme tatma*). A little later in 1243 (1827–1828), *müddir* or "directors" were appointed to each engine and new firemen were enrolled (*khārijiden nerefāt tahriri*), especially among the Armenians, a nation considered, however, according to Basili, as not of very active physique. There was nevertheless a certain improvement in the service, according to the same Basili. This improvement does not seem to have been maintained

if we may judge by the depths to which the institution soon sank. The *tulumbadji* became regular brigands, who took advantage of the fires to plunder as they pleased: as to their habit of blackmail, we have seen above that they were only keeping up an older tradition. Recruited from among the porters (*hammāl*) and the boatmen (*ḳayıkkçı*), the most turbulent corporations in Turkey, they formed a body of 20,000 men ready for anything. From the fear which they inspired in a feeble government they succeeded in maintaining their positions, even after the institution of a regular fire brigade, to be discussed below, and according to Thalasso, they continued to draw rations of bread. Their jailbird figures were to be seen running through the streets preceded by a grotesque courier or herald. He alone seems to have retained the helmet; he was clothed in fiery red, had a hatchet at his side and in the right hand a pike with which he beat dogs and people not prompt enough at getting out of the way. This courier was called *ḳara kulaḳ* (black ear) i.e. "lynx", because according to legend, this animal performs a similar duty for the lion, whom he precedes on his hunts. Sometimes they had violent fights with the regular firemen. These latter were never at peace among themselves, and the Muslim companies fought with those consisting of Armenian or Greek Christians.

The tiny pumps, holding only three or four gallons, were painted in bright colours, surmounted, as the case might be, with the crescent or the cross and bearing the names of the different quarters or, what comes to the same thing, of the different mosques or churches. The firemen, who lived by preference beside the fountains (*çeşme*) to be able to fill their pumps more quickly, had the latter opened to them during the night by the *saka* (*sakkā*), the latter also having to assist at putting out fires. Some writers (e.g. Duckett) have paid a tribute to the skill and courage of the *tulumbadji* but criticisms like those of von Hammer are more frequent. The least one can say is that the corps lacked discipline.

The modern regular firemen (*itf'ā'īye*). The modern fire-brigade was created after the conflagration of June 5, 1870 (the greatest since that of 1831 in the same quarter; it was described by de Amicis from oral information). Its organisation was entrusted to the Hungarian Count Edmond Széchenyi (*Sečeni Paṣha*), who had previously been in command of the Budapest Fire Brigade. The first battalion began its duties on January 3, 1876 and in the course of its first year extinguished 77 fires, some very serious. It had a staff of 580 men, 2 large horse-drawn pumps, 8 small pumps, a first aid waggon, a water-waggon (with 16 buckets) and a waggon for the engines. This equipment was later improved. Three other units were added later: there was one of two battalions in Pera (*Taḳsim*: the headquarters of the corps was also at Pera), Stambul (Seraskierat), Scutari in Asia and at the Admiralty. There were also naval firemen and a battalion of sappers. All these units together formed the regiment of firemen (*itf'ā'īye alayı*) which formed part of the first army corps or of the Imperial Guard (*khāṣṣe ordu-i hümāyūnu*). Each of the battalions was commanded by a *binbaşlı* and Count Széchenyi ranked as a general of division (*ferik*). Details of the cadres of this regiment are given in the Turkish military yearbooks (*sālnāme-i askeri*).

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(J. DENY)

TULUNIDS, the name given to the first Muslim dynasty of independent governors and rulers of Egypt. The founder of the dynasty, Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn [q. v.], entered Fustāt as the deputy of the fiefce of Egypt, the Turkish general Bāyakkā, on 23rd Ramaḍān 254 (15th September 868), and in the course of the next ten years succeeded in uniting Egypt and Syria under his rule, in virtual independence of the Caliphate. He died on 10th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 270 (10th May 884), having nominated as his successor his son Khumārawaih [q. v.], who, after a brilliant reign of twelve years, was murdered at Damascus on 17th Dhu 'l-Hijjdja 282 (7th February 896). The army commanders subsequently raised to the throne two young sons of Khumārawaih, the elder, Djaish, being deposed on 10th Dju-mādā II 283 (26th July 896) in favour of his brother Hārūn. With the assassination of Hārūn on 19th Šafar 292 (1st January 905), the rule of the dynasty virtually came to an end, though his uncle Shaibān b. Aḥmad held local authority as amir of Egypt for twelve days longer.

The stages in the establishment of the empire of the Ṭulūnids, and their relations with the 'Abbasid Caliphs, are fully related in the articles AḤMAD B. ṬULUN and KHAMARAWAIH. By the terms of the treaty negotiated on the accession of the

Caliph Mu'taḍid (279 = 892), the possession of Egypt, Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia (excluding Mosul) was made over to Khumārawaih and his heirs for a period of thirty years, in return for an annual tribute of 300,000 dinārs (which was the sum formerly remitted by Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn to the Caliph Mu'tamid in respect of Egypt alone). This treaty marks the apogee of the power of the dynasty; the subsequent weakening of their position led to the revision of its terms in 286 (899), by which their dominions were restricted to Egypt and Syria, and the annual tribute raised to 450,000 dinārs. The breakdown of their administration in Syria in face of the Karmaṭians supplied a pretext for the sending of imperial troops to Damascus in 289, at the instigation (according to Ṭabarī, iii. 2222, 9 sqq.) of the Syrians themselves. Thence the victorious general Muḥammad b. Sulaimān organised, with the aid of the fleet of Ṭarsūs, a combined military and naval expedition into Egypt, and meeting with comparatively little opposition, captured Fustāt on 2nd Rabi' I 292 (12th January 905). The city was plundered and the inhabitants subjected to barbarous ill-usage, the military suburb of al-Ḳaṭā'i, founded by Aḥmad, was razed to the ground, and the surviving males of the house of Ṭulūn were carried in chains to Baghdād and there kept in confinement.

The power of the Ṭulūnids was based entirely on the army created by Aḥmad, the core of which consisted of Turkish, Greek, and Sudāni slaves, and probably also Greek mercenaries. With the local levies the army numbered more than 100,000 men. The most severe discipline was imposed upon the regular troops, and enforced by provost-marshals, probably one for each corps. In 258, according to Ya'kūbī (ii. 624), an oath of personal allegiance to Aḥmad was administered to all the troops; from this time also begins the building of al-Ḳaṭā'i and the other military works in Egypt. Though the conquest of Syria in 264 added to his army not only new militia forces but also the private troops of the former Turkish governors, it imposed on him a greater strain in maintaining his authority intact over such heterogeneous forces, bound to him by only the weakest of ties. The revolt of his son al-'Abbās (265—268) — in reality a rebellion of a number of his own officers — followed by the defection of Lu'lu', constituted a serious menace to the stability of his position, from which he had hardly recovered at the time of his death. By the personal courage of Khumārawaih, after an inauspicious beginning, the danger of disruption was averted for the time being, and the numbers of the standing army even increased by fresh purchases in Central Asia. Nevertheless, it was mainly by lavish expenditure, and some relaxation of Aḥmad's iron rule, that Khumārawaih succeeded in holding the army together; the annual cost of its upkeep in his reign amounted to 900,000 dinārs. Owing to his extravagance, moreover, the treasury was exhausted, and already on the accession of Djaish a section of the army refused to acknowledge him owing to his lack of funds. The gross incapacity of Djaish further alienated the principal Turkish generals, who escaped to Baghdād, and were received with princely honours by the Caliph Mu'taḍid. During the reign of Hārūn the central government lost almost all direct control of the army, in which the Greek element now predominated. The principal commanders in Egypt, Badr, Šaḥī, and Fa'ik,

each obtained control of a portion of the troops, and drew on the revenues of the State for their upkeep; in Syria, the general Ṭughdī b. Djuff (the father of the future lkhshid) was practically independent at Damascus. The mutual rivalries of the generals go far to explain the disasters suffered by the Egyptian armies in Syria during the Ḳarṣatīn outbreak, which in turn further weakened the resources of the Ṭulūnids. The disintegration was accentuated by rivalries among the members of the dynasty and by the growing estrangement between Hārūn and his amīrs. On the appearance of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān at Damascus, he was joined not only by Ṭughdī, but also by Badr and Fa'īk with all their troops. Of the remainder of the army, the greater part deserted during the operations which led up to the capture of Fuṣṭāt, largely owing to Hārūn's inability to pay them.

In addition to creating an army, Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn also gave his attention to the strengthening of the fleet, and to the provision of naval defences and stations, partly in order to maintain his hold on Syria, where he created a naval base at 'Akka (see also Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 707—708). The fleet was kept up by his successors, but was destroyed at Tinnis by naval forces from Ṭarsūs, commanded by Damiyāna, which accompanied the expedition of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān.

The details of the reforms which Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn effected in the financial administration of Egypt are rather obscure. All the sources quote the statements that the revenue from *khurādī*, which under his predecessors had yielded only 800,000 dinārs, rose at the end of his reign to 4,300,000 dinārs, and that he left accumulated savings which amounted to ten million dinārs. In addition to the income from *khurādī* (which included the rent paid by the amīrs for their estates), the treasury received an annual rent from the royal domains (*al-amlāk*), which were administrated in the name of the fiefce of Egypt, at this time Dja'far al-Mufawwad, son and heir of the Caliph Mu'tamid (*P. E. R. F.*, No. 836); the supervision of these occupied a separate department of the administration (Ibn Sa'īd, p. 67). The transmission of detailed information by later writers was probably rendered impossible by the destruction of the *diwān* after Muḥammad's reconquest (Maḳrīzī, i. 325, 12). It is agreed, however, that, so far from laying additional burdens on the country, the increase of revenue was accompanied by the reformation of abuses, the suppression of oppressive imposts, and the establishment of a strict supervision over the amīrs and the finance officials. These measures, helped by a series of uniformly high floods, together with the fact that the sums which had hitherto been drained away to Baghḍād were now spent within the country, resulted in an outburst of great prosperity. A somewhat obscure narrative (Ibn Sa'īd, p. 38) hints at an attempt to create a flax monopoly, which was afterwards given up, but it is indicated also by the same authority (p. 67) that in the last years of his reign Aḥmad made other experiments of the same sort. It is certain that Egyptian commerce must have expanded greatly, but no data bearing on this appear to have been preserved. During the reign of Khumārawaih the financial administration probably began to deteriorate. Details are again lacking, but the fact of a decline may be inferred from the reckless expenditure characteristic of his reign

and his easygoing attitude to the amīrs, which allowed them a free hand in the management of their estates. The loss of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wasīṭī, who had been Aḥmad's right-hand man in financial matters, must also have affected the efficiency of the administration. At the death of Khumārawaih the treasury was completely empty, and the virtual abdication of the central government to the amīrs undoubtedly resulted in the reintroduction of the familiar abuses into the financial system. The ruler Hārūn was a mere child (he was only twenty-two years old at his death) and the conduct of affairs was left in the hand of Abū Dja'far b. Abālī, under whom things went from bad to worse, while the final disaster was aggravated by an exceptionally low Nile in the year 291.

In the general domain of administration Aḥmad's reign also marks a considerable advance. The chancery (*diwān al-inshā'*) was organised on the model of the *diwān* at the court of the Caliphs, and the ruler held regular public sessions for the hearing of complaints (*maḳālim*). A papyrus document (*P. E. R. F.*, No. 805) seems to indicate that a general survey of Egypt was made between 258 and 261. Jews and Christians suffered, on the whole, no molestation, and owing to Aḥmad's predilection for native Egyptian officials were probably extensively employed in the administration. On the other hand, the country was frequently disturbed during Aḥmad's reign by risings and private wars. The 'Alids in the Sa'īd gave constant trouble, which even Aḥmad's wholesale deportations of them to al-Madīna could not stop; the Arabs in the Delta were so turbulent that in order to divert them from their customary brigandage and violence, Khumārawaih (following the example set by the former finance minister Aḥmad b. Mudabbir) enrolled a picked body of their young men as his bodyguard, with the name of *al-Mukhtāra*. Arabs from Buḥaira formed, together with Berbers, the forces of Hārūn's rebel uncle Rabī'a. To meet these disorders Aḥmad adopted severe measures: in addition to wholesale executions during his lifetime, he is said to have had 18,000 persons lying in his prisons at the time of his death. The difficulties of the Ṭulūnids were increased by a certain tension with the theologian class, in spite of their efforts to conciliate the latter by lavish almsgiving and other marks of respect to religious feeling. During the breach between the Ṭulūnids and the Caliphate, the theologians apparently sided with the latter, and regarded Aḥmad and Khumārawaih as usurpers. Aḥmad's chief ḳāḍī, Abū Bakra Bakkār, is not above suspicion of having privily abetted his rebel son al-'Abbās, and was imprisoned for refusing to sign the *fatwā* against al-Muwaffāḳ. Among other significant indications of this conflict is the fact that the list of ḳāḍīs of Egypt contains gaps between 270 and 277, and between 283 and 288.

The majority of the public works erected by the Ṭulūnids were dictated by their military policy and the needs of the new city of al-Ḳaṭā'i'. Ibn Ṭulūn's new mosque was built because of the overcrowding of the mosque of 'Amr by the troops of the vast military camp. Such other works as the aqueduct and the hospital were scarcely less military in purpose. His restoration and endowment of the tomb of Mu'āwiya in 270, however, has the obvious air of a political manoeuvre, to enlist the sympathy of the Egyptian anti-Shī'ites and the Syrians on his side against the Caliphate. On the other hand,

Aḥmad, who had received an unusually liberal education, showed himself a keen patron of learning and the arts, and there is every reason to suppose that he encouraged the spread of education in Egypt. It is possible that a trace of his activities is preserved in a document relating to the endowments of a mosque school at Ushmūnain (*P.E.R.F.*, N^o. 773). Khumārawaih's interest in music, painting, and even sculpture, together with the general luxury of the period, must have contributed to the development of local arts and crafts, to which also Maḳrīzī's account of the bazaars in al-Ḳaṭāʾif bears indirect witness. Like all enlightened despots, Aḥmad and his son took care not only to humour the people by free distribution of food, magnificent spectacles, and lavish generosity, but also, by the alleviation of hardships and by practical measures for the improvement of their economic condition, to secure their interest on behalf of the dynasty and at the same time raise their capacity as revenue-producers. In spite of a foreign domination, therefore, and its militarist basis, the Tūlunid period was one of marked material prosperity and progress for the mass of the Egyptian population, and was in afterdays recalled as a golden age: *kānat min ghurari ʿl-duwali wa-aiyāmuhum min maḥāsini ʿl-aiyām*, "They were numbered among the most brilliant of dynasties, and their days among the most beneficent of days".

Bibliography: See under AḤMAD B. TULŪN and KHUMĀRAWAIH; also al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt* (ed. Rhuvon Guest), p. 212-248, and 477-480 of the supplement, and W. Björkmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg 1928), p. 18. — The relevant sections in the encyclopaedia of Nuwairi (*Nihāyat al-ʿArab*) have not yet been published. For the mosque and other public works of the Tūlunids see now K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, volume i.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

TUMAN, original (Turkish) pronunciation *tūmen*, usually written *tūman*; at first used vaguely for "very many", later the numeral for "ten thousand". The Turkish numeral was first explained by G. Ramstedt (*J. S. F. Ou.*, xxiv. 22) from the Chinese, later by N. Mironov (*Zap.*, xix., p. xxiii) from the Tokharian (*tmām* or *tmān*, "ten thousand"). Maḥmūd Kāshghari (i. 337) still knows the Turkish word only in its indefinite meaning; according to him *tūmen türlük* means "very varied", *tūmen ming* not $10,000 \times 1,000 = 10$ millions, but $1,000 \times 1,000 = 1,000,000$. The word seems to be first found with the meaning "ten thousand" in the Mongol period. As an army division, the *tūmen* consisted of 10,000 soldiers (*N. E.*, xiv/i. 280); sometimes the word *tūmen* is also used with the meaning of *ʿil* (tribe); as a territorial unit, the *tūmen* was said to be the area that produced 10,000 fighting men (e.g. in Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Maḳdūr*, Cairo 1285, p. 17), which can hardly be right as the *tūmen* was the smallest administrative or taxation area. Every province (*wilāyet*) of any size was divided into a number of *tūmen*, e.g. that of Samarḳand into seven; it can hardly be supposed that this *wilāyet* alone could put 70,000 men into the field. With this meaning (the name of the smallest administrative unit) the word *tūmen* was used in the period of Mongol rule in Persia (the Persian ʿIrāk, for example, was divided into 9 *tūmen*s: *G. M. S.*,

xxiii/i. 47) and also in what is now Russian Turkestan with the exception of Farghāna [q. v.]. In Turkestan this usage (*tūmen* sometimes also stands for *wilāyet*) survived even in the first two decades of Russian rule, in the kingdom of the Khān of Bukhārā [q. v.], and later even after the revolution of 1920 in the Bukhārā republic. The whole village population liable to pay taxes is sometimes called *tūmen* (*Taʾrikh-i Rashidi*, transl. Ross, p. 301). The dwellers among the mountains, who live under different conditions, are sometimes distinguished from the villagers; for example the *Wakf-nāma* distinguishes between the students (*ṭullāb*) from the *tūmen* and the students from the mountains (*kūhistān*) in the medrese built in Samarḳand by Shaibānī Khān [q. v.].

As a money of account the *tūmen* or *tuman* in the period of Mongol dominion was 10,000 *dirārs*. In all three Muḥammadan states that arose out of the Mongol empire — Persia, the Golden Horde and the line of Čaghātāi — small (*dirhem* in Persia under Ghāzān Khān [q. v.] 2.15 grammes = 33.1 grains, later smaller) and large silver (*dirār* = 6 *dirhems*) coins were struck; large sums were calculated in *tumans* of 10,000 *dirārs* or 60,000 *dirhems*; cf. the conversion given by Ḥamd Allāh Kāzwinī (*G. M. S.*, xxiii/i. p. 29): 128,000,000 *dirhems* = rather more than 2,133 *tumans* (fuller details in W. Barthold, *Persidskaya nadpis' na stēnie Aniyskoj mečeti Manuče*, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 15 *sqq.*). Calculations were also made in the time of Timūr and the Timūrids in *tumans* of 10,000 *dirārs*; in Turkestan these *dirārs* were called *kebeki* after Kebek Khān (*N. E.*, xiv/i. 74; cf. also under ČAGHĀTĀI KHĀN). At a later date, for a time, only copper coins were in use in Turkestan and these also were calculated in *dirārs* and *tumans*; for example according to Bābur (facs. ed. Beveridge, p. 56b), the cost of feeding the troops of the province of Ḥiṣār was estimated at 1,000 *tumans* of copper coins (*fulūs*). According to the *Wakf-nāma*, already quoted, 6 copper coins were equal to one *dirār*; 20 of the *dirārs* were exchanged for one *mithḳāl* (about 66.3 grains = 4.3 grammes) of silver.

In Persia the word *tuman* in the xviii century meant a much smaller sum than at an earlier date. About 1660 Raphaël du Mans gives the value of the *tuman* as 40 French francs (*P. E. L. O. V.*, ser. ii., vol. xx., p. 183). Sir Thomas Herbert (1630) and Fryer (1677) give the value as £ 3.68 in English money. The *tuman* as a gold coin was first struck by Faṭḥ ʿAlī Shāh Qādjār [q. v.] in 1212 (1797), at first weighing 95 grains (6.16 grammes), later reduced to 70 (4.5) and again to 53 grains (3.4 grammes). Under Naṣir al-Dīn, who struck a few large gold ten *tuman* pieces, the *tuman* was worth ten *krāns* or 10,000 *dirārs*, the *dirār*, now of course, being not a coin but a very small money of account. The *tuman* continued to be the standard gold coin down to the reign of Aḥmad Shāh but was abolished by the new dynasty, its place being taken by a *pahlawi* of 29 grains (1.88 grammes).

Bibliography: In addition to the literature quoted in the article, cf. the dictionaries (Freytag, Vullers, Radloff) s. v., which are however very defective in this connection.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TUMANBAI II, AL-MALIK AL-AṢHRAF (min Kānshūh al-Ghūrī) was the last of the Mamlūk

Sultān. He reigned from 14th Ramaḍān 922 (17th October, 1516) to 21st Rabi' I 923 (15th September, 1517). He was bought as a slave by the emir Kānshūh, afterwards the Sultān Kānshūh al-Ghūrī [q.v.] to whom he was related, and given to Sultān Kā'itbey [q.v.]. The latter had him trained in the class of clerical Mamlūks (*al-kitābiya*). He was manumitted by Sultān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir II probably in the beginning of the year 902 (1496) and promoted to be *djāmdār* [q.v.]; a little later he entered the Sultān's bodyguard. There he remained till the accession of his relative, Sultān Kānshūh al-Ghūrī, who made him an emir of 10; in 910 (1504) on the death of the heir to the throne, he became *emir ṭablakhāne* and chief butler, in 913 he became *dawādār kabir* [q.v.] and, as was usual in the last period of the Mamlūk dynasty, Major-domo (*ustādār*) and Superintendent of the domains (*kāshif al-kush-shāf*); he thus had attained the highest civilian post. He became deputy in the absence of the Sultān (*nā'ib al-ghaiba*) when the latter went to Syria against Sultān Selīm. On the defeat and death of Sultān Ghūrī he checked the rout among the retreating troops and emirs and restored order as far as possible so that the emirs and people had confidence in him. He was unanimously elected Sultān and with much reluctance finally accepted the choice although he well understood the difficulties of the position; the want of money in the first place was serious, for the Turks had captured several million dinars from Sultān Ghūrī, some of which he had with him in camp and some in his fortresses. Besides this the army was exhausted and the great emirs could not be trusted. The question was decided for him by a learned *shaiikh* Abū Sa'ūd al-Djāriḥi (a quarter near old Cairo still bears his name) who made the emirs swear fealty to him. The caliph was a prisoner with Sultān Selīm, but his father wrote the diploma of appointment and paid homage to the new Sultān. Tūmānbāi granted the highest offices to the emirs returning from Syria. An appeal for assistance came from Ghazza and troops were very soon sent thither. About this time Selīm sent an offer of peace. Tūmānbāi was to recognise him as suzerain. The Sultān was ready to make peace but the emirs were disinclined to do so and managed to get the envoys put to death, which made the continuation of the war inevitable. The troops sent by the Sultān under the emir Djanberdi were defeated at Ghazza by Sinān Pāshā [q.v.] and returned to Cairo. Selīm thereupon crossed the desert and although harassed by the Beduins reached Egypt with his forces in good order. Tūmānbāi wished to attack him at Šāliḥiya immediately on his arrival there but the emirs decided to await him before Cairo between Maṭariya and Djabal Aḥmar at Raidāniya. The guns were put in position in the sand to bar the Turkish advance. The plan was betrayed however to the Ottomans and a portion of the army went round the Egyptian position and attacked it on the flank. In an hour the mobile, cleverly placed artillery of the Turks mowed down the greater part of the Mamlūk army. The valiant Sultān Tūmānbāi at the head of a small body fought his way to Sultān Selīm's tent and cut down the emirs there in the belief that Selīm was among them. Returning safely he saw the flight of the Egyptians and followed them to the Nile where

he rallied the scanty remnants of his army. The Turks took and plundered Cairo and slew all the Mamlūks who fell into their hands. Tūmānbāi once more succeeded in taking the city and held out there for two days. He then had to take to flight across the Nile to Upper Egypt. From there he negotiated with Selīm, who promised to retire if his name was put on the coins and mentioned in the Friday service. Tūmānbāi was ready to accede but his emirs prevented him and slew the Sultān's envoys. Selīm therefore put to death the emirs and Mamlūks taken in Cairo and ordered troops to be sent across the Nile, but as they landed in small bodies they were cut down by Tūmānbāi's superior forces. Selīm therefore decided to bring his artillery into action. He placed guns on the bank of the Nile and bombarded the enemy who suffered terribly and took to flight. The Turkish forces could now cross undisturbed. Tūmānbāi again collected an army whereupon Selīm sent an envoy to negotiate with him. The latter, a former Mamlūk of Tūmānbāi's, however began to use insulting language and was wounded during the parley and sent back. In the night indecisive fighting took place. On the next day Tūmānbāi challenged his former follower Djanberdi to a single combat which ended in the Sultān's victory. But in spite of the bravery displayed by the Mamlūks, they were routed by the superior forces of the Turks and the Beduins who had joined them. Tūmānbāi fled to a Beduin chief, who was under a bond of gratitude to him, but he was compelled by his people to betray his hiding place. Selīm had him taken prisoner and brought to his camp where he overwhelmed him with reproaches for the murder of his ambassadors. Tūmānbāi's noble bearing made a good impression on the Sultān; he was inclined to give him his life but on the advice of the emirs, who had gone over to him, he had him hanged a week later at Bāb Zuwaila. Thus died the last Mamlūk Sultān. The causes of his defeat were the corrupt state of Egypt, the eternal feuds among the Mamlūks, the lack of funds, but the main reason, as must again be emphasised, was the superiority of the Turkish artillery. The brave Mamlūks did not care to use firearms and did not realise their full importance as they believed that the deciding factor should be personal valour.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalfen*, v., Stuttgart 1862 (which gives Arabic sources still in MS., see introd., p. 15); v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, Pest 1827 (with list of sources); Ibn Iyās, *Bad' al-Zuhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311 and for those who do not know Arabic the translation of part 3 of this work by Lieut Colonel W. H. Salmon, London 1921, in *Oriental Translation Fund*, N. S., xxv. In addition to Iyās Zunbul's history of the conquest of Egypt by Sultān Selīm is very important, s. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 43 and 298. Of indirect use for this period is H. Jansky, *Beiträge zur osman. Geschichte*, ii. 173 sqq., where the Turkish sources are given in full. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

TUNIS (in Arabic Tūnus or Tūnis), in 36° 47' 39" North Lat. and 10° 10' East Long. (Greenw.), capital of the regency of the same name. Tunis at the present day consists of two adjoining, but very different cities, with two quite distinct forms of town life: a native but not exclusively Muslim town, an almost unchanged survival from past

centuries, and a European town of recent origin and completely modern appearance, still steadily and rapidly growing; the old town is about three quarters of a mile from the end of the lagoon called the Lake of Tunis or Bahira (*al-Buḥaira*); this town rises gradually from east to west till it overlooks the shallow, generally dry salt lagoon known as the *Sabakhat al-Sidjūmi*; on this side however, the highest point of the Mannūbiya, which has extensive views, lies outside the ramparts. To the southeast and close at hand rise the heights of Sidr Belhassen and of the Djabal Djallūd, farther away the hills of Bir Kassa; to the north the heights of the Belvédère and of Ras-Tabia and beyond them the Djabal Aḥmar and the Djabal Naheli. These slight undulations do not prevent Tunis from communicating easily with the plain of Mornag and the valley of the *wād* Miliane on the one hand, and on the other with the plain of the Manūba and the valley of the Medjerda, also by the north bank of the lagoon with Goulette and Carthage. The natural defences are good without being excellent (Tunis has been taken frequently without much difficulty); except for cisterns, all drinking-water has to be led in from a distance. But from the economic point of view, the position is very advantageous, at the exits from Central Tunisia, in a fairly fertile region, and sufficiently near the sea to give rapid connection with the nearest European coasts.

We need not spend time over the attempts of Arab writers to explain the name Tunis from an Arabic root. They claim with equal fatuity, following one another, to identify the original town with the Biblical Tarshish. A plausible etymology has yet to be found; but the name is said, like the town itself, to go back to Punic times, if not beyond them. Tynes is mentioned by Diodoros and Polybios as a considerable town built behind fortifications, no doubt concentrated around the present Kašba at some distance from the lagoon, then perfectly navigable. It was besieged and taken successively by the Libyans, who rebelled at the beginning of the fourth century B. C., by Agathocles, and by Regulus. The headquarters of the mutinous mercenaries, it later fell into the hands of Scipio Africanus. It was perhaps destroyed by Scipio Emilianus (cf. Gsell, *Hist. anc. de l'Afr. du Nord*, vol. i., ii., iii., *pass.*).

Was Tynes — the future Tunis — which is not to be confounded with another Tynes (called the "White", on Cape Bon), as Tissot has said "one of the principal centres of the aboriginal race... the Libyan city par excellence, in contrast to the Phœnician colony" which was Carthage?

In any case it was for long eclipsed by its illustrious rival and it was only much later that it became a city of the first rank. It was of no particular note in the Roman, Vandal and Byzantine periods. A Roman road connected it with Carthage; a few references in geographical or ecclesiastical works alone remind us from time to time of its existence. Are we to take as history or legend the life of St. Olive, of the Vandal period, who is said to have given her name to the great mosque (*Djāmī al-Zaitūna*), and whose remains were officially claimed in 1402 by King Martin of Aragon?

With the Muslim conquest, Tunis suddenly emerges from the shadow; and it comes into history as a Muslim city, the heir to some extent of Carthage and soon to rival Ḳairawān. When Ḥassān b. al-

Nu'mān in 698 had taken and destroyed Carthage, the old capital, his first care was to turn the little town at the end of the lagoon into a naval base, from which fleets could set out on more distant expeditions, but where on the other hand he was sheltered from the possibility of a sudden attack by the Byzantine navy. He gave Tunis an arsenal (*dār al-ṣinā'a*) and he probably brought from Egypt a thousand Copt families to supply this new naval dockyard with experienced workmen. Of the town itself we do not yet learn anything very definite; we can only venture a vague surmise as to the nature of various elements that migrated thither: at first undoubtedly, Christian merchants and officials, but very soon increasing numbers of native converts to Islām, with Arab soldiers, arrogant, greedy and turbulent. The first great truly Muslim foundation of a religious nature, the Great Mosque, for centuries the spiritual centre of the city, is attributed by tradition to the Omayyad governor Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb (built in 114 = 732) who also rebuilt the arsenal. But we do not know who built the ramparts, of which al-Ya'qūbi tells us they were of clay (*ṭin*) and unbaked brick (*ṭiṇ*), except in the part near the lake which was built of dressed stone (*ḥidjār*). To sum up there was not in the case of Tunis, as at Ḳairawān, a regular creation but rather a sudden development, a political social and religious transformation, of great importance, an adaptation, — perhaps more gradual than one thinks at first — to the new role assigned to it by circumstances and the far-seeing will of the conqueror.

During the eighth and ninth centuries, Tunis begins to develop its commercial possibilities, but it is still particularly renowned as a centre of legal and religious teaching. Before the fame of Ḳairawān was definitely established, Tunis already possessed celebrated teachers who by their teaching contributed to the Islāmisation of the whole country: e. g. the traditionists 'Alī b. Ziyād and 'Abbās b. al-Walīd al-Fārisī. At the beginning of the Fātimid period, Abu 'l-'Arab al-Tamīmī compiled a useful account of these early generations of Tunisian savants (*Kitāb Ṭabaqāt 'Ulamā' Tūnus*, ed. and transl. by Muḥ. Ben Cheneb with the "Lists of Savants of Ifrikiya"). The Great Mosque now had a number of necessary additions made to it and was embellished in various ways. Some important alterations were no doubt due to the Aghlabid Aḥmad, the great builder; an inscription in the name of the 'Abbāsīd caliph dates to 250 (864) the dome which is in front of the miḥrāb. Stone and marble were in any case easy to procure here for all buildings, civil or religious. Carthage is near at hand and its ruins were ready to be plundered and to provide in abundance building material, columns and capitals.

In politics, Tunis seems to be the focus of opposition, the centre of resistance to the central authority exercised from Ḳairawān; the Tamīmī *djund* quartered within its walls was an element of disorder and a source of strife. The town took part in most of the risings, which were put down by the Umayyad, and 'Abbāsīd governors and later by the Aghlabid emirs. It was implicated in the great rebellion of Maṣṣūr al-Tunbudhī, and the troops of Ziyādat Allāh I took it by assault and destroyed its ramparts in 218 (833). After one of these risings, Ibrāhīm II punished it severely and thought to control it by transferring his court

and seat of government there in 281 (894); for these he had erected a number of buildings, including the Kasbah (*al-kaṣaba*). But two years later, he went back to Raḡḡāda and when his son 'Abd-allāh II made a second attempt to settle in Tunis he was killed in 290 (903) in a palace which he had just built for himself. His two assassins were put to death, one at the al-Djazira Gate (of the Peninsula, i. e. Cape Bon), the other at the Kaïrawān Gate. Tunis was not yet ready to become the capital of Ifrīqiya.

The Fāṭimids and their Ṣanḥādja successors, whose capital was at Kaïrawān or Mahdiyya, founded by them, deliberately neglected Tunis which seems to have remained faithful to orthodoxy. It is a fact of no little significance that the greatest of its saints, its patron saint, still greatly venerated, lived in the first half of the tenth century, just in a period when official Shī'a and rebel Khārījism were fiercely contesting the domination of Ifrīqiya: Sidi Mahriz (Muhriz b. Khalaf) who was the inspirer and the recipient of the famous *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zaid (in 327 = 939), the classic précis of the Mālikism of North Africa (cf. Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim al-Imān*, iii. 138). It was he who after the short but disastrous occupation of the town by Abū Yazid in 332 (944) restored the courage of the inhabitants, urged them to build a solid wall around the town and stimulated them to take up commerce on better organised lines. The old court of the silk-merchants (*Funduḡ al-Ḥarā'iriya*) almost opposite his *sāwiya*, a little beyond one of the main gates of the city, may go back to him and the same is probably true of the little market, which has given its name to this gate: Bāb Souika (*Bāb al-Suwaiḡa*). Unanimous tradition further attributes to Sidi Mahriz the foundation of the Jewish quarter, the *Hāra*, at some distance from his *sāwiya* in the direction of the Great Mosque: a measure evidently intended to retain there a people particularly skilled in commerce, which was a source of prosperity for the town.

The flourishing situation of Tunis is attested in the tenth century by Ibn Ḥawḡal, who extols the abundance of its products, the pleasantness of its situation and the wealth of its citizens. He mentions especially the potteries, and the system of irrigating the gardens around the towns by water-wheels. Further details are given in the next century by al-Bakrī: the ramparts and ditch; the five gates namely: *Bāb al-Djazira* in the south, the gate which opened on the harbour (*Bāb al-Baḥr*) and *Bāb Kaṣṣādjan* (of Carthage) on the east, *Bāb al-Saḡḡā'in* (Gate of the water-carriers; evidently the same as Bāb Souika) in the north and *Bāb Arṣa* in the west. The harbour, the entrance to which could be closed by a chain, was defended on the north by a wall and in the south by a stone castle: the Castle of the Chain (*Ḳaṣr al-Silsila*). Al-Bakrī admires the Great Mosque, the entrance staircase of which (east side) had, as at the present day, twelve flights, the many and well filled *sūḡs*, the ḥammām of which there were fifteen, and the abundance of provisions (fruit and fish); he too mentions the potteries. Passing to another sphere he notes the success of the teaching of *fiqh* among the Tunisians.

Tunis therefore seems to have enjoyed peace and prosperity for about a hundred years, until the terrible event in the middle of the eleventh

century which upset completely the economic and political conditions of the whole country: the invasion by the Hilālī Arabs. While the helpless Zirids, overwhelmed by the new conquerors, shut themselves up in Mahdiyya, Tunis fell for a time into the hands of the Riyāḥid chief 'Abid b. Abī 'l-Ghaith in 446 (1054). But to secure protection, it placed itself a little later under al-Nāṣir, the Ḥammādid of al-Ḳal'a, who sent it a governor in 451 (1059), the Ṣanḥādji 'Abd al-Ḥaḡḡ b. Ḳhurāsān. The latter soon declared himself independent and in this way was founded the first dynasty of Tunis, which except for an interruption of 20 years (1128—1148) maintained itself till the Almohad conquest, exactly a century later.

At first oppressed by the Riyāḥid Banū 'Alī, who were established in Carthage in the *Mu'allaka* (La Malga), Tunis came to terms with them to secure herself from their raids; in return for an annual tribute, they promised to spare the district and its inhabitants; they even very soon began to attend the markets of Tunis, both as buyers and sellers. The town survived the attempts made on it by the Zirids of Mahdiyya, and by the Normans of Sicily; but it was disturbed by civil troubles, rival political parties, riots and fighting among the *soffs*, rivalry between the different quarters. It was nevertheless in this most disturbed period that its sea-trade began to develop on a large scale; trade with Italy was organised and developed; the business relations which were increasingly entertained with the Christians offered unexpected prospects. The Banū Ḳhurāsān themselves did a great deal to promote the prosperity of Tunis. The greatest of them, Ahmad, fortified it in the first half of the xiith century; he built the earthworks mentioned by al-Idrīsī. It was he also who built the citadel (*al-kaṣr*) to which the present mosque of El-Ksar may originally have been attached. It is in this quarter, near the street of Sidi Bou Krissan, which seems to preserve their name in a corrupt form, that there still exists the cemetery of the Banū Ḳhurāsān, which was probably originally joined up with that of *al-Silsila* (on the site of the Sadiki Hospital). The principal door of the Great Mosque dates from the same dynasty. With the two great suburbs of Bāb Souika and Bāb al-Djazira, which are already extending to the north and to the south of the city proper (*al-Madīna*), Tunis has now a fairly definitive configuration. Its now considerably increased importance made it henceforth the capital of Ifrīqiya. It was to be so from the time of 'Abd al-Mu'min (554 = 1159) to the present day, and its political history is henceforth merged in that of Tunisia.

After the terrible alarms caused by the unsuccessful attacks of Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Raḡhrāḡhi in 595 (1199), then by the ephemeral rule in 1203—1204 of the last Almoravid Yahyā b. Ghāniya, it was reserved for the Ḥafṣids to restore to Tunis the feeling of security and to add to its monuments and make it a capital worthy of the name. Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥafṣ, who was still ruling in the name of the caliphs of Marrāḡesh, built in the Bāb Souika quarter (in the street El-Halfauine) a *Djāmi'*, which bears his name, corrupted, it is true, into Bāy-Muḥammad. But it was the first independent ruler of this dynasty, the devout Abū Zakariyā², whose buildings mark most clearly that a new era had begun in the town. In 1230 he built outside the town, towards the southwest, the

fortified *muṣallā* (*Djāmi' al-Sulṭān*) which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes in the next century; he then proceeded to rebuild the Kaṣaba or Kasbah completely and flanked it by a mosque for his private use: the Mosque of the Almohads or of the Kaṣaba or Kasbah, the minaret of which, in pure Almohad style, is dated Ramaḍān 630 (March 1233) in a beautiful inscription outside it (cf. O. Houdas and R. Basset, *Mission scientif. en Tunisie*, Algiers 1882, p. 5—9). He formed a fine library, which was scattered by one of his successors, Ibn al-Liḥyānī. He introduced to Tunis the *madrasa* of the east: the *Shammā'iya*, near the old Sūḵ al-Shammā'in (now Sūḵ El-Blaghḍjia), later completely restored, was the first medersa in North Africa. It was he also who sheltered the three daughters of Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya in the palace thereafter known as Kaṣr al-Banāt. Lastly it was he who organised the quarter of the sūks immediately around the Great Mosque and built the Sūḵ al-ʿAṭṭārīn (of the merchants of oils and perfumes) and perhaps also the Sūḵ al-Kumāsh (Sūḵ for textiles).

In place of this interest in commercial and religious matters his son al-Mustansir bi'llāh, a caliph fond of display, had a taste for luxury and splendour. He built a hall of audience, *Kubba Asārāk*, in 1253 in the court of the Kaṣaba or Kasbah, pleasure gardens in the adjoining suburb at Ra's al-Ṭābiya (Ras-Tabia) on the road to Bardo and at Abū Fihri (site uncertain in spite of the identification with al-Baṭṭūm proposed by Ibn Abī Dīnār; H. Abdulwuhab places it in the Djabal al-Aḥmar, near al-Ariana, ed. of Ibn Faḍlallāh, p. 12, n. 1) of which Ibn Khaldūn gives a glowing account, both connected with the Kaṣaba or Kasbah by a private road to enable the ladies to go there without being seen. In 665 (1267) al-Mustansir completed the restoration, celebrated in verse by Ibn Ḥāzim, of the old aqueduct of Carthage (*al-Ḥanāyā*); he also brought water to the great pond of Abū Fihri and thence to the Great Mosque.

His mother ʿAtf, the worthy widow of a pious ruler, built a second medersa, the Tawfiḳiyya, attached to the Djāmi' al-Tawfiḳ or al-Hawā, which is of the same period. The first century of the Ḥafṣid rule produced two other mosques: the Djāmi' al-Zaitūna al-Barrānī (in 1283) outside the Bāb al-Baḥr, built by order of the false al-Faḍl to take the place of a funduḵ, where wine was sold, and the Djāmi' al-Hilāk (of the Rings) in the same quarter as the Muṣallā. A third medersa, Madrasat al-Ma'riḍ (of the Rendez-vous) built by Abū Zakariyā, son of Sulṭān Abū Ishāk in the Sūḵ al-Kutubiyīn (of the booksellers) — it too was built as an expiatory work on the site of a funduḵ, frequented by wine-drinkers —, has disappeared without leaving a trace. Finally the ramparts were rebuilt, in parts at least, with the *Bāb Djadid* (New Gate), *Bāb al-Manāra* (Gate of the Beacon) and probably also the *Bāb al-Banāt* which no longer exists.

The Tunis of about 1300 is already very like the native town of to-day. The Madina, which stretches from north to south is shut in between the Kaṣaba or Kasbah on the west — the fortified dwelling of the ruler who commands both the town and the plain of La Manouba — and on the east, in the lowest lying part, the Bāb al-Baḥr which gives access to the arsenal and thence to the lagoon. Halfway up and in the very centre the Great Mosque opens its doors directly on the

new sūks which surround it: the name *Bāb al-Baḥr* is attested for the northern gate, but was the western one already called *Bāb al-Shifā'*? Each sūḵ, by a custom still maintained, closes its doors at nightfall; the *Bāb al-Raḍ'* near the sūḵ of the same name is, as at the present day, the southern exit to this quarter. Around the Madina and outside the main gates are grouped certain manual trades. Inside the Bāb al-Djazira we have the dyers, at the Bāb Djadid, the smiths, at the Bāb al-Manāra, the saddlers. Close to the Bāb al-Baḥr there were no doubt several funduḵs allotted to Christian merchants but the latter, requiring more space, soon began to build outside the gate a little quarter or suburb of their own, the first sketch of a European quarter. The houses of the city were closely built together; no open spaces were left, no room for markets or assemblies: the Baṭḥā' of Ibn Mardūm cannot have been anything more than a cross-roads.

In the outer quarters however, more modern and less crowded, large open spaces serve as markets: for pottery and alfa grass (Place des Potiers and El-Halfaouine) in the Bāb Souika quarter, those for animals (horses: *al-Murkāḍ*; for sheep: *Raḥabat al-Ghanam*) and perhaps also the corn-market (Place du Marché au Blé) in the Bāb al-Djazira quarter. Each of these quarters is protected by an outer wall which ends at the Kaṣaba or Kasbah; the gates of this first line of fortifications are for the southern quarter (*Rabaḍ*): *Bāb Khālid* (originally no doubt *Bāb al-Manṣūr*) in the west, *Bāb al-Djurdjāni* in the south, *Bāb al-Fallāk* (outside of which is a *Ḳaisāriyya*) and Bāb 'Ilāwa (Bāb Alleoua) in the S. E.; for the northern quarter, in the N. E. *Bāb al-Khadra'*, in the N. W. *Bāb [Abi] Sa'dūn*, and in the west *Bāb al-Aḳwās* (of the Arcades) perhaps identical with *Bāb al-ʿUtūdji* (Bāb El-Allouche) the first mention of which is later. It is beside the last gate that we should like to locate the *raḥād* of the 'ulūdji called "rabatins", Christian mercenaries in the pay of the sovereigns of Tunis, if Leo Africanus did not expressly locate it outside the Bāb al-Manāra. As to the Kaṣaba or Kasbah itself, of its two gates one opened on to the country, *Bāb al-Ghadr* (of Disloyalty), the other into the city, *Bāb Intadjmī* (cf. the *Bāb Imaztadjmī* of Tlemcen; cf. *Bughyat al-Rawwāḍ*, ed. Bel, i. 34).

Between the Bāb 'Ilāwa and the Bāb al-Khadra', a whole series of open drains (*khandak*) into which the gutters ran, flowed eastwards into the lake. The cemeteries lay around the town; in time they were built up to and pushed farther out by the expansion of the suburbs; to the south-west the vast Djellaz (*al-Zallādji*), more isolated, preserves the memory of the mystic Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shadhili (Sidi Belhassen), the founder of the Shādhiliyya brotherhood, who lived there in the first half of the xiiith century. Close to the Bāb al-Djurdjāni, beside a cemetery of the Hintāta (*al-Makbara al-Hintātiyya*), lie the tombs of many "saints" whose *manāḳib* (records of their miraculous powers) for the most part unpublished, contain useful information for Tunisian topography of the Ḥafṣid period, supplementing that given by al-Zarkashī or Ibn al-Shammā'. The famous Lalla Mannūbiya (cf. *J. A.*, 1899, p. 485—494; and *Kitāb Manāḳib al-Saiyida 'Pisha al-Mannūbiyya*, Tunis 1344), d. 1267, has given her name to a village overlooking the town in the S. W. (La

Apancubia) and women still go there to invoke her to obtain a cure for barrenness.

An even greater source of pride to Tunis than these marabouts, whose political influence however is undeniable, as in the case of Abū Muḥammad al-Murḍjānī, the tutor of the future caliph Abū 'Aṣida, were its increasing numbers of lawyers, men of letters and students. Religious sciences flourished there, as al-Abdarī notes (in 1289). We may mention for the end of the xiiith century the chief *qāḍī* Ibn Zaitūn. To this development in the study of belles-lettres and of Mālikī law, the Muslim refugees from Spain made valuable contributions: Ibn al-Abbār and the chief *qāḍī* Ibn al-Ghannāz came from Valencia; from Seville came the Banū 'Aṣfūr and also the Banū Khaldūn, ancestors of the most celebrated historian of North Africa (born in 1332).

The fourteenth century, to the great admiration of the traveller Khālid al-Balawī (in 1335—1340), is the golden age of legists and commentators; among these may be mentioned the chief *qāḍīs* Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīf, Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, 'Isā al-Ghubrīnī, the *qāḍī* Ibn Rāshid al-Gaṣṣī, the mufti Ibn Hārūn and particularly the illustrious imām Ibn 'Arafa. But in the field of politics we have nothing but weakness in the rulers, unrest and insecurity. The nomad Arabs threatened the capital without difficulty; the Marinids twice occupied Tunis. The development of the city to the west and south-west, so vigorous in the preceding century, was succeeded by a period of stagnation, not to say decline. We may however note the foundation of two madrasas, one in 1341—1342 by the sister of the caliph Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr, the 'Unḡiya (restored later; rue Onk el-Djemal), the other now in ruins, by the chamberlain Ibn Tafrāgin (rue Sidi Ibrāhīm). But it was a sign of the times that military demands had first claim on the architect: the Marinid Abū 'l-Ḥassān after his defeat at Kairawān in 1348, restored the ramparts of Tunis and dug a ditch around them; Ibn Tafrāgin considerably strengthened the outside walls and formed considerable *ḥubūs* for their future maintenance.

We have to come down to 1400 and the xvth century to find, with a more stable political situation, a marked revival in building activity; but nothing on a really grand scale. During their long reigns, Abū Fāris and his grandson Abū 'Amr 'Uṭhmān only founded two libraries and a few madrasas; their interests lay more in charitable works; these are the earliest Muḥammadan hospital (*mārisṭān*) of Tunisia, finished in 823 (1420) and in the suburbs numerous *zāwiya*s offering shelter by day or night; or in water-works, inspired also by a sense of religious duty: a great cistern (*ma'djal*) in the Muṣallā, a hall for ablutions (*miḍā'a*) in the Sūḵ al-'Aṭṭarīn in 854 (1450), drinking-troughs (*siḳāya*) and the kind of public fountain at which one drinks by sucking a narrow pipe called "sucker" (*maṣṣāsa*). The whole reflects a somewhat anaemic piety, incapable of great energy, a religion gradually passing more and more under the control of marabouts and brotherhoods. The families of Qalḍjānī and Banū al-Raṣṣā' are mentioned in this period as jurists of standing; in 1451 Tunis had an eighth *khuṭba* in the faubourg of Bāb Souika; but the dominating figures of the period were Sidi b. 'Arūs (cf. his *Manāḳib*, Tunis 1303) who came from Morocco, and was buried in his *zāwiya* in 1463, the founder of the brotherhood of the 'Arūsīya;

Sidi Kāsim al-Djalīzī from Spain (d. in 1497) whose tomb-*zāwiya* near the Bāb Khālid henceforth called Bāb Sidi Kāsim has a tiled roof in the Spanish style; and Sidi Maṣṣūr b. Ḍjirdān, who died in 1499.

Commerce seems to have been flourishing. Relations with Europe, in spite of many incidents, were maintained and even became closer; the importance of industry and internal trade under Abū Fāris even before he freed them from all taxes (*ma'djiba*) is seen from the figures for 1420 given in the *Tuhfat al-Arib* of the converted Catalan Fra Anselm Turmeda, also known as 'Abd Allāh al-Turḍjumān, whose tomb still stands inside the Bāb al-Manāra. We note in the enumeration of the chief business centres, the existence of funduqs for oil, vegetables and charcoal, a sūḵ of the coppersmiths (*Sūḵ al-Ṣaffārīn*), a sūḵ of the basketmakers (*Sūḵ al-'Azzāṣīn*); still exists the rue El-Azafine and the present *Sūḵ al-Kashshāshīn* (vendors of bric à bric). The number of houses, officially estimated at 7,000 in 1361, according to Ibn al-Shammā', had risen to 10,000 in 1516 (Leo Africanus). The traveller van Ghistelet gives for 1485 valuable information on the life led by Christians in Tunis. As to the rulers, emphasizing the tradition begun by their predecessors, they tended to live outside the town, very often on their estate of *Bardo*: This Tunisian "Prado", mentioned as early as 1410 and frequently altered, soon became a vast collection of buildings. The 'Abdalliya palace at the Marsa, as well as the library of the same name attached to the Great Mosque, are attributed to the last independent Ḥafṣid Abū 'Abd Allāh (in 1500).

The troublous xvth century made the unfortunate town one of the principal objectives of the Spaniards and Turks in the course of their long wars. Sacked in 1534 by Khair al-Din's [q. v.] forces, it was plundered the next year by the victorious army of Charles V. The inhabitants had fled in a body before the Christians through the Bāb al-Fallāḳ, the name of which was in consequence changed to *Bāb al-Falla* (of the Rout). The conditions in which the Ḥafṣid restoration was brought about and maintained were evidently not very favourable for the development of the town. The attention of the rulers was wholly occupied with the fortifications, supplemented by those of la Goulette, and even they do not seem to have been finished till after the autumn of 1573 when Don John of Austria had driven out of Tunis the Kā'id Ramaḍān, who for four years had been governor there for Eulḍj 'Alī. The Kaṣaba or Kasbah was greatly strengthened; in particular on the site of the arsenal, which had been demolished, perhaps some time previously (cf. Grandchamp, *R. T.*, 1914, p. 9—10), there arose on the shore of the lagoon a fortress in the shape of a star joined to the ramparts of the city by two entrenchments. This was the *Bastion* of Ibn Abī Dinār, the *Nova Arx* of a plan published in 1575 (cf. Monchicourt, *Essai bibl. sur les plans imprimés de Tunis-Goulette au XVI^{ème} siècle*, *R. Afr.*, 1925, p. 31). But the labour was in vain. The inhabitants abandoned the town to the ravages of the Spanish garrison (cf. *R. T.*, 1914, p. 12), and in September 1574 the Turks took the Bastion and razed it to the ground. Sinān Paṣha established a sufficiently stable rule in Tunis to allow an architectural revival to begin shortly after.

The influx from Spain, which had been going

on for several centuries, suddenly assumed vast proportions when in 1609 the dey 'Othmān welcomed the Moriscoes expelled by Philip III. Those who had been used to a town life settled at Tunis in two localised groups: in the street of the Spaniards (S. W. of the Madina) and in the Quarters of the Spaniards (*Ḥawmat al-Andalus*, near the Place Halfaouine). To these Muslims from Spain is due the industry of making red caps or *shāshiya*, which according to Peyssonnel in 1724 produced 40,000 dozen per annum and engaged over 15,000 people. These Spanish Muslims, with the Ḥanafī Turks from the east and the important part played by renegades of European origin and the corsairs, combined to give Tunis its peculiar character in the xviith century. The dey Yūsuf I was the first to make a name by public works, a list of which is given by Ibn Abī Dīnār: the creation of a commercial quarter around the Bāb al-Banāt and the restoration in the same neighbourhood of a sūḵ for woollen yarn (*al-ghazl*); the building of a sūḵ for merchants from Djerba, and improvement of several other sūḵs, and the continuation of the Ḥafṣid sūḵs to the north: *Sūḵ al-Bashāmīkiya* (makers of Turkish trowsers, street of Sidi B. Ziyād), *Sūḵ al-Birka* for the sale of black slaves and *Sūḵ al-Turk* (El-Trouk) for Turkish tailors; the installation of a café; water conduits to various points in the town, such as the Great Mosque and above the Sūḵ al-Turk. There his favourite 'Alī Thābit built the pretty *miḍa'a* (in 1620) which at present adorns the Belvedere; the latter also restored the old mosque of the faubourg of Bāb al-Djazīra. Probably the rebuilding of the eastern door of the Great Mosque ought to be dated to the same time (*Bāb al-Djānā'iz*, Gate of the Interments). Yūsuf built in the street of Sidi B. Ziyād a Ḥanafī medersa (in 1622) and a mosque of the same rite with an octagonal minaret, beside which is his tomb. After his time the power of the deys began to weaken: they no longer undertook great works. Aḥmad Khōdja (1640—1647) was content to rebuild the al-Shammā'iya and al-'Unḵiya medersas; Muḥammad Lāz to build in 1649 the curious minaret of the mosque of al-Qaṣr or El-Ksar; at his death in 1653 a mausoleum (*turba*) for himself and his family was built in the square of the Qaṣaba or Kasbah.

The Murādīd deys built a great deal; in the same style as the mosque of Yūsuf Dey and in a street quite near it, Ḥammūda built the Ḥanafī mosque of Sidi b. 'Arūs (finished in 1654) with a family mausoleum beside it. He also rebuilt the minaret of the Great Mosque; he built a mārīstān in the street El-Azafine and began to rebuild the Aqueduct. His son Murād built the Medersa al-Murādīya (in 1673), in the Sūḵ for Textiles and while his second son Muḥammad al-Ḥafṣī founded the Sūḵ of the Shāshiyas, his grandson Muḥammad gave the town the original mosque of Sidi Maḥriz (after 1675). The French architect Daviler is said to have supplied the plan for the domes. About 1666 we have an excellent description of Tunis in the memoirs of the Chevalier d'Arvieux (Paris, vol. iv., 1735). The Qaṣaba or Kasbah, at first the residence of the pashas before the collapse of their authority, comprised two main buildings: the first housed the dey's guards, officers and their families; the other behind it contained a long hall (*al-saḵīfa*) in which the dey gave audience to the soldiery and in the remotest part were his private

apartments. The *Diwān*, where the Aghā presided over the council of the soldiery, was a large oblong court (cf. also a detailed description by La Condamine in 1731, *R. T.*, 1898, p. 86): the religious tribunal of the Charāa (*al-Shar'*) still sits here. The district west and northwest of the madina (especially the Rue du Pacha) formed the aristocratic quarter, the real Turkish quarter. The sumptuous houses of the deys and the other high personages were adorned with marbles; the central court, which was, a regular feature, was ornamented sometimes with a kiosk or a little pool of water; the furniture and the decoration already showed an unfortunate tendency to imitate Italian work of poor quality.

With the extraordinary development of the activities of the corsairs the number of Christian slaves increased (6,000 in 1654; on their life cf. Pignon, *R. T.*, 1930, p. 18 sq.); whence the multiplication of those strange prisons called by the name of the Saint to whom was dedicated the chapel contained in them. Father Dan gives 9 in 1635; there were very soon 13. If we must, with P. Grandchamp (*La France en Tunisie au XVII^e siècle, Avant-propos des t. VI et VII*, Tunis 1928—1929) regard as a legend the story of St. Vincent de Paul's captivity at Tunis from 1605—1607, special importance on the other hand should be attached to the mission of the Lazarist Julien Guérin (1645 to 1648) who succeeded in converting Muḥammad Shalabi, the celebrated Don Philip, son of the dey Aḥmad Khōdja, and to the work of another missionary, Jean le Vacher, consul of France for 1648 to 1653 and 1657 to 1666 (cf. R. Gleizes, *Jean le Vacher*, Paris 1914 and in *Revue des questions histor.*, July 1928). It was in his time that the first public chapel was built at the consulate and dedicated to St. Louis; it was he who raised from its ruins the church of St. Antony, in the centre of the Roman Catholic cemetery around which he built high walls, outside the Bāb al-Bahr (on the site of the present Cathedral); it was he who organised worship in the chapels of the prisons; it was he again who obtained from the Diwān a site and permission to build a new French consulate or "funduḵ of the French" finished in 1661 (rue de l'Ancienne-Douane; Grandchamp, *op. cit.*, vi., p. xxii.—xxxii.). From 1672 the Italian Capucins were in charge of the mission: their house is described about 1730 by St. Gervais (*Mémoires historiques*, Paris 1736, p. 86) as well as the Greek Church and the richly endowed Hospital of the Trinitarians. Protestants were buried outside the Bāb Qarṭājanna in the cemetery of St. George where the English church now stands. In spite of consular protection, the Christian merchants never seem to have been very numerous. The French "nation" for long numbered only six merchants. Foreign trade was mainly in the hands of the Jews, among whom the fugitives from Spain or Portugal (expelled in 1492 and 1496), who had come either directly or through Italy, were distinguished from the Tunisians of old stock (*Twānsa*); the "Portuguese" or "Livornese" (*Grāna*) ultimately formed a separate community; they gave their name to the Sūḵ el-Grāna. The Jewish cemetery was outside the walls, to the east of the Bāb Souika quarter in the vicinity of the present Rue Sidi Sifiane; then it expanded southwards.

In the political troubles which mark the end of the xviith century and the beginning of the xviiith, Tunis was twice occupied by the Algerians (in

1686 and 1694) with bloody disorders. The ramparts could not resist a serious attack; they followed "no rule of fortification, for one cannot consider as fortifications the square towers attached to the walls at intervals". Again, even under the Ḥusainids, Tunis was at the mercy of the Algerians; pillaged by the latter in 1735, it was in vain that in 1756 the Tunisians tried to withstand them with the help of defensive works hurriedly thrown up by 'Alī Paṣhā and his son Muḥammad: an entrenchment with loopholes and a ditch between the two recently built forts on the *Djabal Djellāz* and the *Mannūbiya*, a fortified redoubt behind the *Ḳaṣaba* or *Kasbah*. At this period two other forts are mentioned crowning the slight eminences on the N. W. These are no doubt the *Burdj al-Sawāra* or *Tāḥūnat al-Riḥ* (of the Windmill; it is the fort of the Spaniards) and the *Burdj al-Rābiṭa* (of the siloes [of the Bey]; this is the *Rabta*), itself flanked at a little distance by the little *Burdj Filṣil* (cf. Plantet, *Corresp.*... *Tunis*, ii. 501; and for the year 1829: Monchicourt, *Relations inédites*... *Filippi*..., p. 47 and 91).

In the intervals of peace the town was also enriched with other buildings. It was in the reign of the founder of the new dynasty, Ḥusain b. 'Alī, that the princess 'Aziza 'Uṭhmāna, great granddaughter of the Dey 'Uṭhmān, died in 1710 and was buried near the Medersa al-Shammā'iya. Many charitable and pious institutions benefited from her bountiful gifts. Ḥusain, himself a great builder, built in Tunis (cf. *al-Mashra' al-Malakī*, *R. T.*, 1895, p. 328—329) in the southern quarter of the *Madina*, the *Djāmi' al-Djadid* or "Mosque of the Dyers" with an octagonal minaret. He planned out the streets and buildings which adjoin the *Sūḳ al-Sakkādīn* (of the harness-makers); it was in his reign that the Mausoleum of the Dey Ḳara Muṣṭafā was built beside the mosque of el-Ḳṣar; it was he who moved the seat of the government to the Bardo. In spite of the decline in religious teaching acknowledged in the preceding century by Ibn Abī Dīnār (p. 399; transl. p. 506), he showed a real interest in building medersas: *Madrasat al-Nakhla* (of the palm-tree), the *Medersas al-Ḥusainiyya* and *al-Djadida*. His immediate successor 'Alī Paṣhā, following his example, built four: *al-Bashūya*, in the *Sūḳ* of the booksellers, *al-Sulaimāniyya*, in memory of his dead son Sulaimān, *Madr. Bīr al-Hidjār*, *Madr. Ḥawānit 'Ashūr*; and a little later 'Alī Bāy founded another *Djadida*. It is to this same 'Alī Bāy that we owe the mausoleum of the Ḥusainids (*Turbat al-Bāy*) not far from the Mosque of the Dyers, and (built in 1775) the home for aged poor called *al-Takya* (the *Tekia*). About the year 1800 the famous minister Yūsuf Ṣāḥib al-Tāba', keeper of the privy seal, built in the Ḥalfāwin square the mosque that bears his name, probably, as the raised outer gallery shows, on the site of the *Masjid al-Mu'al-lak 'ala 'l-Halfāwīn*, which Ibn Nāḍji mentions in the xivth century (iv. 149); in the same quarter he set up the Ḥalfāwin fountain (in 1804), inside the *Bāb Sidi 'Abd al-Salām* and at the other end of the town a large watering-trough inside the *Bāb Allewa*.

His sovereign Ḥammūda Paṣhā, who finished the *Dār al-Bāy* (Caroline of Brunswick stayed there in 1816) a little above the *Ḳaṣaba* or *Kasbah*, devoted all his energies to military works and to barracks. To defend Tunis, particularly against the

Algerians, he had the outer ramparts rebuilt by a Dutch engineer. This work, which took from 1797 to 1804 according to the inscriptions on the bastions adjoining the gates, was never completed on the south side (cf. H. Hugon, *R. T.*, 1905, p. 373; and G. Dolot, *R. T.*, 1908, p. 298). On this side they were satisfied with the advanced entrenchment made by 'Alī Paṣhā and the outer walls of the houses which formed an almost continuous line of defence. Ḥammūda built barracks (in 1798) alongside of his magnificent villa at al-Manouba, and others in 1814 at the close of his life, in the middle of the *Sūḳ al-'Attārin* (it now houses the Bibliothèque Publique and the Direction des Antiquités; cf. M. Houdas, *Note sur trois inscriptions de Tunis*, in *Bull. Archéol.*, 1911). In the same period many other barracks were built in the *Madina*: Rue de la Caserne (*al-Ḳaṣhla*; now the Société Française de Bienfaisance), Rue de l'Église (now the Administration of the Ḥubūs), Rue des Moniquettes, Rue Sidi B. Ziyād; but by far the largest, that of the "First Regiment" (*Birindjī Alāy*; now the Caserne Saussier), was built near the *Murkāḍ*, on the site of the former *muṣallā*, by the Bey Ḥusain b. Maḥmūd, then by his brother Muṣṭafā (in 1835—1836). An artillery depot (now the Caserne Forgemol) was built outside the town in 1839 by Aḥmad Bāy, the creator of the "Tunisian army". While 'Alī Paṣhā had been content to send on two occasions (1743 and 1744) for a founder from Toulon, who repaired several cannon in an emergency workshop, under Ḥammūda Paṣhā a regular foundry was established under the permanent charge of some Frenchmen in a wing of the *Ḥaf-ṣiyya* palace (the *Hafsia*; street of the same name). Lastly Aḥmad Bāy organised the *Dabḍāba* (cf. *R. T.*, 1922, p. 276), where the bread and oil required for the army was made (Rue Dabḍaba, a little north of the *Dār al-Bāy* and Rue des Teinturiers).

Just when these military undertakings seemed to be going to transform Tunis into a garrison town, the European colony, which was developing with greater freedom every day as a result of the French occupation of Algiers (in 1830) and the reforms made by the beys, gained a footing in the *Madina*. Shops were opened by the Christians. Religious edifices sprang up in addition to the old Church of the Holy Cross (Rue de la *Kasbah*; moved in 1833 to the old Hospital of the Trinitarians, Rue de l'Église), the registers of which are valuable for the history of Roman Catholicism in Tunisia. In 1831 the Italian school was opened at Sulema, the Jewish in 1840 at Morpurgo, in 1841 the Bourgade College in the *Zanaḳat al-Bābāṣ* (Impasse du Missionnaire). The whole of the quarter of the Place de la Bourse (recently renamed Place du Cardinal Lavigerie) with the present Rue de l'Ancienne-Douane, des Glacières and de la Commission became completely European. Outside the ramparts, the modern town began to spread towards the lake; thus the Consulat de France was moved in 1861 to the building which is now the Résidence Générale. Other consulates however are still within the city: those of Spain (rue Sidi el-Būnī), Great Britain (place du Cardinal Lavigerie), Italy (rue Zarkoun; this is soon to be moved).

European influence became so strong that the administration of the town itself was at length affected. Under the Ḥafṣids each of the two fau-

bourgs had its *shaikh*, probably under the *shaikh al-madīna*: these three officials survived under the Turks; assisted by patrols of citizens taken in rotation (*lawwādja*) they saw that the town was policed at night after the closing of the gates. Below them the *muḥarrik* were heads of the quarters. The day police, under the Ḥusainids, was the business of the *dawlatī*, this destitute dey, who had under him 50 *hānū* and 55 *kabidjī* (cf. E. Pellissier, *Descr. de la régence de Tunis*, Paris 1853, p. 52—53) and acted as police magistrate in the long hall called *Driba* in the street of Sidi B. 'Arūs. The *Ḳaṣaba* was administered separately under an *aghā*. In 1858, however, a municipal council was formed (a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a dozen notables) the budget for which was provided by a tax on wines and spirits. In 1860 the *dawlatī* was replaced by a general of division (*fariḳ*) who had under him "zapties" (*dābiṭiya*). Vigorous steps were taken to bring the city up to date: a telegraph line was laid to Algiers and a railway to La Goulette; a drainage system was laid out and water brought from Zaghouan by the French engineer Colin. The water-tower took the place of the covered reservoir (*khazna*) which stood in the preceding century beside the gate of the outer ramparts, Bāb Sidi 'Abd Allāh, adjoining the *Ḳaṣaba* or Kasbah.

Preoccupation with such modern works left little time for any great religious buildings; one may however mention the imposing *zāwiya* of Sidi Ibrāhīm al-Riyāḥī (d. 1850; cf. *R. T.*, 1918, p. 124, and on the jurists of the Ḥusainid period: al-Sanūsī, *Musāmarāt al-Zarīf*, Tunis n.d.) who enjoyed a veneration which shows no signs of decreasing. In 1875 the *Ṣādiqī* College was founded (in the barracks of the rue de l'Église) called after the bey Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq. In 1880, the *Ṣādiqī* Hospital was built. Among the mansions, the Zarrūḳ palace (rue des Juges) was at first the residence of the deys. The Dār Ḥusain (now the Palais de la Division) built in the xviiith century by a minister of the bey, was restored in 1876; the *Khair al-Dīn* palace, an enlargement of the old *Ḥafṣiya*, was the court of justice for a time at the beginning of the protectorate (rue du Tribunal); the Palace of Muṣṭafā b. Ismā'il was in the rue du Pāshā; that of the *Khaznadār* (Place Ḥalfāwīn, rue du Palais) became the Jewish Hospital, but has not been used for some time now. It may be noted that after the rising of the sons of Ḥusain b. 'Alī against 'Alī Pāshā in the middle of the preceding century, the *Ḥalfāwīn* quarter, inhabited by faithful "*Ḥusainiya*", enjoyed the favour of the bey to the detriment of the quarter of Bāb al-Djazīra, the stronghold of the *soff* opposed to the "*Bāshiya*" (cf. *R. T.*, 1918, p. 314).

The French occupation (from 1881) has produced tremendous developments in Tunis which are still going on. The European town stretches from the Porte de France (the old Bāb al-Baḥr) to the lagoon, where the quays are; it stretches from the Belvedere to the Djellāz, then, in the south of the southern quarter, within and without the walls, it covers the heights of "Montfeury". The outer wall is still standing. That of the Madīna has almost completely disappeared except for a few gates. The *Ḳaṣaba* or Kasbah, entirely rebuilt, is used as barracks. The Dār al-Bāy houses the Direction de l'Intérieur; the other offices with the new *Ṣādiqī* College (1897) and the Palais de Justice are modern buildings stretching

along the Boulevard Bāb Benāt from the Place de la Kasbah. An electric tramway runs round the Madīna but does not enter it. An attempt has been made to retain the oriental character of the city itself. A number of buildings are now used for other than their original purpose but the general appearance of the city is just what it was fifty years ago. Religious instruction remains centralised in the Great Mosque, the minaret of which was entirely rebuilt in 1894; in 1896 the resident Millet founded the *Khaldūniya* in the Sūḳ al-ʿAṭṭārīn, to instruct young Muslims in the elements of modern sciences. The Sūḳs continue to group the native trades in gilds each under an *amin*; some of them are visited by large numbers of tourists and a busy trade is done with them in "Oriental" articles, perfumes, carpets and leather goods; public criers offer for sale books and jewellery in the Sūḳ of the Booksellers and Sūḳ al-Berka. The wretched Jewish quarter, abandoned by those of its inhabitants who have acquired sufficient to enable them to live beside the Place des Potiers or in the European town, will shortly be replaced by modern buildings and broad streets. The Muslims on the other hand live in the native town, except a few rich families who have villas at the end of the Avenue de Paris and the few amins of the houses in the new village of el-Omrane (S. W. of the Belvedere). Finally we must mention the growing population of the remoter suburbs (Radès and Hammam-Lif, or Carthage La Marsa) European, Muslim and Jewish, which really now form one with Tunis.

The Municipal Council was reorganized by decree of Oct. 31, 1883, supplemented by the decrees of 1888 and 1914 relating to the communes of the Regency. It consists of a President, two Vice-Presidents (French) and 17 members appointed by decree (8 European, 8 Muslim and 1 Tunisian Jew). At the last census (1926) the population of Tunis had risen to 185,996 divided as follows: French 27,922, other Europeans 51,214, native Muslims 82,729, Tunisian Jews 24,131.

Bibliography: Saladin, *Tunis et Kairouan*, Paris 1908 (statements should be verified); Des-sort (*in collaboration*), *Histoire de la ville de Tunis*, Algiers 1924 (the only useful chapter is that which deals with Europeans in Tunis in the sixth century before the occupation); G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman, L'Architecture*, vol. 2, Paris 1926—1927 (excellent descriptions of the principal monuments; s. p. 871—875, a study of the architecture of the Muslim palaces of Tunis). — Cf. also the references in the text, and in the article TUNISIA.

(ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG)

AL-TŪNISĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. 'OMAR B. SULAIMĀN, an Arabic author of the xixth century. He belonged to a Tūnisian family devoted to learning, especially to theological studies. His grandfather Sulaimān was a copyist of books and, when he set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, left his three sons behind under the guardianship of his maternal uncle Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Azhari, a learned theologian. On completing his pilgrimage, Sulaimān, as he had lost all his property, did not return to Tūnis, but stayed first of all in Djidda where he made a living by copying books. There he became acquainted with some people from Sennār and on their advice went to their land. The ruler gave him a hearty welcome, assigned

him a house and other property and allotted him a regular income. Sulaimān there married a woman of Sennār who bore him a son (Aḥmad Zarrūk) and a daughter.

When 'Omar, the second son of Sulaimān by his first marriage in Tūnis, had grown up, he went with his grand-uncle on the pilgrimage to Mecca and on the way met by accident his father Sulaimān, who was on his way to Cairo on business with a caravan from Sennār. From Mecca, where his grand-uncle died, 'Omar returned to Cairo in order to study at al-Azhar. Later he visited his father in Sennār, resumed his studies at al-Azhar and in 1201 (1786) married. Two years later he returned to his native city of Tūnis where a son Muḥammad (al-Tūnisī) was born in 1204 (1789). 'Omar stayed only three years in Tūnis and then went with his family back to Cairo to devote himself once more to study at al-Azhar. There he soon obtained the office of *naḥīb al-riwāḳ* [cf. i., p. 535^b], being appointed warden of the fraternity of Maghribī students. In 1211 (1797) 'Omar learned of the death of his father from his step-brother in Sennār and of their poor circumstances. He at once went there and never again returned to his own family. Fortunately for the latter, in the same year Ṭāhir, 'Omar's younger brother, came to Cairo on business, intending afterwards to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He adopted his brother's family and sent the young Muḥammad, who at the age of 7 had already read the Kūrān through, to study at al-Azhar. When, after Ṭāhir's departure for Mecca, Muḥammad's means of subsistence gradually came to an end, he decided to seek his father in the Sūdān as news had reached Cairo that soon after his arrival in Sennār he had gone on to Dār Fūr. Among the members of a caravan which had reached Cairo from Dār Fūr he met a friend of his father, who at his request took him back with him to Dār Fūr. This must have been in 1218 (1803). In Dār Fūr he met first his father's step-brother Aḥmad Zarrūk who took him to Dǧultū (in the district of Abu 'l-Dǧudul), where his father 'Omar lived. The latter had attained a position of great prestige at the court, become wealthy and prosperous and had also founded a new family. By order of the king 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad (d. 1214 = 1799; cf. the list of kings of Dār Fūr, i., p. 917^a) 'Omar had composed commentaries on two theological and legal works (cf. *Voyage au Dar-Four*, p. 107; on the other literary activities of 'Omar, see p. 424). When Muḥammad arrived in Dār-Fūr, a certain Muḥammad Kurṛā (Nachtigal, *Sahāra und Sūdān*, iii., Berlin 1879, p. 387, calls him Abū Shaikh Kurṛā) was acting as regent for the infant ruler Muḥammad al-Faḍl; he later met his death in a rebellion. Muḥammad received a kindly welcome from Kurṛā to whom he was introduced by Aḥmad Zarrūk. Kurṛā also enabled 'Omar to make a journey to Tūnis to visit his relations on his promising to return. For the period of his absence 'Omar left his estate at Dǧultū in the hands of his son Muḥammad.

'Omar went first to Wadā'i where he stayed some years; for he managed to attain a very high position at the court of the local Sābūn sultān, being appointed a vizier and getting land in the village of Abālī. But after awaiting his son there in vain, he decided to go on to Tūnis.

Muḥammad stayed some seven and a half years in Dār Fūr after the departure of his father and became thoroughly acquainted with the land and its people. It was only after the conclusion of a war between Dār Fūr and Wadā'i that he was able to go to the latter country on an embassy from the sultān of Dār Fūr. He came first to Wāra, the then residence of Sultān Sābūn who showed him much kindness, as he had done to his father. Muḥammad was thus likewise detained a considerable period in Wadā'i. But his position became more and more difficult, in the first place because his uncle Aḥmad Zarrūk who had followed 'Omar to Wadā'i and on the latter's departure had been entrusted with the care of his children and house in Abālī took full possession of 'Omar's property and only gave his son the minimum necessities of life. A second difficulty was the ill-feeling that developed with Aḥmad al-Fa'sī (on him cf. *Voyage au Ouadāy*, p. 66 sq., 497 sqq., 508) who had been appointed 'Omar's successor in the vizierate on his suggestion. He slandered Muḥammad to Sābūn so that the latter became suspicious and ceased to show him favour. 'Omar, who came to Wadā'i at his son's request, was able, it is true, to get Aḥmad al-Fa'sī dismissed, but on his ('Omar's) departure he regained his old rank. In these circumstances Muḥammad readily took advantage of the Sultān's permission to leave Wadā'i after eighteen months there. He joined a caravan going to Fezzān with which he travelled through the land of the Tubu (Tibesti) to Murzuk, the capital of Fezzān. Here he stayed three months, during which the ruler there, Muntaṣir, died. From Murzuk he continued his journey to Tripoli and finally reached Tūnis via Sfākes (Sfax) about 1228 (1813) about ten years after leaving Cairo for the Sūdān.

Muḥammad at first settled in Tūnis; later however, he moved to Cairo and there entered the service of the viceroy Muḥammad 'Alī. When in 1824 the latter sent an army to the Morea under his stepson Ibrāhīm Pāshā, Muḥammad went through the campaign as chaplain (*wā'iz*) to an infantry regiment (cf. *Voyage au Darfour*, p. 6). An incident of the siege of Missolonghi (1825-1826) is related by him in his *Voyage au Ouadāy*, p. 634-635.

At the end of the war, Muḥammad acted as reviser of the Arabic translation of European medical, especially pharmacological, works in the veterinary college founded by Muḥammad 'Alī in Abū Za'bal (N. E. of Cairo). There Dr. Perron became acquainted with him after his arrival in Egypt, took Arabic lessons from him and induced him to write down his memoirs of his travels in the Sūdān, primarily for Arabic reading lessons. When in 1839 Perron became director of the Kaṣr al-'Ain medical school in Cairo, on his recommendation Muḥammad was appointed chief reviser there. A. v. Kremer, who came to Egypt for the first time in 1850, mentions Muḥammad as one of his teachers whom he esteemed highly (cf. A. v. Kremer, *op. cit.*; cf. *Bibl.*). As he further tells us, Muḥammad also devoted himself to the editing of important works of the earlier Arabic literature, for example the *Maḥāmas* of al-Ḥariri [q. v.] and the *Mustaṭraf* of Iḥshīrī [q. v.; this is probably the Būlāḳ edition of 1272 = 1856]. According to Jomard (cf. *Voyage au Darfour*, p. x.), Muḥammad was also appointed to undertake, for an edition of the Arabic lexicon *al-Ḳāmūs*

of Firūzābādī [q. v.], a revision of the Calcutta edition of 1230 (1817) for which purpose he corrected the text of the latter with the help of seven or eight manuscripts. The new edition was printed at Bulāk in 1274 (1857). In his later years Shaiikh Muḥammad used to lecture every Friday on Ḥadīth in the Zainab mosque. He died in Cairo in 1274 (1857) (so v. Kremer, *op. cit.*).

The many observations and enquiries made by Muḥammad al-Tūnisī in his long sojourn in the Sūdān about the ways and people of the districts visited by him were written down, with, his own experiences, at Perron's instigation in two comprehensive works, which Perron translated into French. They are:

1. *Voyage au Darfour par le Cheikh Mohammed Ebn Omar el-Tounsy* [Tūnisī, popular nisba for Tūnisī; cf. Stumme, *Gramm. des tunesisch. Arabisch*, Leipzig 1896, p. 66], *Réviseur en Chef à l'École de Médecine du Caire, traduit de l'Arabe par Dr. Perron, Directeur de l'École de Médecine du Caire*, Paris 1845 (lxxxviii. 492 pp. in 8°, with map). The *Préface* to this book by Jomard (p. i.—lxxi.) also appeared separately under the title *Observations sur le Voyage au Darfour, suivies d'un Vocabulaire de la Langue des Habitants et de Remarques sur le Nil-Blanc supérieur*, Paris 1845. Perron had previously published information about this book and specimens of his translation in *J.A.*, ser. iii., vol. viii., 1839, p. 177–206 (Letter to J. Mohl) and in the *Bibliothèque universelle de Genève*, N. S., 5th year, vol. xxviii. (Nº. 56), 1840, p. 325 sq. A very full review of Perron's publication was given by Sédillot in *J.A.*, ser. iv., vol. vii., 1846, p. 522–543.

Perron published the Arabic text of the Dār Fūr-journey under the title: *Tashhīdh al-Adhhān bi-Sirat Bilād al-ʿArab wa l-Sūdān* (= *L'Aiguinement de l'Esprit par le Voyage au Soudan et parmi les Arabes*) in 1850 in Paris in autograph (310 pp. in 4°, with 4 pp. in French of introduction, emendations and additions to the translation).

2. *Voyage au Ouadāy, par le Cheikh Mohammed Ebn Omar al-Tounsy*, traduit de l'Arabe par Dr. Perron, Paris 1851 (lxxv., 756 pp. in 8°, with map and 9 plates with pictures). Jomard added to this book also a long preface (p. i.—lxxv.) with historical and geographical observations. Perron himself in the introduction (p. i—35) deals particularly with the divisions of the Sūdān.

The Arabic text of the second work, which Perron (*loc. cit.*, p. 34) intended to publish, never appeared. The manuscript was probably in his possession but where it went after Perron's death in 1876 in Paris, to which he returned in 1850, I do not know.

Muḥammad al-Tūnisī is the first to give us full and reliable information about important parts of the Sūdān. On Dār Fūr, we had before his time only the scanty notes of the explorer W. G. Browne and on Wadā'i a little information gleaned by Burckhardt. It was not until several decades later that H. Barth and S. Nachtigal were able to visit these lands and describe them in more detail in their books. There is no reason to doubt al-Tūnisī's reliability; Perron checked his statements with the help of a number of people from Dār Fūr and Wadā'i settled in Cairo and obtained complete confirmation of them. It cannot however be denied that there are certain defects in the Shaiikh's description. A certain lack of order in the arrangement of the material, the lack of any approach to a regular system, a

fondness for digression and a disposition to believe much too readily statements about the popular Islām of the country (e.g. especially about magic) are not such serious defects as the fact that he gives no exact geographical, topographical, statistical and meteorological data (cf. thereon the criticisms by Barth, in *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Centralafrika*, iii., Berlin 1859, p. 525 sqq. and Nachtigal, in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteil.*, xxi., 1875, p. 176 and in *Sahāra und Sūdān*, iii., p. viii.). Nevertheless Tūnisī's two works form an important and still too little appreciated source for the ethnographical, cultural, and political conditions in the Sūdān lands through which he travelled. In conclusion it should be emphasised that the Shaiikh's two books supplement one another; the much larger work on Wadā'i also contains a good deal of information about Dār Fūr.

As an appendix we may give a brief account of a countryman of Muḥammad al-Tūnisī who resembled him in many ways, the Tunisian Shaiikh Zain al-ʿĀbidīn. The latter, an educated, well-read man, who had studied at al-Azhar and grown up in constant intercourse with Europeans, in 1818 or 1819, when at a mature age, set out for the Sūdān where he (like Tūnisī) seems to have spent about ten years, to some extent as a missionary and adventurer learned in religious matters. He went first to Sennār and Kordofān, then stayed a considerable time in Dār Fūr and Wadā'i making his living by teaching. After over three years in Wadā'i he returned via Fezzān to Tūnis. His experiences and observations there he recorded in an Arabic book of no great length which was printed (when and where?). It was translated into Turkish and printed at Stambul in 1262 (1846) (cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, ii. 482). This Turkish version was translated by G. Rosen as *Das Buch des Sudan oder Reisen des Scheich Zain el-ʿĀbidīn in Nigritien*, Leipzig 1847).

The importance of this book lies in the description of the state of civilisation and organisation of society in Dār Fūr and Wadā'i. We are told of the court life, of the soldiers, a campaign, the natives, slaves and negroes, of trade, superstitions, a wedding etc. These interesting notes are an important supplement to the far fuller description of Muḥammad al-Tūnisī. Noteworthy is an account of excavations made by Zain al-ʿĀbidīn with the permission of the Sultān of Wadā'i in ruins near the capital (p. 47–49, 61–75). Zain al-ʿĀbidīn left Wadā'i just as a change on the throne took place; the name ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm given in Rosen's translation to the new ruler (p. 108) should be emended to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (cf. Nachtigal, *op. cit.* iii. 284, where an ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, grandson of Sābūn, is mentioned).

Bibliography: The main source for the life of Muḥammad al-Tūnisī and his family are the two books of travel, especially the autobiography in the introductory chapter to the *Voyage au Darfour* (p. 1–25), besides scattered references like *op. cit.*, p. 48–49, and in the *Voyage au Ouadāy* p. 37, 39, 50, 62, 66–67, 129, 199, 211 sqq., 215, 497–499, 508, 512 sq., 643–645. The biographical sketch by Jomard (*Voyage au Darfour*, p. viii.—x.) is not free from errors and omissions; cf. also Perron's notes (*Voyage au Darfour*, p. lxxxi.—lxxxii.) and A. v. Kremer's *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii. 324. Cf. also, in addition to the references

in the article, Wüstenfeld in Lüdde's *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Erdkunde*, i. (Magdeburg 1842), p. 67 and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 491 (where the book on Wadā'i is not given!)

(M. STRECK)

TUNISIA. Tunisia consists of the eastern declivity of Barbary; it corresponds approximately to the Ifrikiya of the middle ages. Since 1881, Tunisia or the Regency of Tunis has been a French protectorate.

I. GEOGRAPHY.

With its present frontiers, Tunisia, which lies between 8° and 11° E. Long. and 32° and 37° N. Lat. has an area of 125,180 sq. km. Along its western frontier it is bounded by Algeria (département of Constantine), on the south by the Sahara and, far to the southeast, by Italian Libya (Tripolitania). The Mediterranean washes its shores, which are usually low-lying, on the north and east. The climate is on the whole moderately warm; but the rainfall varies greatly with districts and even with years, and being influenced by the proximity of the sea and also of the Sahara, it varies very much with latitude and still more with altitude. The relief is very varied although the average height above sea-level is not great; the mountain-ranges, which are the continuation and end of those of Algeria, run generally from S. W. to N. E.

In the northwest, the mountains of Khrumiria and of the Mogods, of chalk and sandstone, rarely exceed 3,000 feet, towards Algeria; subjected to a heavy rainfall, covered with oaks and brushwood, they contain mines of zinc and iron (Duaria). They run along the coast where in turn we have, with the little port of Tabarka, the dunes of Nefza, Cape Nègre and the little peninsula of Cape Serrat. In the east, they gradually diminish in height down to the hills which surround the alluvial plains of Bizerta and of Mateur, both well watered and growing good crops of wheat. The lagoon of Bizerta, which communicates with the sea by a narrow strait, forms an excellent roadstead with deep water opposite Sicily, which is not a great distance away. The plain of Mateur, now almost entirely covered with soil except for a number of marshes still existing, is dominated by the curious massif of the Dj. Achkeul. Farther east, the Ra's Sidi 'Alī al-Makki above Porto-Farina (*Ghār al-Milḥ*) bounds the Gulf of Tunis on the north, which is being filled up by deposit brought down by the Medjerda and the Wād Miliane: Utica, a port in the Roman period, is now 6 miles from the sea; the peninsula of Carthage, formerly an island, is connected to the mainland by an isthmus, which separates the Sebkhā el-Riana from the lagoon of Tunis; the lagoon, at the end of which stands Tunis, the capital, communicates with the sea by the strait of La Goulette (*Ḥalk al-Wād*). The district of Tunis, which has not a great rainfall, is less suited for cereals than for the vine and fruit-trees.

The Medjerda, which runs through northern Tunisia from west to east, is the only real river in Tunisia and its level is very low in summer; from November to April it is flooded and very turbid. Its lower course (Medjez el-Bab, Tébourba) is separated by the gorges of Testur from its middle course, where it drains the great alluvial depression of Dakhla (the region of Suk el-Arba and Suk el-Khemis) as

rich in cereals and pasturage as the adjacent chalk-hills of Beja. Its valley is bordered on the north by the limestone hills of Bejawa and Tebursuk, while to the south the very undulating relief of the centre and west of Tunisia present an alternation of rounded hills of limestone and great plains, the prolongation of the Saharan Atlas of Algeria: this High Tell (districts of Tebursuk, of Kef, Sers, Ebba-Ksur, Thala) covered with natural woods of Aleppo pines, and tall shrubs and great pastures, enables wheat to be cultivated, except in the drier part of the southwest, which has to be content with barley. This, especially towards the Algerian frontier, is the part of Tunisia which is richest in mines (iron at Djerissa and Slata, phosphates at Kalaa-Djerda and Kalaa es-Senam). The rivers, tributaries of the Medjerda (W. Mellegue, W. Tessa, W. Siliana) and W. Miliana (plains of Fahs and Mornag), flow directly into the Gulf of Tunis.

To the south of the High Tell rises the most marked mountain barrier. The "backbone of Tunisia" runs from the neighbourhood of Tebessa to the Dj. Zaghwān (4,300 feet high, 30 miles from Tunis) and to the Dj. Rašās and Bu Ḳarnain; it includes the highest peaks: Shambi (5,150 feet) and Semama in the Byzacene range, the massif of Mactar, Serdj, Bargou, Kirine and the chain of Zeugitania. But it permits communication to be maintained easily with the south, through several passes or defiles, notably the great corridor of Ksur-Sbiba. On the other hand, the watercourses on the southern slopes, like the W. Merguellil, Zerud, El-Hatab (which waters the plain of Gamuda) which flow irregularly and even intermittently, lose themselves — when they flow at all — in the saline hollows called Sebkhās: e. g. S. Kelbia and S. Sidi el-Hani in the plain of Ḳairawān. These are in the region of the great steppes, the land of the camel, which stretches to Gafsa, only interrupted by a few limestone-hills of no great height; covered in the west with alfa or white artemisia, and jujube-trees towards the east, where it gradually slopes down to the olive-groves of the hinterland of Sfax, it nevertheless contains extensive agricultural land and areas suitable for cattle rearing. The only towns in it, besides Ḳairawān, are at the outlet of the passes of the "backbone": Sheitla, Kasserira, Feriana. But it becomes more and more desert-like in character towards the south as a result of a decrease in rainfall, and ends, beyond Gafsa and the rich deposits of phosphates at Metlawi and Redeyef, in the depression of the Shotts (Sh. el-Gharsa, 80 feet below sea-level, Sh. el-Djerid, Sh. el-Fedjedj, enclosed by the Dj. Sherb and Dj. Teboga), in the oasis of Djerid (Tozeur, Nefta) and those of Nefzawa (Kebili, Douz), which produce dates; here the Sahara begins. More to the S. E. the Dj. Dahar (1,300—2,000 feet), of limestone and chalk, with the massif of the Matmata, is only the eastern border of a great basin in the Sahara.

On the N. E. coast of the Regency, where prosperous farms have been established, the important peninsula of Cape Bon, in the prolongations of the "backbone", lies between the gulfs of Tunis and of Hammamet, the coastal plains of which are connected by the passes of Zaghwān (Fum al-Kharrūba) and of Grombalia. Then to the south of the orange-groves of Nabeul and Hammamet, the Sahel of Susa, with its valleys, is still sufficiently well watered to support by its olives and

other crops a dense population which lives in large fortified villages: Kalaa-Kbira, Kalaa-Srira, Msaken, Maknine; the regularity of the coastline is interrupted by the little peninsulas of Monastir and Mahdia.

Beginning at Ras Kapudia, roughly on the level of el-Djeur, the coast turns inwards and leaves out in the bay of Sfax the islands of Kerkenna, which are separated by shallows from the shore, and then runs along the Gulf of Gabes (the ancient Little Syrtes) where sponge gathering forms a source of revenue. At the end of the Gulf rise the palms of Gabes. Between them and the oasis of el-Hamma adjoining the Shotts, lies the passage from the central or eastern plains of Tunisia to those on the extreme south coast: Arad, off which lies the large flat green island of Djerba, Djefara bordered by lagoons; a few olive-groves however flourish around Zarzis and Ben-Gardane.

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2. HISTORY.

The conquest of what is now Tunisia cost the Arab invaders who came by land from the southwest at least half a century of fierce fighting with the native Berbers and with the Byzantine governors. In North Africa as in the East, Islām was bound to come into conflict with Byzantium, but in the middle of the seventh century the situation in the exarchate of Africa was eminently favourable to the prospects of the ultimate conquerors: religious dissensions, a distant but all too faithful echo of disputes provoked in the east by monothelist doctrines, were rending the Christian community of Carthage and detaching from Byzantium the majority of those who were strictly attached to orthodoxy; the governors, less and less under the control of the Emperor, were aspiring to a state of independence which forced them to rely for support on the chiefs of the great native tribes; and the tribes, taking advantage of this, gradually cast off all Byzantine authority so completely that at the time of the Muslim conquest, all the south

of Byzacene seemed to be practically independent of Carthage.

The two first invasions of the Arabs with an interval of 18 years between them, were only raids, *razzias*; but they prepared the way for better organised expeditions for the methodical conquest of the country. Besides, by a remarkable coincidence, on each occasion the invaders found Byzantine Africa in the throes of a political crisis: in 647, the patricius Gregory had just broken with the Emperor and settled himself in the midst of the Berbers, far from the coast, when 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarh, governor of Egypt, crushed him near Sbeitla and proceeded to lay waste the *Djerid*; in 665, the people of Carthage were most unexpectedly in open revolt against the empire, when Mu'āwiya b. Hudaidj ravaged Byzacene and took the stronghold of *Djātūla*.

Was the government of the Maghrib added by 667 to that of Egypt? The real occupation only dates from the period 669—775, marked by the victories of 'Uḡba b. Nāfi' and the foundation of *Ḳairawān*: this was the period of the definite occupation of Byzacene and the beginning of the conversion of the Berber tribes to Islām, but the most important event was the foundation of the new city, a Muslim town, an arsenal, caravanserais and market-place, which henceforth raised its mosque and its ramparts in the plains, facing the heights of central Tunisia which were still defended by a line of Byzantine forts.

After the governorship of Abu 'l-Muhādjjir, of which little is known, 'Uḡba returned in 681; but two years later on his way back from an imprudent raid which had taken him as far as Tingitania, he fell in the *Zāb* before Tahūda, killed in a vigorous native rising against the invader. This rising which began in the *Awrās*, embraced *Ḳairawān*; its leader Kusaila, supported by the Byzantines, was for several years the head of a vast Berber state, which offered a desperate resistance to new Arab attacks. He himself fell fighting in 688 in the district of *Sība*, whence Zuhair b. Ḳais al-Balawī is said to have come. It was however only in 693 when the position of the *Umayyads* at home permitted a policy of expansion to be resumed, that Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān was able to lead an army of 40,000 men to the invasion of Byzacene and advance swiftly northwards in an attempt to crush the Byzantines before turning back against the rude Berbers of the *Awrās*. He took Carthage in 695, but two years later lost it again defeated by the patricius John, and again by the Berbers under the legendary figure of *Kāhina* [q. v.] in the plain of *Baghāi*. He fell back on *Barḳa* and in the following year in a combined offensive by land and sea, he took Carthage finally. In 698, the Arabs had at last taken almost the whole of the modern Tunisia from the Berbers and Byzantines. Ḥassān was able to "found" Tunis and his successor Mūsā b. Nuṣair to take *Zaghwān*, then to lead the "Ifrikiya" Berbers themselves to the conquest of the west.

The greater part of the Byzantine colony had been able to escape by sea, mainly to Sicily and Malta. The majority of the inhabitants who remained in the country seems to have been very quickly converted to Islām, except for a few groups, Christian (*afāriḳ*) or Jewish. But even after they had entered Islām the Berbers of *Ifrikiya*, like those of other parts of North Africa,

tried on several occasions to regain their autonomy on the convenient pretext of religious heresies. The whole history of the eighth century is made up of risings, which in the name of socialist *Khāridjism* roused the natives against the Arab rulers, and also of mutinies by the Arab soldiers themselves, who readily broke the bonds of discipline.

Ḥanzala b. Šafwān was able to put down the rising of the Šufri 'Ukāšha, but he had to fly to the east when the rebel 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri took Ḳairawān. After the last Umayyads had proved powerless to retake this distant province which was slipping from them, the 'Abbāsids, seeing Spain cast off their suzerainty, were anxious at least to retake Ifrīkiya from the Ibādī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb; their general Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath recaptured Ḳairawān, rebuilt its ramparts and installed himself there as governor, but not for long. The Arab soldiery, dissatisfied with him, forced him to depart in 765. Not even his successor al-Aghlab b. Sālim al-Tamīmī, an old companion in the east of the 'Abbāsīd propagandist Abū Muslim, was able to hold out against the rebel Muḍaris; he fell in the rising in 767 and anarchy prevailed for five years.

From 772 to 794, Ifrīkiya was ruled by a regular petty dynasty of officials of the caliphate, the Muhallabids, Yemenis by origin, who succeeded for a time in securing some degree of peace and order in the country: Yazīd b. Ḥātim, with the help of 40,000 new troops, finally disposed of the Ibādī Abu 'l-Ḥātim, rebuilt the Great Mosque of Ḳairawān (774) and organised the guilds of the capital; his son Dāwūd in 788 at Kef crushed the Berber confederation of the Warfadjūma, and his brother Rawḥ, governor in his turn, concluded with the Ibādī of Tiaret, Ibn Rustum, an agreement which put an end to the spirit of rebellion among the Berbers in Ifrīkiya.

Henceforth it was only the Arab soldiery who constituted a serious danger for the domestic peace of the country. After the death of the last Muhallabid al-Faql an era of bloodshed and trouble begins again. The aged general Harṭhama b. A'yān sent for the purpose, restored the authority of the caliph of Baghdad and built the *ribāṭ* of Monastir; but his successor Muḥ. b. Muḳātil al-'Akkī was driven from his post by the Tamīmī soldiery of Tunis whom his tactlessness had roused (Oct. 799). At this moment, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, son of the governor killed in 767, suddenly appeared as an 'Abbāsīd champion in his province of the Zāb. He brought Ibn Muḳātil back to Ḳairawān. As a reward and to establish a stable government at last, Hārūn al-Rashīd on the advice of his councillors decided to appoint him tributary "emīr" of Ifrīkiya. Ibrāhīm received his diploma of appointment in July 800; the power was to remain for over a century in his family, down to 909, without interruption.

The dynasty of the Aghlabids [q.v.] left its mark deeply upon Tunisia. Under an outward subordination to the caliph of the East, the emīrs, practically independent and hereditary, pursued a policy of pacification, organisation and expansion. The hostility of the Tamīmīs, whose centre was Tunis, was always active. Ibrāhīm, although a Tamīmī himself, came into conflict with these warriors of Muḍar, who could ill endure the authority whether near or distant of the 'Abbāsīds, the friends of their ancient Yemenī rivals. He had to rely on

a soldiery which contained many non-Arabs from *Khurāsān*; but he relied mainly for his personal security on a recently formed negro guard and on the fortifications of Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm (or al-'Abbāsiya) which he built in 801 a league to the south of Ḳairawān. It was probably there that he received the ambassadors of Charlemagne. In 802 he had to deal with a rebellion in Tunisia, in 805 with one in Tripoli, 810—811 with the mutiny of his own general 'Imrān b. Muḳhallad who even laid siege to Ḳairawān. It was in his reign that the frontiers on the east coast began to be covered with the little military posts called *mahrīs*. When he died in 812, Tripoli was again in full insurrection.

His son Ziyādāt Allāh (817—838) who has left the reputation of an energetic, but cruel and violent man, had a powerful opponent to deal with. Maṣṣūr al-Tunbudhī was within an ace of destroying him, and for several years the whole of the north, including Tunis, was completely lost to the emīr; but by a stroke of genius, Ziyādāt Allāh diverted to a holy war against Sicily the ardour and cupidity of the most turbulent soldiery, who embarked at Sūsa in 827, full of enthusiasm under the leadership of the illustrious Ḳaḍī Asad b. al-Furāt. Palermo was taken in 831; Messina fell 12 years later. Ziyādāt Allāh, who in 821 had built the *ribāṭ* of Sūsa, was now able to devote his attention to works of a more peaceful nature, like the building of the Great Mosque of Ḳairawān. His architectural activity was followed on a great scale by his successor. In 850 the Great Mosques of Sūs and Sfax were built; the Emīr Aḥmad in particular, about 860, erected ramparts around these two cities and built the famous "reservoir of the Aghlabids", a great reservoir to supply Ḳairawān.

In 874, Ibrāhīm II, the last great prince of the dynasty, succeeded his brother Muḥammad, whose passion for hunting cranes earned him the name *Abu 'l-Gharāniḡ*. Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm was abandoned for a new residential town with the government offices: Raḳḳāda, the site of which is still known 5 miles south of Ḳairawān; but from 894, after Tunis, which had rebelled, had been taken by assault, the emīr frequently moved his court to the reconquered city, on which he wished to keep a close watch. The foreign policy of the reign is marked by important events. At first in the southeast there was the disturbing exploit of al-'Abbās b. Aḥmad, the son of the first Ṭūlūnid, who, in spite of his father, led a force from Egypt against Tripoli in 880 in an attempt to conquer Ifrīkiya. Tripoli was saved by the Nafūsa Berbers; Ibrāhīm arrived in time to seize a treasury of Ṭūlūnid dinārs, which served to improve the financial condition of his state; the improvement was of a short duration, however, for it was not sufficient to refill the coffers, emptied at the beginning of the century by the civil troubles and later by the heavy expenditure. The terrible rising of 893 was provoked simply by a brutal requisitioning of slaves and horses in the plain of Gamuda for the benefit of a needy government. On the other hand, the conquest of Sicily was completed with the capture of Syracuse in 878 and of Taormina in 901; and when Ibrāhīm, on the complaint of the always hostile Tunisians, had agreed to abdicate in favour of his son 'Abdallāh in obedience to an order sent him by the caliph, it was as a *mudjahhid* before Cosenza in Calabria that he died on Oct. 25 of the same year.

In the meantime the religious revolution which was to overwhelm Ifrikiya was preparing in the west. In the ninth century the whole of the Berber south (Hawwāra, Lawāta, Miknāsa) was 'Ibādī from the Awrās to Djerba and Tripoli, the Nafūsa in particular, who to the south of Gabes barred the road to the east, before Ibrāhīm II had massacred them in 896. But Khārīdijism had not been able to prevent orthodoxy from gaining the upper hand in the greater part of the country and from producing illustrious men, like the Qādī 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād, the companion of Ibn al-Ash'ath and the ascetic Buhlūl, popular and very influential, in the eighth century; in the Aghlabid period, the golden age of the discussions on points of law, which were contemporaneous with the foundation of the various schools, and the gathering of the principal collections of traditions, two pupils of the famous Mālikī jurist of Egypt, Ibn al-Kāsim: Asad b. al-Furāt, of a Khurāsān family, d. in Sicily in 828, and his pupil Saḥnūn (Ibn Sa'id al-Tanūkhī), born in Syria and son of a mercenary, who in 850 as Qādī of Qairawān brought about the triumph of Mālikism, which was threatened by the Ḥanafism of several teachers; his *Mudawwana* is still a classic, and Mālikism, in spite of apparent eclipses, is still the *madhhab* par excellence of Tunisia. The eastern origin of the more notable teachers and doctrines is a remarkable fact; it was also from the east that the propagandist (*dā'i*) Abū 'Abd Allāh came in 893 to the Kitāma Kabyls of Ikdjan (Little Kabylia east of Babors) to convert them to the cause of the Shī'ī Mahdī 'Ubaidallāh.

An Aghlabid expedition sent in 902 against the Kitāma barely reached its objective, and in the reign of Ziyādat Allāh III, who in 903, had murdered his father, the Mu'tazilī 'Abd Allāh, the Shī'a danger became pressing; in 905 while the Mahdī was hastening from Syria to North Africa to await at Sidjilmāsa the proper moment to appear, his faithful *dā'i* was cutting the emir's troops to pieces. Events then began to move rapidly: Ziyādat Allāh had in vain had the Shī'is condemned by an assembly of jurists at Tunis and sought the aid of the Abbāsids; in the spring of 907, Baghaia fell; in March 909, after the fall of Lorgeus, Ziyādat Allāh fled to Baghdād and the *dā'i* entered Rakḥāda, in spite of the mute hostility of the orthodox teachers. Finally in December of the same year, the Mahdī in person received the homage of the people of Qairawān. In this way was founded in Ifrikiya, solely through the efforts of the Kabyl infantry of the Kitāma, the heretical caliphate of the Fāṭimids ('Ubaidids) which was to transform the political conditions of the whole of North Africa, before returning to its original home in the east.

From the first, the new dynasty had its eyes on Egypt, and down to the day when it was able to install itself there definitely, never ceased to send out military expeditions to prepare the way for conquest. In January 911, 'Ubaid Allāh had Abū 'Abdallāh, to whom he owed the throne, put to death just as the Abbāsīd al-Manṣūr had disposed of his own propagandist Abū Muslim. In 913 an army led by his eldest son invaded the Faiyūm while another took Alexandria; and it was only after the check to this first attempt at eastern expansion that the Mahdī decided to found a capital in Ifrikiya, but on the sea: the strong town of Mahdiyya [q.v.], a starting point for fleets

against the east, and a refuge against the expected attacks of the Berbers of the interior (916—918); but in 919 a second expedition again seized Alexandria and held it for a short time. In the west, the successes were overwhelming: Sicily which had rebelled was brought to obedience, and when 'Abd Allāh died at the beginning of 934, the whole of the Maghrib, where the Ibādī state of Tiaret, the Idrisid of Fas and the Ṣufri of Sidjilmāsa had collapsed, recognised the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids.

Abu 'l-Kāsim Nizār (al-Kā'im bi-Amr Allāh) maintained with difficulty his authority over the vast empire he had inherited. His fleet, it is true, was able to plunder Genoa in 935, but it was a raid of no more importance than that of the Tuscans on Carthage under Boniface of Lucca in 828. On the other hand, he all but succumbed to the formidable rising led by the Nakkārī Abū Yazīd b. Kaidād, the Ifranid, the "man with the ass" (*ṣāhib al-ḥimār*) who proclaimed himself *shāikh al-mu'minin* and under the mask of religion led the Hawwāra of the eastern Awrās to attack the towns of Ifrikiya. The Khārīdijī Berbers sacked Beja, Lorgeus, Qairawān (in 944) and Sūsa, seized Tunis and with their ranks swollen by volunteers from the Zāb and Nafūsa, invested the caliph in his headquarters at Mahdiyya (in 945). At the most critical moment, Abū 'l-Kāsim died in 946. His son Ismā'il (al-Manṣūr), supported by the people exasperated by the excesses of the invaders, re-established the situation with the help of the faithful Kitāma. Defeated in a series of bloody battles, Abū Yazīd saw his partisans scattered and he himself fell mortally wounded into the hands of his enemies at a place where in time the Qal'a of the B. Ḥammād was to be built (947).

This troubled period was succeeded by one of calm and prosperity. Al-Manṣūr at once displayed his power by founding the luxurious town of Ṣabra (al-Manṣūriya) which was to eclipse its neighbour Qairawān (947). Commerce and industry flourished, and at sea the Qā'id Raṣhīk was the terror of the Christians. Under al-Mu'izz, who came to the throne in 953, the long awaited hour arrived: in spite of occasional outbursts of rebellion in support of the Omayyads of Cordova, the Maghrib as a whole seemed subdued; the raids of Spanish Muslims on the coasts of Sūsa and Tabarka in 956 were mere reprisals and not indications of a real danger. Hopes of conquering Egypt, weakened by the death of the Ikhshidid Kāfūr, seemed to be justified. In July 969, the freedman Ḍjawhar at the head of the Kitāma occupied Fuṣṭāṭ on behalf of al-Mu'izz just as Abū 'Abd Allāh had taken Qairawān for his master, the Mahdī. The following year his troops entered Damascus. Then when he had built the town of Cairo for his sovereign, who was still in the west, he urged him to rejoin him, to oppose the threatening progress of the Qarmāṭians. After the last Zenāta rebel had been crushed in the Maghrib, the Fāṭimid, who now wore a crown in the eastern fashion, began his preparations for departure in August 792. On June 10, 973, he reached Cairo, the new capital of his dynasty.

Before leaving Ifrikiya for ever, al-Mu'izz had entrusted its government (excluding Sicily) to one of his most valued helpers, the Berber emir Bologgīn (Bulukkin) whose father Zirī b. Manād, a great enemy of the turbulent Zenāta, had always placed his Ṣanhādja of the region of Titteri

and Medea at the service of the 'Ubaidids. This plan of ruling the country by a line of Berber princes was a complete success. Under the Zīrids [q.v.], who regularly received their investiture from Cairo, Ifrīqiya enjoyed happy days of material prosperity and an abundance of the necessities of life due to the development of agriculture and native industries (carpets, cloth and pottery) and trade with the outer world; there was an extravagant splendour about the great official ceremonies. Law and medicine, which under the Fātimids had already produced such famous men as Ibn Abi Zaid, Ishāk b. Sulaimān al-Isrā'īli and his pupil Ibn al-Djazzār, flourished; literature produced the poet Ibn Rashīq. The Jewish colony of Qairawān attracted and produced celebrated Talmudists.

The brilliance of this period had been hardly affected by the defections, more and more serious, of the Zenāta of the west, who proclaimed allegiance to Cordova, nor by the secession of Hammād who, in the reign of his nephew Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (995—1016), founded an independent dynasty in his famous Kāl'a (in 1007). On the contrary it was under al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, in the first half of the xth century that it seems to have reached its zenith. But this al-Mu'izz, ostentatious to excess, held in great honour by the caliphs of Cairo, respected throughout the Maghrib, committed the fatal mistake of awakening the old religious hatreds in the name of which the north Africans used to rebel against their eastern rulers. Rallying around him the Mālikī townsmen of Qairawān, who under his eyes one day proceeded to a regular massacre of the Shī'īs, he transferred his homage to the 'Abbāsīd of Baghdad and ended by breaking openly with the Fātimids, through a series of steps covering the period down to 1050.

The revenge of the suzerain whom he had cast off was terrible; the Egyptian wazīr al-Yāzūrī, who felt personally insulted, sent against the rebel vassal marauding bands of nomad Hilālī Arabs who were quartered in the Ṣa'īd, to the east of the Nile. The year 1051, when the first Hilālīs, the B. Riyāh, arrived in Ifrīqiya, marks a turning point in the history of Tunisia. Al-Mu'izz was twice defeated at Qairawān which he vainly hurried to fortify; in 1057, overwhelmed by the nomads who ravaged all the lowlying country, he secretly moved to Mahdiya under the escort of Arab emirs whom he had been forced to take as sons-in-law. The invaders, hundreds of thousands in number, profoundly altered the appearance of North Africa, economically, ethnographically and politically: the Berbers were driven back, the country arabicised, nomadic life and insecurity introduced, agriculture ruined and central power broken up. The chief towns fell into the hands of the Arabs or rather became autonomous little states under local chiefs or governors who proclaimed themselves independent; some even paid homage to the Hammādids of the Kāl'a, whose protection they desired. In this way were established in Tunis the B. Kḥurāsān, in Bizerta the B. al-Ward, at Gabes the B. Djamī, at Gafsa the B. al-Rand; in the centre there was anarchy.

In the midst of countless difficulties, the Zīrids held out at Mahdiya, from which they now held only the coast between Sūsa and Gabes. Tamīm (1063—1108), son and successor of al-Mu'izz, vainly tried to regain some lost ground; he made peace with the B. Hammād but did not

succeed against Tunis and, shut up in Mahdiya, had to withstand the attacks of the Arabs and also of a new enemy in the Christians. In 1087 Mahdiya was taken at the instigation of the Pope by the Pisans and Genoese under Pantaleon of Amalfi; Tamīm had to pay an indemnity and admit the merchandise of the victors without duties. Yahyā b. Tamīm, who died, probably murdered, in 1116, then his son 'Alī, who died in 1121, had recognised the suzerainty of the caliphs of Cairo, obtained the support of the Arab tribes, and won some successes by land and sea, when an unexpected adversary overwhelmed them. The Normans, who had already conquered Sicily and Malta, now intervened in the affairs of Ifrīqiya; in 1118, a rupture occurred with the Zīrid, who appealed to the Almoravids of the distant west. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, at first forced to make terms and accept the protection of Roger of Sicily against the threat from the Hammādids of Bougie, could not prevent the Sicilian admiral George of Antioch from driving him out of Mahdiya in 1148. Roger II, then William I, lords of Djerba and the coast towns from Sūsa to Tripoli, organised a kind of tolerant protectorate there, the objects of which were mainly commercial. But this was of short duration; the inhabitants, rising against the Christians, very soon regained their freedom; Sūsa and Mahdiya alone had to wait till 1159—1160 before being delivered from the infidels by the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min who coming from the extreme Maghrib defeated at Setif in 1151 the Arabs of Ifrīqiya, united under the Riyāḥīd emir Muḥriz b. Ziyād, crushed all opposition, seized the fortresses, massacred Jews and Christians and restored for more than fifty years the political unity of North Africa.

In spite of the prestige of its new masters, the caliphs of Marrākeṣh, Ifrīqiya did not yet know peace. Almohad authority was not felt directly but through the intermediary of a governor settled in Tunis; this representative of the ruling power, usually a near relative of the sovereign, very soon proved incapable of restoring order to the province, where to the continual threat from the Arabs there was added from 1185 onwards the trouble caused by the Turkoman bands of the Armenian adventurer Qarāḳuṣh and by the final attempt of the B. Ghāniya Almoravids, 'Alī (d. in 1188) and his brother Yahyā. The coming of the caliphs in person, Yūsuf in 1180 and Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr in 1187, at the head of their armies, was not enough to improve the situation. Yahyā was favoured by fortune: in 1200 he had disposed of his former ally Qarāḳuṣh, suppressed his rival Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ragrāgī, the "caliph" of Mahdiya, and from his base of operations in the Djerid extended his rule over the whole of the modern Tunisia. It required the expedition of the caliph al-Nāṣir in 1205—1207 to put an end to the Almoravids by reducing Yahyā to a precarious position and to install a powerful provincial government, entrusted at first to the "Shaikh" 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abi Ḥafṣ (1207—1221), the hero of Alarcos. Thus the Ḥafṣids got their first grip on power.

This family of the Ḥafṣids [q.v.], of which another member had been since 1184 governor in Tunis, was descended from a chief of the Hintāta Berbers (a Maṣmūda tribe of the Moroccan Atlas) who had played a very prominent part in the im-

mediate entourage of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart. They established themselves definitely in Ifrīqiya in 1226 with the appointment as governor of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh who was supplanted two years later by his brother Abū Zakariyā' (1228–1249). The latter, while gradually becoming independent, contented himself however with the title of emir and was the true founder of the great Tunisian dynasty which with various vicissitudes of fortune occupied the throne for three and a half centuries. In spite of their repudiation of Mu'minid suzerainty and the return to Mālikism, the Ḥafṣids always proclaimed an unswerving fidelity to the Almohad tradition of which they liked to consider themselves the authentic representatives. The organisation of their government with a few slight changes reminds one of the early Almohad constitution. Even when the second independent emir, the son of Abū Zakariyā', known as al-Mustanṣir, had been proclaimed caliph by Mecca about 1250, the sovereign remained surrounded by an important body of Almohads, the corner stone of the political edifice and of the army, and the coins retained their Almohad character in type and weight. The government departments were collected into three great branches: the army, the treasury (*al-ashghāl*) and the chancellery. The governors of provinces were for long chosen preferably, indeed almost exclusively, from among the nearest relatives of the monarch. But it would be wrong to deny the part played in the higher administration, as in the intellectual life of the country, by the numerous Muslim refugees from Spain, "Andalusi" expelled at the "reconquest" of the xiiith century.

The Ḥafṣids in their desire to pacify Ifrīqiya came continuously up against the Arab problem. The nomad B. Sulaim having driven back the B. Riyāḥ were masters of the interior; their factions, hostile to one another, subjected the country districts to regular contributions. Among them, the Ku'ūb, who were a Makhzan tribe, frequently interfered in the dynastic disputes, threatening Tunis, supporting pretenders of their own choice, and driving the people of the towns to desperation. In 1284 they obtained from a sovereign who owed his throne to them, a charter of *ikhṭā'* granting them the revenues of several cities; the rivalry of their two branches, Awlād Abi 'l-Lail and Awlād Muḥalhal, was to have immediate repercussions on the central power in the course of the xivth century.

Down to the death of al-Mustanṣir in 1277, the dynasty had its brilliant periods. In spite of sporadic rebellions, its rule extended from Tripoli right into Algeria and was solidly established in the principal towns, Tunis, Constantine and Bougie. Its prestige extended beyond the limits of North Africa, attracting the attention of Spain and Christian Europe. This is the period when commercial relations were established on a regular basis with Barcelona, Marseilles, Genoa, Pisa, Sicily and Venice: treaties of commerce and navigation, Christian consulates at Tunis, the importance of the customs duties, which justified the tribute paid by Tunis to Sicily and later to Aragon. A body of Christian mercenaries was gathered round the Ḥafṣid, who was however seriously threatened by the attack on Carthage by St. Louis's Crusaders in 1270.

To sum up, Ifrīqiya enjoyed a more stable and more prosperous régime than in the preceding two centuries: the renaissance of legal studies and of architecture [cf. TUNIS] is evidence of this. Unfor-

tunately the successive revolutions provoked by the claims to the throne of princes of the blood true or alleged — as in the case of Ibn Abi 'Umāra in 1283 — rapidly weakened the authority of the Caliph and diminished, to the advantage of the Arabs, the by no means too secure cohesion of the subject peoples. The direct line of al-Mustanṣir, after the forced abdication of his son al-Wāṭḥik (in 1279), only produced one further ruler, Abū 'Aṣida (1295–1309), and died with him. It was the descendants of another son of Abū Zakariyā', Abū Ishāḳ Ibrāhīm (1279–1283), who — after the reign of a third son, Abū Ḥafṣ (1284–1295), then that of a cousin, Abū Yahyā b. al-Liḥyānī (1311–1317) — finally held the power, beginning with Abū Yahyā Abū Bakr (1318–1346).

Ḥafṣid unity, destroyed for a period by the secession of Bougie, which made itself an independent state, was reconstituted. Djerba, in the hands of the Christians since its conquest by Roger of Loria in 1284, was taken from them in 1337; the 'Abd al-Wāḍid threat was averted by the alliance with the now powerful Marinids. But this alliance itself concealed a danger, since, profiting by the internal disorders, the ambitious Marinid sultan Abū 'l-Ḥasan, already lord of Tlemcen, did not hesitate in 1347 to invade Ifrīqiya and to install himself in Tunis with his jurists and his court. It required a victorious rising of the Arabs to bring about a Ḥafṣid restoration in 1350, and about seven years later the troops of the Marinid Abū 'Inān were able to occupy Tunis again, although only for a brief period.

It was at this period, in the reign of Abū Ishāḳ Ibrāhīm (1350–1369), that the personality of the intriguing chamberlain Ibn Tafrāḡin (d. 1364) began to make itself felt; his efforts, however, did not succeed entirely in consolidating again all the lands of the empire. The south in particular gradually slipped away from the caliph; local dynasties established themselves there: the B. Yam-lūl at Tozeur, B. al-Khalaf at Nefta, B. Makki at Gabes and the B. Thābit at Tripoli. But Abū 'l-'Abbās (1370–1394) who had begun his career at Constantine, restored the glory of the dynasty; by his continued expeditions he reduced the rebels to obedience; in his reign, a Franco-Genoese crusade, a reprisal against the excesses of the pirates, failed before Mahdiyya (in 1390).

His son Abū Fāris (1394–1434) encouraged the development of the navy, and even despatched a fleet against Malta in 1428; but he had on the other hand to defend himself from the Catalans and Sicilians of Alfonso the Magnanimous who had taken the Kerkenna islands in 1424 and in 1432 made a great attack on Djerba. He built the forts of Ras Adar, Rafrat and Hammamet against them. In 1424 he took Tlemcen and established his suzerainty there.

The Ḥafṣid fifteenth century, marked by the increasing importance of the freedmen employed under the name of "ka'ids" as governors and generals, is dominated by the figure of Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān, the last great sovereign, who reigned from 1435 to 1488. Abroad, in spite of the activity of the Tunisian corsairs, there were friendly relations with Europe. Catalans and Genoese were given concessions of the coral fishing at Tabarka and of the tunny fishing at Cape Bon. At home, maraboutism, coming from the west, extended its hold and agriculture developed as the result of a period of comparative quiet, in spite of the eternal source of disorders, the nomad Arabs.

On the death of 'Uthmān, things became rapidly worse; three caliphs succeeded one another in the space of a few years; then in the reign of Abū 'Abdallāh (1494—1526) the empire, torn within by the rebelliousness of the tribes, began to collapse before the blows of the Spaniards who pursued the Turkish corsairs in these regions. In 1510 Pedro Navarro deprived it of Bougie and Tripoli, in 1520 Hughes de Moncade temporarily occupied Djerba. Finally in August 1534, the unfortunate al-Ḥasan, son and successor of Abū 'Abdallāh, found himself driven from Tunis by the celebrated Khair al-Dīn Barbarossa.

He did not return till July 1535, when the town was taken by Charles V, whose vassal he became; and he surrendered to the Spaniards the fortress of La Goulette in perpetuity. The conditions of the protectorate became still harsher in 1540 when Andrea Doria had taken Sfax, Sūsa and Monastir. In 1542, after great Spanish reverses and the defection of his own troops in the struggle against the Kairawān rebel Sidi 'Arafa and against the redoubtable marabout confederation of the Shābbiyya, which held the whole of Central Tunisia, al-Ḥasan went to Europe to seek support but in his absence he was dethroned by his son Aḥmad (Ḥamīda).

The "cruel and brave" Ḥamīda endeavoured in vain to reconquer the kingdom of his fathers. A new champion, the Turkish corsair Darghūth, who had only been delivered out of the hands of the Genoese in return for the surrender of the island of Tabarka, was driven from Mahdiya by the Spaniards in 1550; but in the following April he was able to escape cleverly from Andrea Doria in the passes of Djerba, then from his base at Tripoli he occupied Gafsa at the end of 1556 and Kairawān at the beginning of 1558, where he left troops under the command of Ḥaidar Pāshā. In 1560 he inflicted a disastrous defeat on the expedition led against Djerba by the viceroy of Sicily, the Duke of Medina-Celi; but he fell at the siege of Malta in 1565.

The continual fighting between Ḥamīda and the Spanish governor of La Goulette, in spite of several treaties made between them, facilitated the occupation of Tunis at the end of 1569 by the lord of Algiers, 'Alī Pāshā ('Euldj-'Alī), who put a garrison in it. In the autumn of 1573, when Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, had recaptured Tunis from the Turks, he restored Ḥafsid power for the last time in the person of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, to whom Serbelloni was appointed as adviser. In Aug.—Sept. 1574, Ottoman troops brought from Constantinople on Sinān Pāshā's fleet seized La Goulette and Tunis, putting an end to the Spanish occupation, which had always been limited and precarious, and also to the old Ḥafsid dynasty, the "national" one so to speak, which after periods of glory had gradually sunk into helpless impotence; its last outburst of vitality was the return of Ḥamīda (in 1581), who held the Tunisian steppes and the Djerid for several years.

Before returning to Constantinople, Sinān made Tunisia a Turkish province under the rule of a *pāshā*, at first under Algiers, from 1587 directly under the Porte. An *aghā* was in command of the army of occupation of 4,000 men, each hundred of whom was under a *dāy* (*dā'i*). But in 1591 the tyranny of the *diwān*, the governing body consisting of the higher officers, provoked a bloody

revolution, at the end of which one of the 40 *dāys* was given supreme power. Under the rule of the *dāys* elected by the Janissaries, the Pāshā, the representative of the Sulṭān, had now only an honorary position. The *Diwān* on the other hand was remodelled and enjoyed great influence, as did the corporation of the corsairs (*ṭā'ifa* of the rais). From the religious point of view, Ḥanafism enjoyed official precedence.

The regency owed its final organisation to the third *dāy*, 'Uthmān (1594—1610), who evolved under the name of *mizān* a code of laws and maintained order in the country with the support of a *bāy* whose task it was to collect the taxes in two annual circuits with armed forces (*maḥalla*). Through the intermediary of the *kapūdān rā'is* the state controlled piracy on the high seas and shared largely in its profits, which became considerable after a number of renegades — notably Ward, an Englishman — had developed its technique. Moriscoes expelled from Spain (in 1609) and settled in Tunis and Cape Bon (Soliman, Grombalia) and in other localities (e.g. Tebourba, Medjez el-Bāb, Testour, Guellat el-Andleus) gave a great stimulus to market-gardening and to industry (hosiery and dyeing). Subordination to Turkey had relaxed to such an extent that France, who thanks to the Ottoman capitulations, enjoyed a privileged position throughout the Turkish empire and had established a consulate at Tunis in 1577, had in 1606 to send an ambassador S. de Brèves, to deal directly with the "Powers" of Tunis.

Under the son-in-law and successor of 'Uthmān, Yūsuf (1610—1637), the Regency regained Djerba from the Pāshā of Tripoli and, what was something quite new, delimited its frontiers with Algeria as a result of Algerian attacks in 1614 and 1628. The next *Dāy*, Ustā Murād (1637—1640), a Genoese renegade and old corsair, fortified Porto Farina which he peopled with Spanish Moors. But already the authority of the *Dāys* was declining and there is no interest in detailing the 24 *Dāys* (Khodja, Lāz and others) who ruled from 1640 to 1702, generally as puppets in the hands of the Bāys, who had succeeded in supplanting them.

The Bāy Murād (1612—1631), originally a Corsican called Pāshā, had in his lifetime handed over his office to his son Muḥammad (Ḥammūda), thus creating a precedent which secured his family hereditary power. Ḥammūda (1631—1663) made Pāshā in his turn in 1659, relying on a corps of spahis (q.v. *ṣbā'ihiyya*) which he distributed between Tunis, Kairawān, Le Kef and Beja, became the real master of the country. He was the founder of the line of the Murādids — his sons Murād and Muḥammad al-Ḥafṣī, his grandsons Muḥammad, 'Alī and Ramaḍān — whose power was constantly threatened by civil troubles (e.g. the rising of Muḥammad b. Shukr) which culminated in the assassination of his great-grandson Murād Bū Bāla in 1702.

The first half of the xviith century is marked by a resumption of trade with Europe, particularly with Marseilles and Livorno, for which Christian and Jewish merchants from Spain and Italy were largely responsible. The Marseilles companies established at Cape Negro or Bizerta competed with the Genoese of Tabarka for the trade in coral and gained profits from the exportation of leather and cereals. The foreign relations of the Regency were extended, including for example

Great Britain and the Low Countries; in the second half of the century, as a reprisal for piracies, in addition to the traditional expeditions of the Knights of Malta, European squadrons several times bombarded the coast and demanded reparation.

The position at home, at first fairly flourishing, as is seen from the public works and religious buildings erected throughout the country (medersas, mosques at Tunis, Beja, Kairawān, including those of Sidi Šāhib) gradually became worse under the later Murādid, until in 1685—1686 and 1694 Algerian invasions were possible. The tribes, among whom were the dreaded Awlād Sa'īd, became insubordinate; for a long time Le Kef was in the hands of the B. Šhannūf and Kalaat es-Senam in those of the Ḥanānshā. The Dī. Ouselat was a hotbed of sedition. Frequent epidemics of plague decimated the people.

After the bloody reign of Ibrāhīm al-Šharīf (1702—1705) who combined for the first time the titles of Bāy, Dāy, Pāshā and Āghā of the soldiers, Ḥusain b. 'Alī Turkī was proclaimed Bāy on July 10, 1705 in the middle of a new Algerian invasion; the Ḥusainid dynasty which still rules was founded. Ḥusain restored peace and did a great deal of building (e.g. at Kairawān); but having tried to establish a regular order of succession for the benefit of his direct descendants, he was dethroned by his nephew, 'Alī Pāshā (1735—1756), supported by the Algerians; thus arose new troubles, aggravated by the revolt of Yūnus, son of 'Alī, in 1752. Finally after further intervention by Algeria, Ḥusain's son Muḥammad ascended the throne (1756—59), and the reigns of 'Alī Bāy (1759—1782), Muḥammad's brother, and of his son Ḥammūda (1782—1814) did much to heal the wounds of the state and to restore real prosperity to Tunisia.

Like agriculture, foreign trade made progress. Although the Bāy had in 1741 destroyed the factories at Cape Negro and Tabarka, his relations with Christian powers became more numerous: many treaties were made, now signed in the name of the Regency by the Bāy alone, who was a regular monarch. France, although on several occasions at war with Tunis, finally appointed a Consul-General there. A war with Venice lasted 8 years (1784—1792). 'Alī Bāy, who had subdued and scattered the rebels of the Dī. Ouselat in 1762, could not dispose of the Algerians, who still gave a great deal of trouble to Ḥammūda. The latter, aided by the Šāhib al-Ṭāba' Yusuf, massacred the mutinous Janissaries in 1811 and reorganised the government.

The sixteenth century was to bring marked changes into the political situation of the Regency. First of all there was the suppression of the corsairs and piracy — one of the principal sources of the revenues of the state — forced upon Maḥmūd (1814—1824) by the European powers, as a result of the congresses of Vienna and Aix La Chapelle; there were further the incalculable consequences of the taking of Algiers by France in 1830, in the time of the Bāy Ḥusain (1824—35). For half a century Tunisia made vain efforts to adapt herself to the new conditions by a domestic reorganisation and to steer between a slack and intermittent Ottoman suzerainty and the interference of the Christian nations in her affairs through their consuls.

The suzerainty of the Porte, encouraged by Great Britain, disputed by France, was only

manifested in a few firmāns of investiture and in the sending of Tunisian troops to the Crimea (in 1855) against Russia (a Tunisian squadron had also cooperated with the Turkish fleet at Navarino in 1827). French, English and Italian influence on the other hand continued to increase steadily. It is true that the French plans for establishing Tunisian princes in Algeria did not succeed. On the other hand, Tunisia no longer levied the tribute which Christian states had formerly paid in return for the right of trading with her. The Bāy Aḥmad (1837—1855), a kind of "enlightened despot", abolished slavery, granted liberties to the Jews, organised the "Tunisian army" on the European model with French instructors, and visited Louis Philippe in Paris in 1846. But his vast expenditure, further increased by the building of the arsenal of Porto Farina and the palaces of Mohammadia, emptied the coffers of the state, already very poorly supplied; new taxes had to be raised: *maḥşūlāt*, *kānūn* on the olive-trees, monopolies.

His cousin Muḥammad (1855—1859) introduced the *maḍjba*, a poll-tax of 36 piastres, from which the towns of Tunis, Sūsa, Monastir, Sfax and Kairawān were exempted; but the most important event of his reign was that under pressure from the consuls in the "fundamental agreement" (*ahd al-amān*: Sept. 9, 1857) which reproduced the *khaff-i sherif* [q.v.] of Gulḫane of 1839, he proclaimed the equality of all the inhabitants of Tunisia before the law and taxes, liberty of conscience, liberty to trade and to work, and the right of foreigners to acquire landed property. His brother Muḥammad al-Šādiḫ (1859—1882) on April 26, 1861 promulgated a constitution, which he had had approved by Napoleon III: executive power remained in the hands of the hereditary but responsible Bāy (the throne passing to the eldest of the princes of the Ḥusainid family), assisted by ministers chosen by him; legislative power was divided between the Bāy and Grand Council of 60 nominated members. The judicial power was independent; the tribunals followed a civil and penal Tunisian code; provincial administration was in the hands of the "kā'ids", assisted by elected "shaiḫs"; the Bāy had only a civil list and the farming out of taxes etc. was abolished.

In spite of these reforms, the situation became rapidly worse; the disastrous financial policy of Muṣṭafā Khaznadār (appointed minister in the reign of Aḥmad Bāy) which had recourse to loans and to the raising of the *maḍjba* taxes, provoked a rebellion of the tribes under 'Alī b. Ghadahum in 1864 and the institution of an International Financial Commission (Tunisians, French, Italians, Maltese) in July 1869. In 1864 the constitution had been suspended. In Oct. 1873, the general Khair al-Dīn succeeded to Khaznadār, who was dismissed; during his ministry, which, lasted till July 1877 and was marked by intelligent reforms, there was a slight improvement. But the regular resources of the country were so small and the debts so great that the Financial Commission came to nothing; the bad administration of Muṣṭafā b. Ismā'il (Sept. 1878) proved the last straw, while a bitter struggle for influence was going on between the French and Italian consuls, Roustan and Maccio, regarding the concession of public services.

France, encouraged since the Congress of Berlin in 1878 by Great Britain and Germany, then inter-

ferred. As a result of raids by *Khrumirs* into Algeria and various other incidents, the minister Jules-Ferry sent 30,000 men to invade Tunisia in April 1881. On May 12, in spite of Turkish protests, General Bréart, without having struck a blow, forced *Šādiḳ* to sign the treaty of Kassar-Said (known as that of Bardo), which practically handed over to France the control of the military, foreign and financial affairs of the Regency. A French "resident Minister", in the first place Roustan, was appointed, through whom all dealings of the *Bāy* with the French government had to be conducted. Thus, although the word was not used, were laid the foundations of the "Protectorate", which became effective and final when, after the rising in the centre and south (under 'Ali b. *Khalifa*) and its rapid suppression by a second French expedition, the *Bāy* agreed by the convention of La Marsa of June 8, 1883, to "proceed with such administrative, judicial and financial reforms as the French government" should consider useful.

The establishment of the Protectorate marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Tunisia. Never since the Muslim conquest had any political event had such a profound effect on the organisation of the country and the life of its inhabitants. The original feature of the rule, which in spite of criticism has now lasted for half a century, lay essentially in the outward maintenance of the old machinery of government, upon which a new framework and new institutions were merely superimposed.

H. H. the *Bāy* remains in theory the sovereign of the Regency, the "lord" (*šāḥib*) of the kingdom of Tunis; but the Resident Minister, since June 23, 1885 called the Resident-General, under the French Foreign Minister, and the plenipotentiary of the Republic in the Regency, is in practice the real ruler. Being both Minister of Foreign Affairs of the *Bāy* (who can correspond with Paris only through him) and President of his Council, he countersigns the beylical decrees, the promulgation of which was made compulsory by a decree of Jan. 1883; he has also under his orders the commanders of all the forces on land and sea and all the administrative services. The military guard left to the *Bāy* is exceedingly small (600 men); his subjects, forced to serve in the Tunisian army (beylical decree of Jan. 12, 1892 on recruiting), form in a way a part of the French army; over 10,000 fell for France in the war of 1914–1918.

On the council of ministers, alongside of two, later three, native ministers, sit the "Directeurs" or French heads of departments, the number of whom has grown rapidly, as well as the general commanding the division of occupation and the naval commander of Bizerta who act as ministers of war and of the admiralty. Each of these high officials issues by-laws. The "Caidats" into which the tribes are divided have become territorial divisions; above the "caid" there is placed a French "contrôleur civil".

Tunisian legislation, which applies to Tunisia alone, is often quite original. Only questions relating to the Resident-General, to the *contrôleurs* civils and to French justice have been settled by decree of the President of the Republic. The actual position in politics and administration and a juristic system which has gradually taken root seem to justify the recent view, which sees in

Tunisia the existence of a "double sovereignty", that of the *Bāy*, traditional, and that of France, more recent and progressive.

The first great task of the protecting nation has been to eliminate as much as possible foreign interference in its two forms, financial and judicial. France having guaranteed the Tunisian debt, Great Britain and Italy agreed to the suppression of the Financial Commission, which was carried out in Oct. 1884.

Tunisia, given a regular system of financial administration and a normal budget, regained its economic stability. The *Bāy* was given a civil list, for the upkeep of his family and his court. The French government still puts down officially in the budget certain expenses like an important subvention to the archbishopric of Carthage. Through the decree of July 1, 1891 the monetary unit is no longer the piastre but the franc.

The French law of April 10, 1883 having created French tribunals in the Regency, and the beylical decree of May 5 1883 having agreed that all those who formerly had the benefit of capitulations were amenable to the new courts, the foreign powers, one after the other, renounced (1883–1884) their consular jurisdictions, just as in 1896–1897 they had to abandon the customs privileges which they also held under the capitulations. Italy alone made reservations; and if at the expiration of her treaty of 1868 with Tunisia and immediately after her defeat at Adowa in Ethiopia, she had to recognise the fact of the Protectorate — which Turkey declined to recognise officially until the treaty of Sèvres in 1920 — she has nevertheless retained an advantageous position in the Regency which she does not cease to covet. Her subjects are entering it in larger numbers than the French; she is developing her influence through the press (the daily *Unione*), banking and especially cultural institutions (schools, societies) which by virtue of her agreements are not under French control; she complains however of certain steps which put her subjects at a disadvantage. In 1919, France recognised her ownership of the oases of Ghat and of Ghadames (the frontier with Tripolitania had been delimited in 1910) by an agreement, which is far from having put an end to the disturbing "Italian question" in Tunisia.

The Protectorate has enabled France to carry out in the Regency a remarkable work in the way of utilizing natural resources, and in supplying intellectual and social needs (hospitals, dispensaries, medical men, benevolent societies, various scientific and learned institutions). Modern implements and more rational knowledge and methods have produced encouraging economic results. Primarily a land of agriculture — cereals, the vine, olive, vegetables, dates, to which may be added cork and alfa grass — and cattle-rearing, Tunisia is becoming more and more an exporter of iron, lead and zinc but especially of phosphates (since the discoveries of Ph. Thomas in 1885). It imports fuel, tropical products and a quantity of manufactured objects.

Its foreign trade is about 3 milliards of francs. For a number of years, it is true, its balance of trade has shown a deficit; the revenue from tourists is not sufficient to balance this.

To facilitate European colonisation and to modernise the administration of lands, Tunisia by decree of July 1, 1885 was given an important *loi foncière* based on the *Acte Torrens*: optional registration

of lands, on a favourable decision by a "Tribunal mixte" instituted for this purpose (at Tunis 7 French and 3 Muslim magistrates, at Sūsa 4 French and 2 Muslim); a decree of March 1924 also foreshadowed the establishment of a survey. In the early period of the occupation, colonisation by French agriculturalists was left almost entirely to individual initiative. An official policy of settling French citizens on the land has only been actively pursued since about 1900. The Domain purchases lands to sell them later on a system of very easy payments to Frenchmen, e.g. former students of the École Coloniale d'Agriculture in Tunis. The Italians compete with the French, less by the size of their farms, than by the number of their farmers.

In default of a great immigration of French citizens, France has begun in Tunisia a policy of naturalisation by the decrees (the one presidential and the other beylical) of Nov. 8, 1921; but as a result of litigation begun in this connection by Great Britain before the Court of the Hague, they have been replaced by the French law of Dec. 20, 1923; naturalisation, considerably facilitated to foreigners and strangers who request it, becomes automatic (with however the power to decline it) in the second generation, obligatory in the third, for foreigners settled in the Regency. Great Britain has accepted in the main these regulations which concern chiefly her Maltese subjects. The Italians however by their agreements escape any forced naturalisation; but some of them become naturalised voluntarily. The "néo-français", among whom the Muslims do not number 2,000, while they include about 5,000 Jews, form over a quarter of the present French population.

The Jews, of whom several thousands of European origin have retained Italian nationality, remain for the most part subjects of the Bāy under native authority and jurisdiction, except in personal matters in which they are dealt with by a "Tribunal Rabbinique" of Tunis (reorganised by decrees of Nov. 1898 and Nov. 1929) and by "notaires israélites" (decrees of Febr. 1918 and Apr. 1927). The Tunisian Jews do not perform military service and in general cannot become government officials. Their rapid development in European civilisation raises the problem of their obtaining in large numbers or en bloc French citizenship. The decree of Aug. 30, 1921 established, for all the Jews in the contrôle civile of Tunis, without distinction of nationality, a "Conseil de la Communauté" of 12 members elected for four years by suffrage of the second degree, with authority to deal with matters of relief and worship. The government appoints the administrators of the other Jewish communities; it also appoints the Chief Rabbi of Tunisia. The practice of religion is declining, but Zionism on the other hand enjoys undeniable favour.

The government of the Protectorate has always tried to improve, without offending religious beliefs, the native administration and the economic and religious conditions of the Muslims (cf. above). If there are many problems to be solved, some of which are being studied, the work done so far is however quite appreciable. In spite of its resistance to the adoption of western ways of living, the Muslim world of Tunisia is undergoing a radical transformation, of which it would be rash to predict the results. The *Dustūr* movement (Tunisian constitutional party, desiring autonomy), which made progress in the years following the

war, was skilfully checked by the Resident-General Lucien Saint. It looks at present as if the native population are satisfied with the nature of the reforms towards which, during the last ten years (1920—1930), the domestic policy of the Protectorate has been directed.

The liberal measures already taken, notably in 1922 and 1928 the creation of and reorganisation of the Grand Conseil, follow two fundamental principles: an appeal to the more and more direct collaboration of the natives, and an extension of the powers of the elected assemblies. New rights are being given in the French colony: elected municipal councils, a greater liberty of the press and of combination.

At the time of writing, Tunisia is preparing to celebrate in tranquillity the jubilee of the Protectorate.

List of Bāys since the French Occupation:

Muḥ. al-Sādiq 'Alī (1882—1902)
Muḥ. al-Hādī (1902—1906)
Muḥ. al-Nāṣir (1906—1922)
Muḥ. al-Ḥabīb (1922—1929)
Aḥmad (1929—).

List of Resident-Generals:

Roustan
Paul Cambon (appointed in March 1882)
Massicault (Nov. 1886)
Rouvier (Nov. 1892)
Millet (Nov. 1894)
Stéphen Pichon (March 1901)
Alapetite (Dec. 1906)
Flandin (Oct. 1918)
Lucien Saint (Jan. 1921)
Manceron (Jan. 1929).

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Tunis en 1842, Paris 1844; Kennedy, *Algeria and Tunisia in 1845*, London 1846; Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeers in 1845—47*, Berlin 1849; Chassiron, *Aperçu pittoresque de la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1849; Pellissier, *Description de la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1853 (*Expl. scient. Algérie*, xv.; cf. also *R. d. Deux Mondes*, May 1856); Daumas, *Quatorze ans à Tunis*, Algiers 1857; Finotti, *La Regenza di Tunisi*, Malte 1857; Dunant, *Notice sur la Régence de Tunis*, Geneva 1858; Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862; Flaux, *La Régence de Tunis au XIX^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1865; François, *Tunis et la Régence sous Mohammed el-Sadok Bey*, Paris 1867; De Gubernatis, *Lettere sulla Tunisia*, Florence 1867; Michel, *Tunis*, Paris 1867; Maltzan, *Sittenbilder aus Tunis u. Algerien*, Leipzig 1869; do., *Reise in den Regentschaften Tunis u. Tripolis*, Leipzig 1870; Zaccane, *Notes sur la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1875; Rae, *Barbary, Journey from Tripoli to ... Kairouan*, London 1877; Féraud, *Notes sur un voyage en Tunisie et en Tripolitaine*, *R. A.*, 1877; Nachtigal, *Tunis, Deutsche Rundschau*, 1881; Pinchia, *Ricordi di Tunisi*, Turin 1881.

d. The collections of documents published by: Plantet, *Correspondance des beys de Tunis et des consuls de France avec la Cour (1577—1830)*, 3 v., Paris 1893—1899; Grandchamp, *La France en Tunisie (1582—1700)*, 8 v., Tunis 1920—1930; Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel (1590—1726)*, 3 v., The Hague 1910—1917; Grandchamp, *Documents relatifs aux corsaires tunisiens (1777—1814)*, Tunis 1925;

e. Special works: Rousseau, *Annales tunisiennes*, Algiers 1864; Fitoussi, *L'Etat tunisien (1525—1901)*, Tunis 1901, 2nd ed. in the press; Masson, *Histoire des établissements et du commerce français dans l'Afrique barbaresque (1560—1793)*, Paris 1903; do., *Les Compagnies du corail*, Paris-Marseille 1908; La Roncière, *Histoire de marine française*, 5 v., Paris 1909—1920; Conor, *Les exploits d'Alonso de Contreras en Tunisie (1601—11)*, *R. T.*, 1913; Spont, *Les Français à Tunis de 1600 à 1789*, *R. Questions Hist.*, 1900; Playfair, *The Scourge of Christendom*, London 1884; Marchesi, *Tunisi e la Repubblica Venezia nel secolo XVIII*, Venice 1882; Nallino, *Venezia e Sfax nel secolo XVIII*, in *Cent. Amari*, Palermo 1910; Grandchamp, *La mission de Pléville-le-Pelley à Tunis (1793—94)*, Tunis 1921; do., *Le citoyen Guiraud, proconsul de la République française à Tunis (1796)*, *R. T.*, 1919; Loth, *Arn. Soler, chargé d'affaires d'Espagne à Tunis (1808—10)*, *R. T.*, 1905—1906; Dupuy, *Americains et Barbaresques (1776—1824)*, Paris 1910; Hugon, *Les emblèmes des beys de Tunis*, Paris 1913; Serres, *La politique turque en Afrique du Nord sous la monarchie de Juillet*, Paris 1925; Rouard de Card, *Les arrangements conclus par le général Clausel avec le bey de Tunis (1830—31)*, Paris 1927; Gonni, *La regia marina sarda sulle costi di Barberia (1830)*, *Boll. Ufficio stor.*, 1930; do., *Una squadra sardopoleitana a Tunisi (1833)*, *ibid.*; Grandchamp, *Le différend de la Tunisie avec la Sardaigne et Naples en 1833*, *R. T.* (appearing shortly); Monchicourt, *La mahalla d'Ahmed Zarroug dans le Sahel* (1864), *R. T.*, 1917.

4. On the French Protectorate and Tunisia since 1881, there is now a vast literature. The following are the principal works:

a. Establishment of the Protectorate: *Documents diplomatiques, Affaires de Tunisie* (1870—1881), Paris 1881; D'Estournelles de Constant, *La politique française en Tunisie*, Paris 1891; Crispi, *Politica estera* (1876—1890), transl. R. T., 1913; Chiala, *Pagine di storia contemporanea*, vol. 2: *Tunisi*, Turin 1895; Broadley, *The last Punic War*, Edinburgh-London 1882; *L'expédition militaire en Tunisie*, Paris n.d.; Cappello, *La spedizione francese in Tunisia*, Città di Castello 1912; Rouard de Card, *Traité de la France avec les pays de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1906; do., *La Turquie et le protectorat français en Tunisie*, Paris 1916;

b. Political questions since 1918: *La Tunisie martyre*, 1920; Raynaud, *La Tunisie sans les Français*, Paris n. d.; Jung, *Les réformes en Tunisie*, Paris 1926; Winkler, *Essai sur la nationalité dans les protectorats de Tunisie et du Maroc*, Paris 1926; Aguesse, *Souveraineté et nationalité en Tunisie*, Paris 1930; Tumedei, *La Questione tunisina e l'Italia*, Bologna 1922; Salfatti, *Tunisiaca*, Rome 1924; Bonura, *Gli Italiani in Tunisi*, Rome 1929; and numerous articles in the *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française*, from which are reprinted: Rodd Balek, *La Tunisie après la guerre (1919—21)*, Paris 1922; Cavé, *Sur les tracés de Rodd Balek (1924—27)*, Paris 1929; and a *Chronique de Tunisie (1922—28)*, Tunis 1928;

c. General descriptions: Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunis*, Vienna 1882; Graham and Ashbee, *Travels in Tunisia*, London 1887 (in appendix a very useful *Bibliography of Tunisia*, to which nothing is added in Rouard de Card, *Livres français des XVII^{ème} et XVIII^{ème} siècles concernant les Etats barbaresques*, Paris 1911); Lanessan, *La Tunisie*, Paris 1887, 1917²; Faucon, *La Tunisie*, 1893; *La Tunisie. Histoire et description*, 4 v., Paris-Nancy 1896, 1900²; *La Tunisie au début du XX^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1904; Loth, *La Tunisie et l'œuvre du Protectorat français*, Paris 1907; *Notice générale sur la Tunisie (1811—1921)*, Toulouse 1922; Despois, *La Tunisie*, Paris 1930;

d. Social life, novels of manners: Lapie, *Les civilisations tunisiennes*, Paris 1898; Canal, *La littérature et la presse tunisiennes de l'Occupation à 1900*, Paris n. d.; Duhamel, *Le prince Jaffar*, Paris 1924; Hubac, *Les masques d'argile*, Paris 1928. — Cf. also for the natives, the works quoted under "Language" and numerous articles in the *Revue Tunisienne*:

5. For non-Muslims, in addition to Darnon (see also under "Religion"):

a. Christians: Mesnage, *Le christianisme en Afrique, Eglise mozarabe*, Paris-Algiers 1915; Gleizes, *Jean Le Vacher*, Paris 1914; do., *Captivité et œuvres de St. Vincent de Paul en Barbarie*, Paris 1930; Anselme des Arcs, *Mémoires de la mission des capucins de Tunisie (1624—1865)*, Rome 1889; Pons, *La nouvelle Eglise d'Afrique (depuis 1830)*, Tunis 1930;

b. Jews: Cazès, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de Tunisie*, Paris 1889; Chalom, *Les Israélites de la Tunisie*, Paris 1908; Arditti, *Recueil des textes législatifs et juridiques concernant les Israélites de Tunisie (1857—1913)*,

Tunis 1915; Tibi, *Le Statut personnel.... des Israélites tunisiens*, Tunis 1923; Slouschz, *Un voyage d'études juives en Afrique*, Paris 1909; do., *Travels in North Africa*, Philadelphia 1927.

6. For the history of Muḥammadan art: G. Marçais, *Manual d'art musulman. L'architecture*, Paris 1926—1927.

3. ADMINISTRATION.

a. French administration. At the beginning of the Protectorate and by virtue of the beylical decree of Feb. 4, 1883, the Resident-General was immediately assisted by a "Secretary General of the government of Tunisia", who had control of all the official correspondence and held the same position with the Prime Minister as the Resident did with the Bey. This office was abolished on July 14, 1922 and to some extent replaced by a "Delegate to the Residence General", whose powers, fixed by presidential decree of Feb. 10, 1923, are very different and in practice not so considerable, although he is vice-president of the Council of Ministers, inspecteur des contrôles civils, and takes the place of the Resident when away or prevented from appearing. By virtue of a residential resolution of Nov. 10, 1926, the Resident is assisted by a civil cabinet and a military one.

This same resolution of 1926, supported by a number of beylical decrees of the same day, remodels the main government offices of the Regency and defines the activities of the principal services organised and directed by the French since the occupation: the "Direction Générale des Travaux Publics" created on Sept. 3, 1882, the "Direction Générale des Finances" on Nov. 4 of the same year, the "Direction Générale de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts" on May 6, 1883, the "Direction Générale de l'Agriculture, du Commerce et de la Colonisation" on Nov. 3, 1890, the "Direction Générale de l'Intérieur" (which includes the departments of public health and public assistance) and the "Direction de la Justice Tunisienne" of July 14, 1922 (the two latter were created as a result of the suppression of the office of Secretary General). We may add the "Office des Postes et Telegraphes", which was created on June 11, 1888, and became an autonomous "Direction" by the decree of Nov. 18, 1927.

If we except the southern part, which is held to be a military zone (capital Médenine) and governed by a "Service des Affaires indigènes" (2 officers of higher rank, 20 captains or lieutenants, 11 military interpreters, paid out of the French budget), Tunisia is divided for administrative purposes since 1922 into 5 "regions" (Bizerta, Tunis, Le Kef, Susā and Sfax) each of which is sub-divided into a certain number of "contrôles civils", in all 19: Beja, Bizerta, Tabarka, Suk el-Arba, Tunis, Zaghouan, Grombalia, Téboursuk, Le Kef, Maktar, Medjez el-Bab, Susa, Kairawan, Thala, Sfax, Gabes, Gafsa, Tozeur, Djerba. The "contrôleurs civils", French officials instituted by presidential decree of Oct. 4, 1884, are appointed by presidential decree on the nomination of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; their duties, defined by the residential circular of July 22, 1887, consists mainly in supervising the native administration and aiding in French colonisation; they have the title of vice-consuls and perform the duties of French consular agents. Their status was regulated by residential resolution of April 25, 1922.

French law is administered in the Regency by two tribunals of first instance, one at Tunis (4 chambers), the other at Susā, and by 14 regular "justices de paix" to whom are to be added the justices "foraines", whose courts are itinerant. The tribunals are amenable to the Court of Appeal in Algiers. Penal law is administered, for offences and misdemeanours, by correctional tribunals, and in the same cases as in Algeria by "juges de paix". Crimes are judged by criminal tribunals sitting at Tunis and Susā, composed of 3 French professional judges and 6 assessors, whose appointment is regulated by the presidential decree of Nov. 29, 1893: their nationality depends on that of the accused; there is no jury. All the French magistrates, who are in every respect the same as in Algeria, are appointed by presidential decree on the nomination of the "Garde des Sceaux".

France is responsible for the budget for the army and the navy. Bizerta is the headquarters of a naval prefecture which covers the whole of the shores of North Africa. The general commanding the "Division d'Occupation" assumed in 1926 the title of "Commandant supérieur des troupes de Tunisie".

To complete the list of the principal public services of Tunisia, mention must be made of the two companies which have concessions for the most important ports: that of Bizerta, founded in 1886, that of Tunis, Susā and Sfax founded in 1894; and the 3 railway companies: *a.* the Company Bône-Guelma, called Compagnie Fermière as a result of the convention of July 22, 1922 (almost all the Tunisian system, which consists primarily of a long line following the coast, two lines Tunis-Algeria through the valley of the Medjerda and by the High Tell, a line from Susā to the phosphate mines west of Gafsa through the steppes of Sbeitla and Feriana); *b.* the Compagnie des phosphates de Gafsa (narrow gauge lines connecting Sfax with Gabes, Redeyef and Tozeur); *c.* the Tramway Company of Tunis (electric system in the suburbs: 2 lines Tunis-La Marsa, one via La Goulette and Carthage).

Besides the government departments, Tunisia has a certain number of deliberative assemblies, nominated or elected. The French alone are electors to the chambers of commerce and agriculture, elected for 6 years, one third retiring every two years: the chamber of commerce of Tunis, chamber of agriculture of Tunis, chamber of commerce and agriculture of Susā, chamber of commerce and agriculture at Sfax, all four instituted in 1895, chamber of commerce of Bizerta, instituted in 1902. Women have the right of voting but cannot themselves be members. The chamber of mining interests which meets in Tunis, created by residential resolution of July 15, 1922, represents indiscriminately French or Tunisian owners, directors, managers or engineers of mines in Tunisia; its 12 members are elected for 6 years and half retire every 3 years.

60 places have been created municipalities. By virtue of the decrees of Jan. 14, 1914 and Jan. 1, 1924, the municipal councils appointed by decree for 3 years, one third only elected each year, consist of a native president, one or more French vice-presidents and a varying number of native or European councillors. Their deliberations, which are public, are subject to the approval of the prime minister.

The decree of July 13, 1922, replaced by that of March 27, 1928, instituted "regional councils"

whose members, elected for 6 years, were at first representatives on the one hand of the native municipal councillors and of the (native) councils of the *kā'idate*, and on the other of a slight majority of Frenchmen representing French municipal councillors or chambers of commerce and agriculture; they now also include a vice-president of the municipality of each capital of a region, the delegates to the Grand Council elected by universal suffrage, representatives of the chamber of mining interests and native chambers of commerce. The regional council, a consultative body on economic and financial questions, meets twice a year, for 6 days at most at each session, in the capital of the region under the presidency of a *contrôleur civil*, appointed by the Resident General, who has however no vote. The French members elect a vice-president and a secretary, another vice-president and another secretary are appointed by the native members.

The principal representative assembly, the "Grand Conseil", replaced on July 13, 1922 the "Conférence Consultative" of 1896, which had in the meanwhile been several times remodelled. A number of decrees and resolutions of March 1928 regulate its composition and powers. It consists of a French and a native section which in principle deliberate separately. The French section, presided over by the Resident General, numbers 52-22 representatives of economic interests, 6 elected by the chamber of agriculture of Tunis, 2 by the chamber of commerce of Bizerta, 4 by that of Tunis, 4 by the mixed chamber of Susā, 4 by that of Sfax, 2 by the chamber of mining interests, and 30 representatives of the French colony, elected regionally by all French inhabitants over 21 years of age and domiciled in Tunisia for at least two years, 6 for Bizerta, 10 for Tunis 4 for Le Kef, 5 for Susā, 5 for Sfax and all the "territoires militaires". The members of the Grand Council, aged at least 25, are elected for 6 years, half being elected every 3 years. The Council examines and votes the budget. It can also express its wishes, except on political or constitutional questions, give its opinion on questions submitted to it by the government, and itself put questions to the government. France reserves the right to approve a decree dissolving the Grand Council or to overrule its decisions even on budget questions. The Grand Council meets once a year in ordinary session for a maximum period of 20 days; it may also be convoked for an extraordinary session. Each section elects its own officers and appoints two grand commissions: financial commission and commission for economic machinery. The French section sends 5 representatives of economic interests and 7 of the French colony. The plenary sittings of the Grand Council are not public. A "Commission Arbitrale", presided over by the Resident-General deliberates on all proposals, votes or motions, on which the two sections have held different opinions. Its 14 members are appointed half by the French section and half by the native section: in case of persistent disagreement, the Resident General takes part in the voting, as well as the ministers or directors present, i. e. the government has a casting vote between the two disputing sections.

b. Finance. The fiscal resources of Tunisia are composed, in decreasing proportion, of direct taxes: 1. the "taxe personnelle" (*istiṭān*) which has replaced the old *maḍyān* (cf. Barthès, *Les impôts arabes en Tunisie*, Algiers 1923) and is levied on every male inhabitant of Tunisia over 20 years of

age; 2. ground taxes (*kānūn* on the date-palms, *kānūn* on the olive-trees, *ushr* or tithe on cereals, from which lands newly brought under cultivation are exempted for five years, *marādī* on orchards and irrigated lands except those of Djerba, *khudār*, "special tax on the cultivated lands of Djerba", tax on cattle instituted in 1918, tax on the vine instituted in 1919, tax on undeveloped land instituted in 1927, tax on the rentable value and on the rentals of urban and suburban estates levied mainly for the benefit of the communes); 3. taxes on commercial and industrial profits (licence instituted in 1927 and mining dues); 4. tax on the income from personal property, mortgages etc., created in 1918; and a few taxes called "assimilées".

Indirect taxes, which are increasing in importance, are: *a.* stamp and registration duties, *b.* customs duties, calculated in such a way as to favour French products, *c.* a series of duties on the manufacture and sale of various products, which in 1920 replaced the old *maḥṣūlāt*, under the name of "indirect contributions". In addition there are *d.* the revenues from monopolies (tobacco, salt, matches, playing-cards), *e.* the profit from the Post Office, *f.* from various industrial enterprises and *g.* from the state lands.

c. Native administration. The native ministers number 3: the "prime minister" (*al-wazīr al-akbar*), assisted by the "minister of the Pen" (*wazīr al-kalam*), with the Director General of the Interior at his side; the Minister of Justice (*wazīr al-ʿadliya*) whose office was instituted on April 26, 1921 and who is advised by a French "Directeur de la Justice Tunisienne".

The basis of the territorial organisation of Tunisia is the division into kaidates, at present numbering 37: Beja, Bizerta, Mateur, Ain-Draham, Suk el-Arba, Suk el-Khemis, Tunis-ville, Tunis-banlieue, Zaghouan, Soliman, Nabeul, Téboursouk, Le Kef, Tadjerouine, Ouled-Ayar, Ouled-Aun, Medjez el-Bab, Susā, Monastir, Mahdia, Souassi, Kairawān, Djelass, Fraichich, Madjeur, Sfax, Djebeniana, La Skira, Arad, Gafsa, Hammama, Djérid, Djerba, Matmata, Nefzaoua, Ouerghemma, Tatahouine. In Tunis-ville, the kaid keeps the old name of *shaikh al-madīna*. The kaid (*kā'id*), appointed by decree, has retained functions which are administrative, judicial and financial: he acts as intermediary between the government and the people, has to see that the public peace is maintained, deals without appeal with civil or penal affairs of slight importance and collects taxes. He has at his disposal a native gendarmerie (*udjāk*) composed of "spahis" (*sbā'ihiya*) who collect the fines (*khidma*) from defaulting taxpayers. There is a tendency to replace by a fixed salary the taxes which he used to collect for himself from those under him; some steps have already been taken in this direction.

The kaid is assisted or supplemented by *khalīfas* appointed by decree since Nov. 28, 1889; they now number 67 divided into 2 grades, of which 20 are in the upper grade. Since June 4, 1912, there has been a group of "kaid stagiaires" (*kāhiya*) or "probationers" and of *khalīfas* of an exceptional class, now numbering 16, who represent the kaid in certain spheres of his duties.

Each kaidate is subdivided into a certain number of *shaikhates*, in all 604, placed under the authority of a *shaikh* appointed by the government on the nomination of the kaid. The *shaikh* is responsible for public order and aids in the collection of taxes.

A number of decrees and resolutions of 1922, modified in 1928, have instituted and organised (except in military territory) "councils of kaidates", whose purpose is to discuss the economic needs of the kaidates and to reply to government enquiries and elect representatives to the regional councils. Each *shaikhate* sends 4 delegates, 1 or 2 principals, the others subsidiary, of at least 30 years of age, chosen from among themselves, subject to ministerial approval, by the notables, i.e. by the most distinguished taxpayers, over 25 years of age, living in or owning land in the *shaikhate* outside the communes. The lists of notables drawn up by the kaid are revised by a commission on which sit along with him the civil comptroller and the *kādi*. Solicitors, officials or policemen cannot be delegates to the council. The sittings, which last 2 days, are quarterly. The elections take place every 6 years.

Native chambers of commerce and agriculture were created in 1920, reorganised in 1924 and 1928: the "chambre d'agriculture indigène du nord" which includes an agricultural section (1 member for each kaidate, chosen by the government from two candidates presented by the delegates of the *shaikhates*) and a section for rural economy (2 members, matriculants or agricultural engineers, chosen by the government from 4 candidates presented by the delegates from the *shaikhates*); the "Chambre de Commerce indigène du nord" which includes a commercial section (12 elected Muslims and 5 Jews) and a section for general economics (2 Muslim or Jewish members, chosen by the government from 4 candidates presented by the electors). The electors must be at least 25 years of age and the candidates 30.

Since 1928 it has been provided that these two assemblies should have joint meetings with the similar French bodies. There has also been founded, inside each "chambre mixte" of Susā and Sfax, a native section of 7 members.

We have already seen what share the natives take in the municipal councils and regional councils. In the Grand Council they form a distinct section of 26 members, 10 of whom represent the 5 regions (2 each), 3 the territories of the south, 4 the native chamber of commerce of the north, 4 the native chamber of agriculture of the north, 2 each of the native sections of the mixed chambers, 1 the Jewish community of Tunis. This section of the Grand Council is usually presided over by the Delegate to the Residence General or a high French official of the protectorate nominated by the Resident, exceptionally by the Resident-general. The two sections may agree to deliberate in common; the votes are then considered as having been given by a single assembly.

Tunisian law, the statutes of which were settled by decree of Jan. 1928, carefully preserves the distinction between lay and religious jurisdiction. At the head of the first category, the tribunal of the "Ouzara" (*Uzarā*) at Tunis has comprised since 1921: *a.* a kind of court of appeal for all Tunisia, the two courts of which (civil and penal) each sit with 3 magistrates; *b.* a criminal court which judges cases of first instance and without appeal; *c.* a court of arraignment; *d.* a commission des requêtes, a kind of court of appeal. The Ouzara is completed by regional tribunals with 3 magistrates created at Sfax, Gabes and Gafsa in 1896, at Susā and Kairawān in 1897, at Kef in

1898, at Beja in 1926. In 1906 "commissaires du gouvernement" were attached to them, i.e. French lawyers speaking Arabic. Parties can be represented by "oukils" (*wakīl*, pl. *ukalā'*). In conclusion it may be noted that the regional tribunal of Tunis is still called *Driba*, and that Tunis has also the tribunal of the "Orf" (*'Urf*), a kind of tribunal for trade and commerce on which sit the *Shaiḫ* al-Madina and ten assessors.

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4. MUSLIM RELIGION.

With the exception of the island of Djerba, $\frac{3}{5}$ of the inhabitants of which are *Khāridjīs*, Tunisia has for long adopted *Mālikite* sunnism. The descendants of the Turks or those who claim to be such profess to be *Ḥanafīs*; they are a small, but aristocratic, minority, and privileged from the fact that they include the beylical family.

a. Institutions. — *Shar'*. Under the *Hafṣids* [q. v.] the highest religious functions were performed in Tunis by the "Kāḍī of the community" (*kāḍī 'l-djāmā'a*) and the "Kāḍī for marriages" (*kāḍī 'l-ankiḥa*) appointed, like the chief muftis [q. v.] or *khaṭīb* [q. v.], by the sovereign. Below them again there was a *kāḍī 'l-mu'āmalāt* and a *kāḍī 'l-ahilla*. The "Kāḍī of the camp" (*kāḍī 'l-mahalla*) accompanied the government troops in the field.

Ibn Abī Dīnār (p. 276; transl., p. 470) has pointed out how the Kāḍī gradually allowed himself to come under the domination of the mufti to such an extent that they are associated in the tribunal of the "Charāa" (*Shar'*; cf. Saint Gervais, p. 93—95), and that under the Turks the *Ḥanafī* chief mufti (*bāsh-muftī*) took the title of *Shaiḫ* al-Islām [q. v.], which he still retains; the *Mālikī* *bāsh-mufti*, who occupies a position which is officially not so high, has sometimes been honoured with the same title.

The "Charāa", exclusively applied in personal law (civil law, marriage, divorce, trusteeship, guardianship, inheritance), is formed in each town of the interior by a *Mālikī* *madjlīs*: one *kāḍī* with one or more muftis. In Tunis, a *Ḥanafī* *madjlīs* sits in the "Dīwān" alongside of a *Mālikī* one; both take cognisance of cases submitted to them by litigants from the interior or remitted to them by other *kāḍīs*.

The operation of these courts, formerly regulated by decrees of 1856 and 1875, is now fixed by that of Dec. 15, 1896, which defined the procedure of the *murāsala's* by insisting that they should be recorded in a register kept by notaries. The decree of March 6, 1926 installed a system of legal assistance, which frees the natives from a tax of enrolment created on March 3 of the same year. In conclusion, registrars were appointed by decree of January 28, 1930.

Notariate. The native "notaries" (*adl*, pl. *'udūl*) are appointed by beylical decree. Their recruitment and method of practice have long been regulated by the decree of 30th *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da* 1291 (Jan. 8, 1875); appointments were made on the nomination of the *kāḍīs*; former students who had received the diploma of the Great Mosque were almost automatically appointed notaries without

necessarily practising. The decree of May 8, 1928 made appreciable modifications to the earlier statute; new regulations were again made by the decree of July 1, 1929, which came into operation on Jan. 1, 1931. In future, Muslim notaries must be at least 24 years of age, have spent two or three years in a notary's office, and — most remarkable innovation — have passed an examination which demands a knowledge of Tunisian legislation. The diploma of the Great Mosque confers the right to present oneself for the notariate examination of the "first category", which enables the recipient to practise in a large town; the notaries of the "second category", after a slightly different examination, can only practise in towns of less importance. The registers (daybook and minute-book), supplied and checked by the ministry of Justice, are subject to a regular and serious system of inspection.

Ḥubūs. The *wakf* [q. v.] properties in Tunisia are called "habous" (*hubūs*). The public habous have been managed since *Khair al-Dīn's* time in 1874 by a central office (*djām'iya*) reorganised by decree of March 19, 1924; at its head are a director and an administrative committee: it is divided into a certain number of offices, and has a representative (*nā'ib*) in each of the principal centres of the Regency who delegates the actual managing agents (*wakīl*). The decree of July 17, 1908 has placed the *Djām'iya* under the control of a "conseil supérieur des habous" directed by the Minister of the Pen and the Director-General of the Interior. The *Djām'iya* has the right to supervise the management of private habous.

The legislation relating to the habous has been cleverly got round with the help of the three following processes (cf. H. de Montety, *Une loi agraire en Tunisie*, Cahors 1927): a. the contract of "enzel" (*inzāl*) or transference of habous on payment of a rent in perpetuity (decree of May 26, 1886, frequently modified and supplemented; since 1905, the enzelist debtor has been able to redeem the rent; the sale of land is by public auction except that the rights of the occupants of rural estates are safeguarded); b. exchange in kind or money (decrees of Jan. 11 and Nov. 13, 1898); c. long-term leases (Jan. 31, 1898).

The *Bait al-Māl* is under the *Djām'iya*. It gives grants for charitable purposes and receives estates for which there are no heirs.

Brotherhoods. It would be very risky to give definite figures about the Muslim religious brotherhoods of Tunisia (cf. Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, *passim*). We cannot adopt without reserve those given in the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*. The total number of adherents is certainly much greater than the figure of 58,143 given there. According to an unpublished official enquiry made in 1924 by the Résidence Générale, the administrative district of Le Kef alone has 18,000 *khuwān* or *fuḳarā'*, while the members of the brotherhoods form a third of the population in the district of Beja, which includes in all 66,000 Muslims. There are over 13,000 in the annexe of Tatahouine alone. The four orders most widely spread are: the *Kāḍiriya* and the *Rahmāniya*, then the *'Isāwa* and the *Tidjāniya* [q. v.]; the *'Arūsīya* are also quite numerous. Further, in addition to local groups like the *Bū-'Alīya* of Nefta, there are scattered groups of *Madaniya*, *Shādhiliya* and *Taiyibiya*. The administrative officials of Tabarka

and Thala agree in estimating in their areas the proportion of Rahmāniya and Qādiriya respectively at 50% and 40% of the total number of members; but this proportion is of course smaller elsewhere, where rival orders have had more success. We may note the spread of the recently-formed sect of the 'Alawiya, which originated in Mostaganem in Algeria, and seems to have its Tunisian centre at the Zāwiya [q.v.] of Ksibet el-Mediouni near Monastir. While Tunis, Menzel bou-Zelfa, and the Djerid are centres of important brotherhoods, Le Kef contains the most influential mother-zāwiya. It is true that the political role of these organisations is practically nil and that even their religious influence is gradually declining.

The right of asylum of the zāwiya was abolished on Feb. 6, 1883.

b. Education: The Qur'anic schools are called *kuttāb*. At the top, the "medersas", directed by certificated former students of the Great Mosque, maintained by the Djam'iya under the supervision of the Director of Public Instruction, are now practically nothing more than hostels for the students at the Great Mosque; at the very most a few tutorial lectures are given there. Only the medersa al-'Asfūriya trains *mu'addib* or teachers for the *kuttāb*.

The Great Mosque. Under the Turks, the Great Mosque gradually became the centre of all religious teaching; in our day, it has secured a monopoly of it and is attended by some 2,000 students, from Tunisia, Tripolitania, Algeria and even sometimes Morocco. The organisation of its courses, in what may be called the modern period, goes back to the edict (*manshūr*) of Aḥmad Bāy of Ramaḍān 27, 1258 (Nov. 1, 1842) known as *al-Mu'allafa*, because it was affixed to the Bāb al-Shifā' gate of the Great Mosque. The principal arrangements were: 30 teachers (*ʿālim*, pl. *ʿulamā'*) of whom 15 are Mālikī and 15 Ḥanafī, were each to give 2 lectures a day, except on Thursday and Friday, the days of the Two Feasts and the month of Ramaḍān; their pay was to be 2 piastres a day, except when absent without regular cause. The two *Shaiḫs* al-Islām, Mālikī and Ḥanafī, were appointed inspectors (*muḥṣar*) and were to receive 100 piastres a month; they were to be assisted in their task by the two *qādis*, one of each rite, who drew 3 piastres a day. These four also audited the accounts of the administrators of the Bait al-Māl, from which the above salaries were paid. If the funds of the Bait al-Māl shewed a substantial surplus, it was to be divided under certain conditions among the most diligent students. The appointments of teachers were to be made by beylical decree (*ḡahir*) on the advice of the inspectors and the two *qādis*.

But it is only from Khair al-Dīn's time that a more detailed organisation dates: the decree (*amr ʿalī*) which he made Ṣadiḫ Bāy issue on 28th Dhū 'l-Ka'da 1292 (Dec. 26, 1875) lays down in 67 articles the subjects to be taught, the list of authors to be expounded, the privileges and duties of the students, teachers and supervisors, and regulations for the library. — The number of partial modifications afterwards made caused this decree to be replaced by that of Sept. 16, 1912, of which the 81 articles with a few additions still govern the institution. In it we find, somewhat mixed up, alongside of pedagogical provisions of an old fashioned type, strong recommendations in favour of correctness and good behaviour and, in article

19, the prohibition to doubt principles traditionally admitted by the 'ulamā's.

The subjects taught, more numerous and more varied than the "eleven branches of learning" provided for at the Azhar by the regulation of 1872 are, in the order in which they are given in article 1: Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), traditions relating to the Prophet (*ḥadīth*), biographies (*siyar*), dogmatic theology (*tawḥīd*), the reading and proper recitation of the Qur'an (*ḳir'āt*, *taǧwīd*), technology (*muṣṭalah*), judicial methodology (*uṣūl al-fīḫ*), jurisprudence (*fīḫ*), the law of inheritance (*far'īd*), mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), the determination of the hours of prayer (*miḳāt*), syntax (*naḥw*), grammatical morphology (*ṣarf*), elocution and rhetoric (*ma'ānī*, *bayān*), style, composition, literature (*luḡha*, *inṣhā'*, *adab*), history and geography (*tārīḫ*, *djūǧrāfiyā*), drawing and calligraphy (*rasm*, *ḫatt*), versification (*ʿarūd*), logic (*manṭiq*), dialectic (*ādāb al-baḥth*), arithmetic (*ḥisāb*), geometry (*ḥandasa*), astronomy (*ḥaṣ'a*), mensuration (*misāḥa*). Of these subjects the latter are somewhat neglected. The rigidly traditionalist spirit and the archaic methods of instruction used in the Great Mosque are obstacles to all progress in profane sciences, and to any liberalism in religious matters. Under history and geography the programme, in addition to a brief résumé of Muslim history, gives only two books to be studied: the *Raḳm al-Ḥulal* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn al-Khaldūn, both of the xivth century. The geometry is still Euclid, whose propositions are read in al-Ṭūsī's version (xiiith century).

The courses, which are free, are divided into three stages, and there are examinations to pass from one to the other. The following is a list of the works on religion and language expounded in the highest course (art. 4):

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|--|
| <i>tafsīr</i> | { | the <i>Asrār al-Tanzīl</i> of al-Baidāwī, |
| | | the commentary of the two <i>Djalāls</i> ; |
| | { | the <i>Muwaffā'</i> with commentary of al-Zarkānī, |
| | | the <i>Ṣaḥīḥ</i> of al-Bukḥārī with commentary of al-Ḳaṣṭallānī, |
| <i>ḥadīth</i> | { | the <i>Ṣaḥīḥ</i> of Muslim with commentary of al-ʿUbbī, |
| | | the <i>Shifā'</i> of the <i>Qādi ʿIyād</i> with commentary of al-Shihāb al-Khaḫāḍjī; |
| | { | the <i>Mawāḥib al-laduniya</i> of al-Ḳaṣṭallānī with commentary of al-Zarkānī, |
| <i>siyar</i> | | the <i>Sira al-kilāʿiya</i> ; |
| | { | the commentary of al-Djurdjānī on the <i>Mawāḥif</i> of ʿAḳud al-Dīn al-ʿIdjī, |
| <i>tawḥīd</i> | | the commentary of al-Taṭṭāzānī on the <i>ʿAḳāʿid</i> of ʿUmar al-Nasafī, |
| | { | the <i>Kubrā</i> of the <i>Shaiḫ</i> al-Sanūsī; |
| | | the <i>Tawḍīḥ</i> of Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa ʿUbaid Allāh al-Maḥbūbī, |
| | { | the commentary of ʿAḳud al-Dīn al-ʿIdjī on the <i>Muḫkhtaṣar</i> of Ibn al-Hāǧǧib, |
| <i>uṣūl al-fīḫ</i> | | the commentary of al-Maḥallī on the <i>Djam' al-Djawāmi'</i> of ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb al-Subḳī; |
| | { | the <i>Tabyīn al-Ḥaḳāʾik</i> of ʿUṭṭmān al-Zailaʿī (commentary on the <i>Kanz al-Daḳāʾik</i> of ʿAbd Allāh al-Nasafī), |
| | | the <i>Durar</i> (commentary of the <i>Ḡhurar</i>), |
| <i>fīḫ</i> | { | the commentary of Sidi ʿAbd al-Bāḳī on the <i>Muḫkhtaṣar</i> of Khalīl, |
| | | the commentary of Sidi Muḥammad al-Khirshī on the same; |

taṣawwuf: the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī;
naḥw: the *Mughnī al-labīb* of Ibn Hishām;
maʿānī, { the third part of the *Miftāḥ* of Yūsuf
bayān { al-Sakkākī with commentary of al-
Djurdjānī,
{ the *Muṭawwāl* of al-Taftāzānī;
{ the *Mushir* of al-Suyūṭī,
{ the *Fīḥ al-Lughā* of ʿAbd al-Malik al-
lughā, { Thaʿālibī,
inshāʾ, { the commentary of al-Marzūqī on the
adab { *Ḥamāsa*,
{ the *Maṭhal al-sāʾir* of Ibn al-Aṭhīr.

The thirty original teachers along with a teacher of *tadwīd* take the title of "teachers" (*mudarris*) of the first class; they are qualified for the higher course. For the middle course there are 12 teachers of the second class, half Mālikī and half Ḥanafī, and also a teacher for *tadwīd*. The elementary course is conducted by "voluntary" teachers (*mutaṭawwif*), certificated former pupils, who are unpaid (art. 9). The teachers have two months' leave a year, from the middle of July to the middle of September, and the month of Ramaḍān in addition; there is also a holiday every Friday, the days of the two feasts and the four days that follow each of them, the day of ʿArafa and the two preceding days, the 10th Muḥarram, the 11th, 12th, 13th Rabīʿ I (art. 29); Thursday is expressly restored as a working day (art. 28). — Each student carries a roll book which the teachers endorse once a month (art. 32), and in which they certify that the course has been attended by the person concerned (art. 33). — Supervisors appointed by the inspectors secure that discipline is maintained (art. 40). The duties of these inspectors are carefully laid down in accordance with the regulations of the *Muʿallaḩa* (art. 44 *sqq.*).

A complementary decree of the same date, in 11 articles, settles the conditions of the final examination which gives the right to the diploma of the *taṭwīf*. Success in a written examination on *fiḥ* admits to classes for two consecutive sessions (art. 6). The oral examination allows six hours of preparation with the assistance of the books in the library (art. 7). A special *taṭwīf* is provided for the reading and recitation of the *Qurʾān* (art. 9).

Since 1928, 50 "auxiliary" teachers (*muʿāwin ʿala ʾl-tadris*) have been appointed by competition from among the *mutaṭawwif*in; they draw a fixed salary of 500 francs a month. From Jan. 1, 1931 the annual emoluments of the teachers of the second class are fixed at 13,000 francs, those of the first class at 16,000 francs. The budget of the Tunisian state has since 1924 included a subvention for the Great Mosque; being continually increased, it rose from 50,000 francs the first year to 250,000 in 1927 and to 770,000 in 1930.

The recent reorganisation of the Muslim notariate has provoked vigorous protests on the part of the students who can no longer pass straight into their profession and whose studies at the Great Mosque do not enable them to pass without further preparation the new examination required of future notaries. The whole question of the reform of religious instruction has thus been raised, or at least that of the introduction of modern legal teaching into the Great Mosque. A commission appointed by the government in December 1929 is studying the possibilities of reform and painfully endeavouring to draw up a programme.

The Catalogue of the Library, which is in course of publication in Arabic, was published incompletely in French by B. Roy and Bel-Khodja (Tunis 1900).

Modern Education. In addition to the Šādīkī College (417 pupils in 1928—1929) where the double system of teaching French and Arabic prepares for administrative careers, the young Muslims are attending in increasing numbers the French schools: primary establishments (among which are Franco-Arab schools and special schools for Muslim girls, cf. *R. M. M.*, vi, 123—126) and secondary (open to all). In Dec. 31, 1928 (cf. *Statistique générale de la Tunisie*, année 1928) the Muslim population was sending to the French primary schools of the Regency 25,876 boys and 2,930 girls (in addition to 67 boys and 617 girls in the private schools), to the Lycée Carnot of Tunis 359 pupils out of a total of 2,000, but only 28 at the girls' Lycée out of over 1,200, and lastly 461 pupils in three other institutions in Tunis (Collège Alaoui, École normale d'Instituteurs, École professionnelle E. Loubet).

An "École supérieure de langue et littérature arabes" in Tunis gives after examination a certificate in spoken Arabic to its European students, and a certificate in written Arabic and a higher diploma in Arabic to its pupils, whether Muslims or not.

Inaugurated under the influence of the Residency, the Muslim Society *al-Khaldūniya* organises for nearly 200 young members popular courses in Arabic on all kinds of subjects.

Finally the Department of Justice in Tunisia has courses of law given in Arabic to prepare natives for legal careers.

Bibliography: R. Darmon, *La situation des cultes en Tunisie*, 2nd ed., Paris 1930.

5. POPULATION.

a. *Ethnography*. The population of the Regency includes, in addition to the native Muslims and Jews, an increasing number of Europeans, the result of a considerable immigration of Italians and of the French Protectorate. The census of 1926 gives a total of 2,159,708 (density 17.3 to the square kilometre) of whom 1,932,184 are Muslims and 54,243 Tunisian Jews (not including the Jews who have acquired a European nationality). The 173,281 Europeans were distributed as follows: 71,020 French (41%), 89,216 Italians (51.5%), 8,396 Maltese (English subjects) (4.8%), 4,649 of various other nationalities (2.7%). The Italians, who come mainly from Sicily and Sardinia, are masons, miners (Le Kef), agricultural labourers and vine-growers on a small scale (Beja, Medjez el-Bab, Grombalia, Zaghouan). The French are principally officials, merchants or colonists.

The bulk of the Europeans are in the Tunis area (103,000 or 60%) and in some of the towns of the coast: about 6,700 in Bizerta, 4,150 at Ferryville, 6,900 at Sūsa and as many at Sfax. The Tunisian Jews, of whom 28,141 (more than half) are in the Tunis area, are over 3,700 in Sūsa and nearly 3,300 in Sfax. They are also fairly numerous in Bizerta, Beja and Nabeul, and there are very few in the interior (a few called *Bāḩūṣim* live in tents towards Sers), but there are groups of some size in the south, nearly 2,500 in Gabes, nearly 3,800 in Houmt-Suk (Djerba) out of 4,645 inhabitants, and over 2,500 in the military territories.

Excluding Tunis the capital with 185,466 inhabitants, 12 other towns have over 10,000; these are

Sfax	27,723
Sūsa	21,298
Bizerta	20,593
Kairawān	19,426
Msaken	16,620
Gabes	15,119
Nefta	13,250
Moknine	12,191
Kal'a Kabira	11,830
Tozeur	11,056
Beja	10,468

We may note that Msaken and Kal'a Kabira, both in the Sahel, are inhabited exclusively by Muslims.

6. Tribes. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot sketch with certainty the evolution of the present divisions of the Muslim population of Tunisia. Even if we set aside the urban centres and the more thickly populated areas (districts of Bizerta, Beja, Tunis and Sūsa) where very varied elements are found together and intermingled, the constitution of the great tribes, clearly individualised at different periods in the history of the country, is far from being clear. We do not know the origin of many of them; even their disappearance is not always free from mystery.

For a long period the Arab soldiers were numerically insufficient to produce a real change in the old Berber bloc. But the great new factor was the invasion in the middle of the xth century of the Hilālī Arabs, followed in the xiith and xiiith centuries by the Sulaim; they drove up into the highlands the greater part of the native Berbers, occupied the plains and completed the arabicisation of the country; it is true that, frequently fusing with bodies of natives, they completely subjected them to their influence, so that it is impossible to-day to discriminate at all between "Arab tribes" and "Berber tribes". We can only say that of all North Africa, Tunisia is on the whole the most arabicised region.

In the xvth century Ibn Khaldūn gives us some information about the surviving Berbers. One group lived on the island of Djerba (Khāridjī Djarāba) and in the mountains of the south: Lawāta (*Hist. des Berbers*, transl. i. 235) to the south of Gabes in the Djabal which bears their name, Maṭmaṭa (*ibid.*, i. 246) in the district they still inhabit, Zanāta driven from Tripolitania, who had taken refuge in the Djabal Demmer, where the most important body was the confederation of the Warghamma (*ibid.*, iii. 288). Other Zenāta, the B. Wartādjin (*ibid.*, iii. 204), maintained their independence in the oasis of al-Hamma, while the Marandjisa Ifranids (*ibid.*, iii. 225—226), half agriculturalists, half cattle-rearers, between Tunis and Kairawān were exposed to the exactions of the Ku'ūb Arabs. A remnant of the Sumāta (*ibid.*, i. 231) still exists near Kairawān. But the most compact Berber group, formed of Hawwāra (*ibid.*, i. 278—279) in part nomads, occupied the region of the High Tell: Wanīfan of Tebessa at Marmādjanina (no doubt the present Bermādjan), Kaišar between Ebba-Ksur and Lorbeus, Bašwa of Tebursutk on the Djougar. The Bašwa had, however, already incorporated a body of Riyāḥ Arabs who were

neighbours of their relatives, the B. Ḥabīb; and in the same way in the mountains of the north, Arabs of Muḍar, the B. Hudhail, had become fused with the Hawwārid tribe of the B. Sulaim.

Among the Arab invaders, the Hilāl, pushing further west, only left in Ifrikiya a few of the B. Zughba near Tunis. The B. 'Awf of the Sulaim, on the other hand, as is shown by the *Rihla* of al-Tidjānī (in 1306—1309), occupied the whole of the eastern coast district: from Nabeul to Sūsa were the Dallād, then up to el-Djem the Ḥakim, who were later joined by the Turūd (these latter were later moved on towards Wargla), then up to al-Mubāraka the B. 'Alī of the Ḥiṣn. The hinterland was dominated by their Ku'ūb relatives and masters, of whom the two rival soḥfs, Awlād Muḥalhal and Awlād Abi 'l-Lail, played in Ḥafsid politics that considerable role which has been well brought out by G. Marçais. During spring and summer, the Mirdās b. 'Awf, of whom a detached branch arrived near Beja, regularly replaced the Ku'ūb in their winter quarters, the Djerid. Finally, starting from al-Mubāraka, the southern plains were occupied by other Sulaim, the Dabbāb: these were, in the interior, the Awlād Aḥmad, reinforced by the confederation of the B. Yazid (Ṣahba, Ḥamārna, Khardja, Aṣābi'a), the Sharid and Zughb; on the coast, the Nawā'il, as far as Gabes, and the Maḥāmīd of the confederation of the Washāḥ, up to the present frontier of Tripolitania.

Some of these names reappear in the memoir published in 1536 by B. de Mendoza, in *Les Arabes du royaume de Tunis* (publ. by La Primaudaie). The B. 'Alī, the most powerful of all, mentioned by Leo Africanus, were at that time scattered along the coast from Bizerta to Djerba; the Awlād Abi 'l-Lail in the district of Mateur and Beja; the Awlād Muḥalhal who swallowed up the Awlād 'Awn, between Kairawān and Beja. But alongside of these appear the dreaded Awlād Sa'īd of obscure origin, who extended from Monastir to the interior of Cape Bon; the Awlād Yahyā in the region of Tebursuk; and near Tebessa, probably of Hawwārid stock, the Ḥanānsha whose chiefs long exercised political influence from their citadel of Kal'at al-Sinān (cf. Féraud, *Les Harār* . . . , R. Afr., 1874).

In spite of the considerable adulteration and wastage of the tribes, their old names have frequently survived. In the south, where the Berber element is flourishing, we still have the troglodyte Maṭmaṭa and the Warghamma, the tribes of which have reconquered the plains: 'Akkāra of Zarzis who live in tents from February to June to harvest the barley and pasture their flocks and herds, Twāzin, who, formerly nomads, now tend to settle in the gardening country of Medenine and Ben-Gardane, the Djabaliya who inhabit villages in the highlands of the annexe of the Tatahouine, and the Wadarna, partly settled and partly nomad. Two shaikhates bear the name of the Lawāta, in the kaidates of W. 'Awn and Bizerta. In the High Tell towards Algeria, the Wanifa[n] group comprises several tribes among whom are the Wargha (cf. this name in the *Hist. des Berb.*, transl., i. 275). The Washāta, now in the country round Beja and Suk el-Arba, are not unknown to Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid.*), like the Nafza (i. 182 and 290) settled in our days on the northern coast.

The names of the mediaeval tribes of Arab origin are fairly well preserved in the south; the Nawā'il

and the Maḥāmīd, it is true, were driven into Tripolitania by the counter-offensive of the Warghamma, but the berberised Dabbāb form a *shaikhate* in the annexe of Tatahouine, and the important B. Zid (= Yazīd), a section of whom still call themselves *Khardja*, still lead a nomadic life with the Ḥamārna near Gabes. We also find scattered and in diminished numbers giving names to *shaikhates* the Hedil or B. Hudhail (kaidate of Ain-Draham), the Ṭurūd (Bizerta), the Ḥakim (Suk el-Arba), the Awlād Muhallal (O. Ayar), the Ku'ub Awlād al-Ḥādjdj (Djellass; cf. *Hist. des Berb.*, transl. i. 143). Several of the O. Bellil or Awlād Abi 'l-Lail survive in the plain of Beja, and of the Riyāh near Zagħwan. It was only in the xviith century that the *Khrumirs* or *Khumairs* settled in the mountains of the northwest, not far from the Mogods or Muḳ'id, whose name at least has an Arab sound, and in the Sers and around it, as a *Makħzen* tribe, the Drid or Duraid, a branch of the B. Athbadj b. Hilāl, who were for a period across the Algerian frontier. The *Naffāth* in the hinterland of Sfax are mentioned as Arabs by Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berb.*, transl. ii. 101 and 290).

Among the groups mentioned under the later Ḥafṣids, some Awlād Yahyā survive in the kaidate of Tebursuk, the Awlād Sa'īd are very scattered but their chief centre is the domain of Enfida, the O. Awn or Awlād 'Awn form a whole kaidate around Siliana, N. E. of Maktar.

Finally, in the present mosaic of the tribes of Tunisia, some of quite uncertain origin, if it is not maraboutic, are of sufficient importance to be mentioned: not far from the coast, to the south of el-Djem up to the north of Gabes, the Maṭḥālith, 'Agārba and Mahadhba; in the interior, occupying the steppes, the Swāsi, Djlāṣ, Frāshish, Mādjjir and Hamāma, who form the same number of kaidates; in the High Tell, the Wartān, the O. Ayar or Awlād 'Aiyar, the Ghazīn; in the Nezfawa and Tunisian Sahara, the Gharīb, Mrāzīg, the Adāra, and the Awlād Yaḳūb.

c. Native Life. Nomadism is clearly dying in Tunisia; there are no longer migrations of considerable extent nor in large bodies ("smalas") except in very bad years. Usually the tribe remains stationary and a few herdsmen take the flocks away. It is the flocks only which move: the cattle pass the winter in the steppes and the summer in the Tell; the route most frequently traversed is the couloir Siba-Le Kef; the migrants like to spend some time in the plain of Gamouda. The Maṭḥālith alone go in summer as far as Bizerta and the Djlāṣ and Swāsi as far as the neighbourhood of Beja. The Nezfawa and the Tunisian Sahara are of course still peopled by nomads.

The government of the Protectorate actively pursues a policy of leading the natives to adopt a settled life by making it easy for them to acquire land and directing their energies towards agriculture. Alongside of the old contract of *ḥamāsa*, regulated by the *Kānūn al-Filāḥa* of Khair al-Dīn in 1291 A. H. (cf. *Bibl.* in W. Marçais, *Takrouna*, p. 252), the sale on credit by the Domains of the "terres salines" (around Sfax for a radius of about 50 miles), and of the *hanṣhīr* of Sherahil (near Kairawān) suitable for growing olives (decrees of 1892 and 1905), has been the occasion of putting into practice the contract known as *Mughārāsa*: the native farmer, who contracts to plant with olive-trees the whole extent of a piece of ground granted to him, becomes

the owner of half the ground when the trees begin to bear. The new legislation dealing with *ḥabūs* estates has made it possible to settle on the land a number of native families, by establishing their rights as "occupants" in a legal and definite form (most recent decree: that of July 17, 1926). In the military territories of the south, the "terres collectives" of the tribes are under special regulation laid down by the decree of Dec. 23, 1918, modified in 1926; each collectivité or group of lands forms a unit and is represented by a council of notables; in the capital of each kaidate sits a council (*conseil de tutelle locale*) which has local authority and whose decisions can be revised by a central council in Tunis. The authority of one of these bodies being always required when land changes hands, or is let on a long lease, or similar occasions, the native ownership is safeguarded. Finally, besides the technical progress made since the occupation, the Tunisian agriculturist owes to the Protectorate his powers to form irrigation companies (decree of May 25, 1920), the distribution of lands for cultivation to native farmers, the creation of the native chambers for agriculture and the institution of an "Office public de crédit agricole" for the natives (decrees of June 10, 1925).

In 1928, the number of animals belonging to natives and Europeans respectively was as follows: horses 77,000 and 10,500, asses 157,000 and 2,500, mules 28,500 and 11,500, cattle 430,000 and 55,000, sheep 2,000,000 and 103,500, goats 1,360,000 and 30,500, pigs 6,000 and 13,000, camels 151,500 and 300. — The natives own about 9,000,000 taxed olive-trees (the Europeans 878,000) and 4,800,000 untaxed (the Europeans 1,100,000). We may note that several thousand natives live by fishing.

Throughout the Regency the tent is disappearing before the *gourbi*, a sure sign that the people are becoming settled, or even before the house. In the south we find two peculiar types of habitation: the subterranean dwellings of the troglodytes, over 7,500 in the districts of the Maṭmāta, Medenine and Tatahouine, and the *ghurf*a "ksurs" (*ḥuṣūr*) (keel-shaped buildings with curved sides, long, narrow and low used as storehouses) of which the most remarkable are Medenine and Metameur. The number of town-dwellers is relatively large among the natives, for it reaches 180%; Tunisia has always been remarkable for the development of its urban life. In Tunis, the foreign Muslim elements (*barrānīya*) are grouped in several separate communities.

Native commerce is becoming more and more modernised; one of its most striking achievements is the organisation of co-operative buying by the Djerbian grocers who are established in large numbers in Tunis. As to the local industries, they have been suffering for a considerable time from the fierce competition of European produce; it is true that the government does its best to support it, especially as regards native works of artistic interest; regular training courses have been instituted for the purpose, and attention is being devoted to the improvement of technical or artistic methods in manufacture. Besides milling, the manufacture of oil and soap, the main old-established industries of the Regency are dyeing, now threatened by the aniline dyes imported from Europe, the manufacture of wool (in various districts: blankets at Djerba, Gafsa and in the Djerid), of cotton (at Tunis), of silk (at Tunis and Ksar-Hellal), of goat and camel-hair (in the south), the weaving of carpets (by

women, especially at Kairawān), and of "shaias" (at Tunis with a fulling-mill at El-Bathan) and of ceramics (at Nabeul). We may also mention the manufacture of sieves (at Tunis, Kairawān and Sūsa), of mats, baskets and esparto (at Nabeul), tannery and shoemaking (at Tunis, Kairawān and Nabeul), saddlery (at Tunis), cutlery, metal-work, stone- and woodwork. The tinsmiths are all Jews, as are some shoemakers, many tailors and almost all the jewellers.

The trade-gilds, of which the most important in Tunis is that of the manufacturers of shashiyas (*shwāshī*) of Spanish origin, are regulated by beylical decrees; they may admit Jews but the *amin* is always a Muslim. The *shwāshī* have a common reserve fund; their trade mark (*nīshān*) has to be approved by beylical decree. In spite of the competition of importations (from France, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia) and the disappearance of the Turkish market, the production of shashiyas is still much the same as it was 25 or 30 years ago, i.e. about 50,000 kg. of which about the half are exported.

According to statistics, not yet published, compiled by the Direction de l'Agriculture, the gilds of Tunis are constituted as follows:

	Masters	Workmen
Makers of shashiyas.	200	600
Tailors	60	100
Makers of burnous	120	150
Millers	10	40
Silkweavers	300	1,200
Cotton spinners	100	300
Dyers	30	45
Shoemakers	200	300
Saddlers and leatherworkers	20	70
Jewellers and goldsmiths	45	70
Carpenters	90	125
Smiths	20	35
Painters and decorators	100	230
Tanners	25	45

Masters and workmen combined only number about 4,630.

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6. LANGUAGE.

a. Berber. Berber dialects have almost entirely disappeared from Tunisia. Berber speakers are now only found in the region of Sened (kaidate of Gafsa), the dialect of which has been studied by Provotelle, at Tamezred among the Maṭmāṭa and in the island of Djerba, where the women in particular preserve the old idiom.

b. Spoken Arabic. The linguistic arabicisation

of Tunis is thus practically complete but it has proceeded along lines of which we do not know the details. W. Marçais would allow, at least for the Sāhil, that it has been more rapid than is usually thought. Since before the coming of the Hilāl and Sulaim (xith—xiiith centuries), the "urban centres, those permanent foci of arabicisation", Susa, Monastir and Mahdia, have been disseminating among the peasants of the surrounding country their own town-language which, gradually transformed by a rural population, has given birth to various rustic dialects. In their consonant system and their grammar the Beduin dialects differ, as Ibn Khaldūn noted, from the Arabic of the towns and therefore from that of the Sāhil.

Von Maltzan has pointed out (*Z.D.M.G.*, xxiii. 655—656) that the Arabic spoken in Tunis has retained the classical consonant system more perfectly than any in the Maghrib. We need only note the fusion of the *q* and *z*, both pronounced like an emphatic sonant interdental spirant; the *ḡ* is pronounced as a postpalatal sonant (*g*) in borrowed words (e.g. *sigārrō*, *gūmrug*) or influenced by Beduin dialects (e.g. *bāgra*, *nāga*); *dj*, sonant palatal (French *j*), is treated after the article as a solar letter and has a tendency to pass into *s* in words which already contain this sound (e.g. *djaws* > *zūz*). The confusion which appears in the use of the liquids *l*, *r* and *n* affects borrowed words almost exclusively.

The "nunation" has disappeared except in some rare formulae; it has left traces in certain adverbial accusatives where the vowel of the old termination has survived, sometimes even lengthened (e.g. *dā'imān* > *dīma*, *dīmā*).

The careful observations of W. Marçais for the dialect spoken at Takrūna still constitute the only satisfactory record of the Tunisian vowel sounds. Although the dropping and weakening of vowels is far from being so serious as in the extreme Maghrib, it is a broken down vowel system. Sometimes to facilitate pronunciation, transitional sounds are developed, secondary ultra-short vowels, notably before a laryngeal preceded by *i* or *u* (cf. the *pataḥ ḥāṭūf* of Hebrew). It will be remembered that in Tunis the women have preserved the old diphthongs *ai* and *aw* while the men have reduced them to *i* and *u*; the Beduin dialects in general bring them back to *i* and to *o*, but some of them make a false diphthong with an ultra-short second element: *ie*, *uo*. With some nomads the *imāla ā* > *ē* open is forced in certain positions into a very much closed *ē*. Educated people read the *kasra* of the classical language as *i* in an open syllable, but almost like the French *e* in a closed syllable.

H. Stumme, to whom we owe a detailed morphology of Tunisian Arabic, has laid down the following rules for accentuation: if the word ends in two consonants or with a consonant preceded by a long vowel, the accent is on the last syllable; in the other cases, it falls on the penultimate syllable, if the latter is long or closed, if not it goes back to the first syllable of the word; exceptions: the verbal form *yāfa'lu* (for *yāfa'alū*) and *fā'al* (for *fā'al*) a type at once verbal and nominal. The accent goes back from the last syllable to the penultimate when the first syllable of the following word is accented.

The conjugation naturally reveals the essential features of all the Maghribi dialects: the alternation sg. *naḡ'al*, pl. *naḡ'alu* in the first persons of the

aorist. A few notes on the syntax have been made by Th. Nöldeke.

The vocabulary has made borrowings from Turkish and Italian; it is every day taking more from the French. But French is affecting Judæo-Arabic much more, and it will perhaps die out without being studied.

c. The native press. For a long time the publication of newspapers was forbidden in Tunisia; even printing and bookselling were not unrestricted but subject to an administrative control regulated in 1875 by the decree relating to teaching in the Great Mosque. From 1859 the "Journal Officiel" (*al-Rā'id [al-rasmī] al-Tūnūsī*) gave a certain amount of information, mainly relating to administration, but it also accepted other articles. The press decree of Oct. 14, 1884 and particularly the more liberal one of Aug. 16, 1887, modified however several times later, permitted the establishment in the Regency of a press in French, Italian and Arabic.

In 1888—1889 the daily papers *al-Hāḍira* belonging to Bū Shūsha and *al-Zuhra* belonging to Shādhli appeared in Arabic. The *Zuhra* still exists and is now regarded as conservative although in its early days it was thought to be very advanced. Alongside of it, the principal newspaper is *al-Nahḍa*, which appears every day except Monday. The majority of the present Arabic journals are weekly: *al-Zamān* (liberal), *Lisān al-Sha'b* and *al-Ṣawāb* (both nationalist in tendency, especially the former), *al-Nadīm* (literary, satirical, much appreciated); also the humorous *al-Zahw*, which admits to its columns the popular dialect. *Al-Waṣīr* is in theory a monthly as is *al-Munir* which is very irregular. Recently an illustrated monthly magazine has appeared dealing with history and literature: *al-Ālam al-adabī*; but the most widely circulated Arabic magazines in Tunisia come from Egypt, notably *al-Siyāsa*. The "Journal Officiel" which has also had a French edition since 1883, confines itself to publishing twice a week documents of an official nature. Lastly a kind of almanac, *al-Ruznāma al-Tūnūsīya*, which appeared from 1899 to 1921, has been replaced by an annual, almost exclusively administrative: *Takwīm al-Tūnūsī*.

It is interesting to note the unsuccessful attempts to create a local Arabic press, which have been made at Sfax with *al-Asr al-ājadīd* or at Kairawān with *al-Kairawān*. On the other hand, a little weekly in French edited by Muslims has been a success in Sfax: the *Tunisie Nouvelle* belonging to Zuhair 'Aiyādī; in Tunis also where Bāsh Hānbā's *Le Tunisien* was already established about 1910, Shādhli Khair Allāh edits the *Voix du Tunisien*, which has taken the place of the *Etendard Tunisien*, which in turn succeeded the *Libéral*; since August 1930, 'Abd al-'Azīz Laroui has been publishing the *Croissant*. Those organs show a Tunisian nationalist spirit, which is exclusively Muslim.

The Jews, who used to have a fairly abundant literature and press in Judæo-Arabic (in Hebrew characters), of which E. Vassel wrote a history down to 1907 (*La Littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, 1905—1907), no longer publish in this dialect, which is disappearing before French, except the intermittent and poor *al-Ṣabāḥ*. Their three weeklies are in French: the conservative *Égalité*, the *Justice* ("assimilativist") and the best

known, the *Réveil Juif* (Zionist) founded in 1924 at Sfax by Félix Allouche and recently transferred to Tunis.

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AL-ṬŪR, I. DJABAL AL-ṬŪR, more rarely ṬŪR SINA', Mount Sinai. The Arab geographers (Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 69; al-Kāḷkāshandī, transl. Wüstenfeld, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xxv. 100; Makrīzī, *Gesch. d. Kopten*, transl. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, iii. 113; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 557) explain the name as of Hebrew origin; it occurs once in the Qur'an as *Ṭūr Sinīn* (xcv. 2, emended in Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 104 to *Ṭūr Sīnā*). The mountain which lay not far from the Red Sea (*Baḥr al-Kūlzum*) was climbed from al-Amn (Elim?), where the children of Israel once encamped. In the vicinity was the Wādī Tuwā, where Moses spoke with Allāh before he was sent to Pharaoh (Qur'an, xx. 12; lxxix. 16; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 553; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭtīlā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 213).

On the north side of the mountain (now Djabal Mūsā) in what is now called the Wādī Shu'aib (valley of Jethro) at a height of 5,000 feet is the monastery of Catherine, on the site of the castle built by Justinian I probably between 548 and 562 A. D. (Grégoire, *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.*, 1907, p. 327—334) to protect the monks of Sinai (Procopius, *περί πρισματων*, v. 8, ed. Haury, iii/ii., p. 168 sq.; Eutychios, *Annals*, in *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.*, series iii., vol. vi., p. 202—204). According to the Book of Churches (*Kitāb al-Diyārāt*) of Shābushtī (quoted by Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 675; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, i. 434), the "Church (*kanisa* for which Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*, writes *dair*) al-Ṭūr" was on the top of the mountain, built of black stone and strongly fortified; there was a spring outside and another inside the building. The monastery was inhabited by monks and much visited on account of the miracles wrought there (Sachau, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1919, fig. x., p. 21). In this description the Christian church of the Mother of God (*θεοτόκος*), which was built also by Justinian on the slope of the mountain, probably on the site of the present Chapel of Elijah (see below), is confused with the monastery at its foot.

The monks of the monastery possess a copy of an alleged letter from Muḥammad granting protection (Pococke, *Description of the East*, i. 268—270; Moritz, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1918, Abh. iv., p. 6—8; cf. a similar letter of protection for Coptic Christians, publ. by G. Graf, *M. V. A. G.*, xxii. 181—193; Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 21—23) and a number of genuine documents of the time of the

Sultāns Ināl, Khushkadam and Kā'itbey (Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 25 *sqq.*). They mainly deal with the protection of the Christian monks from the raids of the marauding Beduins of the country round, but seem to have been regarded by the latter as empty threats, as their frequent renewal shows (Kā'itbey issued no fewer than 22 firmāns for the monastery during the 30 years of his reign!) The monastery was frequently stormed, set on fire, its gardens robbed and pilgrims and merchants plundered; sometimes the monks even had to seek refuge in the monastery of the village of al-Ṭūr (see below) (Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

Within the monastery "between the church and the dwellings on the northern part of the buildings" there is still a mosque, the pulpit of which was, according to an inscription, presented by Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr Anūṣhtakīn al-Āmirī in Rabi' I 500 (Nov. 1106) in the reign of the caliph Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh (Moritz, p. 50–52). The monastery of Sinai in this inscription is called the "upper monastery" (*dair al-a'lā*²) to distinguish it from monasteries in al-Ṭūr (*Paṣṣōv*) and Fārān. According to another inscription, this same Anūṣhtakīn founded three masāḍjid (places for prayer) on the Munāḍjāt Mūsā, a mosque on the hill of the monastery of Fārān and another below Fārān al-Djadida, and a lighthouse on the shore of the coast (al-Sāhil). By Munāḍjāt Mūsā is certainly meant the traditional Sinai, now Djabal Mūsā (Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 54); it was only in the xvth century that the name was transferred to a smaller hill east of the monastery of St. Catherine, which is now called (like a hill near Firān) Djabal Munāḍja. Of the three Masāḍjid only two could have been on the top of Djabal al-Ṭūr, namely the Christian church built in 364 A.D. by St. Julian and a small mosque, also mentioned by al-Idrisi; the third place of prayer no doubt lay on a small plateau 500 feet below the summit on which now stands a chapel of Elijah erected at a later date. The mosque on the "hill of the monastery of Fārān" is perhaps to be sought on the Djabal al-Muḥarrat, that of new Fārān in the oasis of Firān, in the gardens of which the inhabitants of the "city of the Amalekites" Fārān later settled (Maḳrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, Bulāk, i. 188; Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 56). Moritz supposes the lighthouse (*op. cit.*, p. 57) to have stood at that point on the coast where the Wādī Firān enters the sea and there is a poor anchorage.

In a Syrian description of the seven climes of the xiiith century A.D. the mount of Sinai (*Ṭūrā de-Sinai*) forms the centre of the crescent shaped map in the second clime (Chabot, *Notice sur une mappemonde syrienne*, in *Bulletin de géogr. hist. et descript.*, 1897, p. 104 and pl. iv.).

The tradition that Selīm I visited Sinai on his Egyptian expedition is an invention; neither his journal nor Ibn Iyās make any mention of it (Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 5, note 1).

The little town of al-Ṭūr lies S.W. of the Djabal Mūsā on the Gulf of Suez, about 50 miles from Rās Muḥammad, the most southern point of the Sinai peninsula. It is in regular caravan communication with the monastery of St. Catherine, some of the monks of which usually stay there (Weill, *La presqu'île du Sinai*, 1908, p. 82). It lies at the only spot on the west coast of the peninsula which is completely free from coral reefs and has therefore an anchorage. As al-Ṭūr is further excellently supplied with water, and has

large palm-groves in the vicinity, it has always been the most important harbour in the peninsula. In ancient times it was called *Ποσειδίων* (Agatharchides in Strabo, xvi. 776 and Diodorus, iii. 42) and later (from the Arab tribe of the *Paṣṣḥayot*) *Paṣṣōv* (*Paṣṣā* in Suidas); probably the monastery there dated from the pre-Arab period.

Kalkashandī already knows al-Ṭūr as the most important Egyptian harbour for the ships of the pilgrims to Mecca, until about 450 (1047) *ʿAidhāb* [q.v.] took its place. It was not till 780 (1378–1379) that the harbour of al-Ṭūr was restored and the pilgrims henceforth again took the northern route (Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 92–94). After the discovery of the sea-route to India by the Portuguese al-Ṭūr gradually lost its importance and sank to be a mere fishing-village, until in the second half of the xviiith century a quarantine station was put there for pilgrims returning from Mecca and the place began to flourish once more. Sultān Murād built the fort of Kaṭat al-Ṭūr near the old monastery but both are now completely in ruins.

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2. ṬŪR ZAITĀ or DJABAL ZAITĀ, the Mount of Olives, east of Jerusalem (see AL-KUḌS, ii. 1094 *sqq.*) still called DJABAL AL-ṬŪR. According to tradition, 70,000 prophets died there of starvation and are buried there. The Ascension of Jesus, according to an old tradition, took place from the Mount of Olives. Between it and the town ran the Wādī Djahannam (vale of Cedron, now Wādī Sitti Maryam with the well of Siloam, Arabic 'Ain Sulwān) over which ran the bridge of al-Sirāt. The village of Kafr al-Ṭūr now stands on the hill.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 558; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 215; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B.G.A.*, v. 101; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud, p. 69; al-Idrisi, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z.D.P.V.*, viii. 8; al-Muḳaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 171 *sq.*; Ibn Battūṭa, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, i. 124; Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, ed. Schefer, p. 26; Muḍjir al-Dīn, Bulāk 1283, p. 412; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 72, 74, 162, 211, 218–220.

3. AL-ṬŪR, the hill of Tabor (still called Djabal al-ṬŪr). At the spot where Jesus revealed himself to his disciples, the monastery of Dair al-ṬŪr or Dair al-Tadjallā² stood on the hill. In the crusading period there was a fortress on the top, which Saladin captured and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had restored in 608 (1212). The Crusaders tried

in vain to recapture it in 614 (1217). Baibars in Djumādā II 661 (1263) used the fortress as a base of operations for his raids against 'Akkā.

Bibliography: Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 649, 675; Šafī al-Dīn, *Marāšid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, i. 426, 434; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 69; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalfen*, iii. 438, 440; iv. 46 sq.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 75, 434 sq.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 124, note 4.

4. AL-ṬŪR, the hill of Gerizim (3,000 feet) above Nābulus, the sacred mountain of the Samaritans. Jewish tradition makes it the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac. The hill is still called *Djabal al-Ṭŵr* or *Djabal al-Kibīlī* to distinguish it from the *Djabal al-Šhamālī* or *Islāmiya* (Ebal) to the north of the town.

Bibliography: Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 557; Šafī al-Dīn, *Marāšid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 214; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 74.

5. ṬŪR HĀRŪN, the hill of Hōr (5,600 feet) west of Petra, called after Aaron, who according to an old tradition, is buried there (Josephus, *Archaiol.*, iv. 4, 7). When the children of Israel accused Moses of having slain him, he showed them on the top of the hill the bier on which Aaron lay. In al-Mas'ūdī the hill is called *Djabal Ma'āb* in the district of al-Šarā; he also mentions the caves in the mountain. On the eastern peak (5,200 feet) of the *Djabal al-Nabī Hārūn* is Aaron's grave (Qabr Hārūn) which is still a place of pilgrimage for the Beduins.

Bibliography: Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 559; Šafī al-Dīn, *Marāšid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 215; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, i. 94; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, p. 429 sq.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 74; Dalman, *Petra*, 1908, p. 15 sq., 42, 168; do., *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, 1912, p. 2, 8, 26. (E. HONIGMANN)

ṬŪR 'ABDĪN, the name of a mountainous plateau in northern Mesopotamia. It stretches roughly from Mārdīn in the west to Djazīra: b. 'Omar (called briefly Djazīra; q. v.) in the east. The Tigris forms the eastern and northern boundary, from Djazīra up to the point where it is joined by the Batman-su from the north. A line drawn from the confluence of the two rivers to Mārdīn would roughly mark the western boundary of the area known as ṬŪR 'ABDĪN, while the Koros-Dagh which lies in the northern part of this western boundary is also to be regarded as belonging entirely to ṬŪR 'ABDĪN, as an outlying portion of it. In the south the frontier is very well marked, for there the rocks of the tableland slope steeply, often precipitously, to the Mesopotamian plain and seen from the latter look like a strong well-built wall. The road, in constant use from the earliest times, which goes from Mārdīn via Našībīn to Djazīra, runs a short distance from the southern edge of ṬŪR 'ABDĪN. With the latter are usually included the mountains in the centre of which is the town of Mārdīn (hence sometimes called after it; cf. also the Turkish name Mārdīn-dagh-lari: see Schlāfi, *op. cit.*, p. 48). It stretches — west of Mārdīn part of it is called *Djabal al-'Afs* — roughly up to 40° 15' east long. (Greenw.) and is separated by a very marked depression from the

gigantic basaltic ridge of the Karadja-Dagh.

The average height of ṬŪR 'ABDĪN is in its central portion about 3,000—3,500 feet above sea-level. In the district between Midyāt and Hīṣn Kaifā on the Tigris (cf. ii., p. 320) and in the mountains of Mārdīn, individual peaks reach 4,300 feet. In general however, ṬŪR 'ABDĪN lacks any marked heights and looks everywhere like an undulating plain which is cut by deep and broad wādīs. The largest is the Wādī Khaltān, which flows into the Tigris at Finik (N. W. of Djazīra).

ṬŪR 'ABDĪN consists almost entirely of limestone, often with beds of marl. In places however we find angular basalt blocks scattered, which are of volcanic origin. Such outcrops of basalt are found especially in the east, towards Djazīra, where the basaltic Ēlīm-dagh rises as a continuation of the southern wall of limestone of ṬŪR 'ABDĪN, and also west of Mārdīn where the lava from the Karadja-Dagh flowed out. To the nature of the rock composing it, ṬŪR 'ABDĪN owes its many caves, which are often, as in ancient times, used as dwellings. Such caves are numerous, for example in the region of Midyāt (mentioned as early as the Assyrian inscriptions), and notably at Hīṣn Kaifā, which is the regular troglodyte capital. Cf. thereon Lehmann-Haupt, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*) p. 370 sq.; Streck, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxvi. 310 and in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, viii. 2457 (art. HORREN); see also above ii., p. 320.

The eastern and western part of ṬŪR 'ABDĪN is in general characterised by an absence of trees, but in its centre east of Midyāt, a strip of forest runs from north to south. Here we have many small hills overgrown with stunted trees (dwarf oaks) and shrubs. As a result of the scarcity of forests and the fact that most of the rainfall sinks into the porous limestone, there is a serious scarcity of water in a large part of ṬŪR 'ABDĪN. For watering the cattle, water is collected in cisterns, often very old, and large ponds. The south has the most plentiful supply of water; there we find numerous springs and countless little streams running southwards through the hills, usually to disappear in the sands of the Mesopotamian plain at no great distance from the foot of the mountains. The streams that flow from the southern side of ṬŪR 'ABDĪN enter the river *Dja gh dja gh*, which divides into two arms above Našībīn. The southern slopes of the Karadja Dagh, as well as the Mārdīn mountains, are drained by the Khābūr [q. v.] which receives the waters of the *Djagh djagh* at Hēsaka (36° 25' N. lat.).

In spite of many barren patches and the generally unfavourable irrigation conditions, there are many stretches of ground which grow cereals well and excellent pastures, especially in the hollows which hold the fertile reddish-brown earth, and on the slopes of the little hills, which are preferably used for the vine. At all the monasteries we find well cared for vineyards. Terraces to which the soil has been carried have also been built to grow the vine and fruits. The people are exceedingly skilled in irrigating their fields. In addition to cereals (usually barley) and the vine, cotton and all kinds of fruits (especially very fine apricots) are grown. In the wooded portions of ṬŪR 'ABDĪN gall-apples and manna resin are gathered, and are found in large quantities. A ridge west of Mārdīn, the already mentioned *Djabal al-'Afs*, takes its name from the plentifulness of gall-apples there (*'afī*). On the wines and other products of the

soil of Tūr 'Abdin, see Prym and Socin, *Der neuaram. Dialekt des Tūr 'Abdin*, Göttingen 1881, i., p. viii. and Cuinet, *op. cit.*, p. 429. On the manna of Tūr 'Abdin cf. Flückiger, in *Archiv der Pharmazie*, vol. cc., Halle 1875, p. 159—164.

Tūr 'Abdin was already known to the Assyrians. They call it the Kashiri mountains; it is found under this name as early as the inscriptions of the early Assyrian King Adadnārari I (c. 1300—1270 A.D.) and Salmanassar I (c. 1270—1240); see the pertinent texts in *Alt-oriental. Bibliothek*, vol. i. (= Ebeling-Meissner-Weidner, *Die Inschrift. der altassyrischen Könige*), Leipzig 1926, p. 58 sq., p. 118 sq. The Kashiri are still mentioned in the documents of the later kings of Assyria. Tūr 'Abdin-Kashiri corresponds fairly well to τὸ Μάριον ὄρος (Masius), a term found in the later Greek writers (Arrian, Ptolemy); cf. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, p. 259; Streck, in *Z.A.*, xiii. 82—87; xiv. 169; Streck, *Assurbanipal* etc. (= *Vorderasiat. Biblioth.*, vol. vii.), p. 790; R. Kiepert, in *Formae orbis antiqui*, Heft v. (*Mesopotamia* etc.), 1909, p. 8. The view put forward by Lehmann-Haupt (s. *Z.A.*, xiv. 371; *Klio*, ix., 1909, p. 409 and *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. i., Berlin 1910, p. 368 sq., 510, 513) hardly seems to me tenable, that Kashiri and Masius represent a wider geographical conception than that of Tūr 'Abdin and mean the whole eastern or southern part of the Taurus of the ancients i.e. include the Karadja Dagħ and the Hazru Dagħlari to the north of Maiyafarīkin (Farḳin).

In the cuneiform inscriptions we find besides Kashiri two other names which apparently refer to parts only of Tūr 'Abdin: *Nirbu*, probably used for the centre of this plateau (see Streck, in *Z.A.*, xiii. 82; xiv. 169) and *Izala*; to all appearance a special name for the southern strip of Tūr 'Abdin and particularly for the district of Mārdīn (probably including the Mārdīn Hills). In the Babl.-Assyr. texts mention is made of the wine of Izala. In Achaemenid documents also there is probably a reference to Izala (see *Z.D.M.G.*, lxi. 726); it occurs twice in late classical sources and is common in Syriac literature in the name of the mountain Izalā (Arabic Djabal al-Izal); cf. thereon Streck, in *Z.A.*, xiii. 104—105; xiv. 171; Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, x. 1390; Socin, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv. 238 and G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, p. 167 sq.

As to the Aramaic name Tūr 'Abdin = "Mount of the Servants" (of God)—cf. the analogous place-name Kephār 'Abdin in Wright's *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1871, N^o. 950, 20^c—, it is of course of Christian origin and belongs to the period when the region had through the number of its monasteries become a great centre of eastern monachism. The earliest attestation of the name Tūr 'Abdin is in a Syriac Lives of Saints of the time of the emperor Julian, i.e. about the middle of the fourth century; see Wright, *op. cit.*, N^o. 960, p. 1136 and Socin, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv. 239.

Of great topographical importance for the Tūr 'Abdin region is the *Descriptio orbis Romani* of Georgius Cyrius of the first decade of the seventh century, because it gives a whole list of forts in this area; see the edition by Gelzer, Leipzig 1890, p. 46, l. 913—938. There we find Κάστρον Μάρδης (= Mārdīn) followed immediately by Κάστρον Τουρᾶδης

(l. 914); it is very natural to emend this name with Hoffmann in Gelzer (p. 158—159) to Τουρᾶδης = Tūr 'Abdin. Here we may point out that of the Roman forts of Mesopotamia one group were near the Tigris and the others on Tūr 'Abdin; cf. V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, Paris 1907, p. 322. In the Syriac Lives of Saints above mentioned of the time of Julian there is a reference to the building of two large fortresses in the region of Tūr 'Abdin.

In the chronicle of Pseudo-Moses of Chorene, which at the earliest was compiled at the end of the seventh century, we also find the name Tūr 'Abdin (see Marquart, *Ērānsāhr* = *Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. der Wissensch.*, Berlin 1901, p. 141, 158); but here it apparently denotes a smaller area, the southern border (= Izala?).

In the Arab authors of the middle ages we also find the term Tūr 'Abdin. For the pre-Islamic period we have it in verses of the poet Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī, which tell us that the legendary founder of the kingdom of al-Hadr [q.v.], Šāfirūn, also ruled the land of Tūr 'Abdin (see *B.G.A.*, ed. de Goeje, vi. 95, 11—12 = Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 559, 5 and cf. also Yāqūt, ii. 284, 13 sq.). Tūr 'Abdin is also mentioned in a poem the subject of which is Khosraw and Širīn: see *B.G.A.*, v. 159, 19 sq. Mas'ūdī (*B.G.A.*, viii. 54, 1) mentions that in Tūr 'Abdin remnants of the Aramaeans still survive. Ibn Rosta (*B.G.A.*, vii. 90, 8) and Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 175, 12) point out that the Hirmās (the modern, already mentioned, Djaghdiagh), a tributary of the Khābūr [q.v.], rises in Tūr 'Abdin. We may also mention that the Arab geographers (see *B.G.A.*, ii. 73, 3 and Abū 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Paris, p. 282) also have the special name Djabal Mārdīn = Mārdīn Hills (cf. above) for the southern borders of Tūr 'Abdin, the district of Našibīn and Dārā. The modern Syriac pronunciation of Tūr 'Abdin (one also hears Tūr al-'Abdin) is *Tūrē da 'Abadē*. The name Tūr 'Abdin is locally not unknown, especially in Christian circles, but belongs to the literary rather than to the spoken language. At the present day in Syriac, this hill-country is called usually *Tōr* or in Arabic *al-Tūr*, also *al-Djabal* and *Djabal Tōr*, or *Djabal al-Tūr*; cf. Prym and Socin, *op. cit.*, i., p. i., ii. and Sachau, *Reise* etc., p. 387. As Schlāfi, *op. cit.*, p. 49 tells us, the Turks use the term *Kara-Dagħ*, the Kurds *Mawa-Dagħ* or *Čia-rēš* = "Black Mountain".

The district of Tūr 'Abdin passed with the rest of Mesopotamia (al-Djazira) into the hands of the Arabs in the years 18—19 (639—640); see Balādhuri, p. 176, 3—5 = Yāqūt, iv. 390, 15—16 and Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, iv. 36, 156. The Tūr belonged to the Mesopotamian province of Diyār Rabi'a under the caliphs.

As regards its political history after the conquest, Tūr 'Abdin generally shared the fortunes of the adjoining districts forming the rest of Mesopotamia. On the interior, Tūr 'Abdin proper, there is comparatively little in the Arabic sources. On the other hand, important towns on its borders like Mārdīn, Djazirat b. 'Omar, Ḥiṣn Kaifā and Našibīn are frequently mentioned. There is important material for local history in Syriac literature, particularly in chronicles and hagiographic texts, but it has still to be collected and sifted (cf. especially J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 3 parts, Rome 1719—1728). Valuable information for

the history of Tūr 'Abdīn in the xvth century, especially for the period of Tīmūr's campaigns, is contained in a continuation of the *Chronicon Syriacum* (of profane history) of Barhebraeus (Abu 'l-Farādī) by anonymous monks (one of whom belonged to a monastery in Bāsebrīna); see the edition by O. Behnsch, in *Rerum saeculo quinto decimo, in Mesopotamia gestarum*, ed. . . . O. Behnsch, Breslau 1838; cf. also Baumstark, *Gesch. der syrisch. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 328. In the middle ages and down to the present day the history of the Kurd tribes in Tūr 'Abdīn and the country round it is of importance. The history of the Kurd dynasties of Djazīrat b. 'Omar and Hīṣn Kaifā is of special importance in this connection; cf. the account based on the Kurdish chronicle *Sharaf-nāma* by Bart, in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, vol. xxx. (1859), p. 117 sq.; see also the article KURDS.

In the redistribution of territory which followed the War, Tūr 'Abdīn was left to the Turks. In the administrative division of the Turkish empire as it existed down to the War, Tūr 'Abdīn belonged to the wilāyet of Diyārbakr and to the sandjak of Mārdīn, which was divided into five qaḍās: Mārdīn, Djazīra, Midyāt, 'Awīne, and Naṣībīn; see Cuinet, *op. cit.*, p. 412, 496 sq. For the administrative division since 1921 and 1927 cf. 'Abd al-Qādir Sa'īdī, *Yeñi Türkiya Memleket Džüghrāfiyası*, Stambul 1927, p. 174.

In the early middle ages and the first centuries of Islām, Tūr 'Abdīn was probably inhabited almost entirely by Christian Aramaeans. Later, more and more Muslims (mainly Kurds) settled there, so that with the gradual decline in the numbers of Christians, the result of frequent persecutions by the Muslims, the proportion altered more and more in favour of the latter down to the War. According to Cuinet's statistics, not however too reliable (*op. cit.*, p. 412, 496 sq.), the sandjak of Mārdīn which in area at least is larger than Tūr 'Abdīn in the wider sense, had in 1890 in all 194,072 inhabitants, viz. 122,522 Muslims, 67,970 Christians, 1,500 Yazīdīs, 1,500 gypsies and 580 Jews: the Christians were thus a third of the whole population. In the two qaḍās which are almost entirely within Tūr 'Abdīn, the qaḍā of Midyāt and that of 'Awīne, Cuinet (*op. cit.*, p. 513, 517 sq.) gives the population in 1890 as 31,920 Christians and 37,712 Muslims. In the central qaḍā of Midyāt the numbers were about equally balanced: 22,632 Muslims and 22,126 Christians. The present distribution of nationalities and creeds within Tūr 'Abdīn is not known. Muḥammadans are however certainly in an overwhelming majority, since the Christians suffered severely during and after the War; in particular many Armenians had to leave the country. When in a new persecution in 1924, the Patriarch of the Jacobites, Ignatius Elias III, was driven from his residence in Dair Za'farān (east of Mārdīn), the bulk of his followers (3—4,000) migrated with him to Syria; cf. H. C. Lake, *Mosul and its Minorities*, London 1925, p. 113.

Christianity spread in Tūr 'Abdīn at a very early date from Edessa, which is quite near. At the Council of Chalcedon (451) among the six Mesopotamian bishops we find one of Hīṣn Kaifā, but not one of Izala as Nöldeke assumed (*Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv., 219, note 2) on the authority of Mansi's statements in *Concilior . . . collectio*, vii. 403; here *Inseles* = *Izala* is, as the new edition in Schult-

hess, *Die syrisch. Kanones der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon* (= *Abh. d. Gött. Gesellschaft. d. Wiss., N. Folge*, vol. x., N^o. 2), p. 135, shows, a wrong reading. Since the time of the Christological quarrels, Tūr 'Abdīn has been the citadel of the Jacobites; nowhere do or did they exist in such solid masses as in these highlands and in Mārdīn and its vicinity. Tūr 'Abdīn proper originally seems to have been a single Jacobite bishopric; about 1089 it was divided into two dioceses, the bishops of which lived in Karṭamīn and Ḥāḥ respectively. Later, in the xiiith century, other sees were created in the chief towns of the district. In the middle of the xivth century differences between the patriarch of Mārdīn and the Bishop of Ṣalāḥ (2 hours journey north of Midyāt) led to a schism, in the course of which the bishops of Tūr 'Abdīn cast off the authority of the patriarch and chose the bishop of Ṣalāḥ as patriarch of Tūr 'Abdīn and Hīṣn Kaifā. This split lasted for over a century. Cf. thereon Pognon, *op. cit.*, p. 45, 62—63, 75. Lists of the bishops of Ḥāḥ, Hīṣn Kaifā and Karṭamīn may be found e.g. in Wright, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 1350—1351.

In addition to Jacobites there were in Tūr 'Abdīn in the middle ages, and even later, communities of Nestorians. The oldest monastery there, that of Mār Awgen, was for long in their possession (see Pognon, *op. cit.*, p. 109). These Nestorians were won over to Rome in the xvith and xviiith century and henceforth called themselves Chaldaeans (Kaldānī), as a religious community with their own ritual. The members of this so-called Chaldaean church settled in Tūr 'Abdīn have at their head two bishops (in Mārdīn and Djazīra); according to a native Chaldaean cleric, they numbered in 1914: 8,070 souls; cf. *Annuaire Pontificale Catholique*, xvii. (1914), p. 502—511 and based on it Lübeck, in *Histor.-polit. Blätter für das kathol. Deutschland*, vol. 154, Munich 1914, p. 92, 101—102. According to Cuinet, there were in 1890 in Tūr 'Abdīn about 4,000 Syrians (Suriyānī), i.e. Jacobites in union with Rome, who were under a Patriarch of Mārdīn and a bishop of Djazīra. According to Cuinet there were in the administrative district of Mārdīn also 28,666 Armenians, of whom the one half professed to belong to the Orthodox Church, the other in fairly equal portions to the Roman Catholic and to the Protestant churches. The Armenian Protestant community is a creation of the activity of American missions. The prosperity caused by the civilising influence of the American missionaries, who had their main centres in Mārdīn and Midyāt, spread practically over the whole of Tūr 'Abdīn but has ceased since the War; cf. on this American mission: Sachau, *Reise* etc., p. 404, 410, 413, 422—423. Finally Cuinet gives from about 1890 as further Christian inhabitants of the sandjak of Mārdīn 6,730 Greeks (who had to leave Turkish territory after the War) and 580 Jews.

We may assume with certainty that before the War the Jacobites were the largest in numbers of the Christian communities in Tūr 'Abdīn proper, but we have not the material available to enable us to make an approximately reliable estimate of their numbers. Cuinet's estimate (for the sandjak of Mārdīn!) which puts the Jacobites at 13,754, only half that of the settled Armenians, is obviously based on incorrect premises and seems unreliable. In 1838 Southgate (see *op. cit.*, ii. 268, 275) estimated the number of Jacobites (from information given him by the Patriarch of the day) at 6,000 families

or 60—70 villages with populations of 50—60 families. In the mountains, i.e. in Tūr 'Abdīn proper, according to him there were 30,000 Jacobites, to which were to be added 5,000 settlers in the vicinity of the monasteries; in Mārdīn there were 2,000, Jacobite Christians in the immediate neighbourhood of Mārdīnand in the plain of Sindjār 6,000. Badger who visited Tūr 'Abdīn in 1850 put the number of Jacobite villages there at 150 (see Badger, *The Nestorians* etc., i. 63). That the number of Jacobites of Tūr 'Abdīn from the time of Badger and Southgate till the beginning of the War steadily if slowly decreased there is no reason to doubt.

The Muslim part of the population of Tūr 'Abdīn consists mainly of Kurds. They have spread more and more widely in the heart of Tūr 'Abdīn in recent centuries and the Christian peasants with whom they are constantly warring are being driven more and more from the southern slopes of the mountains towards the plains. On the constant state of civil war among the people of the villages of Tūr 'Abdīn see Pogon's observations, *op. cit.*, p. 108—111. For Kurdish tribes or families settling within the region of Tūr 'Abdīn cf. Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii. 388; Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden und iranischen Nordchaldäer*, St. Petersburg 1857—1858, vol. ii. (Glossary); Schlāfi, *op. cit.*, p. 49—51. Lists of tribes in Prym and Socin, *Der neuaramäische Dialekt des Tūr 'Abdīn*, ii. 416—418 and Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, ii. 275—284; Sachau, *Reise*, p. 387; Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 578 (under N^o. 15); see also above, vol. ii. 1132, 1141, 1144. The followers of the Yazīdī religion in Tūr 'Abdīn are also Kurds but their numbers are insignificant. The most important Yazīdī tribe there is called Djilki (Tshelki); see Niebuhr, *op. cit.*; Prym and Socin, *Dial. des Tūr 'Abdīn*, ii. 379; Sachau, *Reise* etc., p. 387; Menzel in Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition*, Leipzig 1911, i., p. cxvi.

Arab Beduins also encamp occasionally in Tūr 'Abdīn especially on its southern outliers; for the names of some of them see Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 54—55 and M. v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii. 68. A special position is occupied by the large tribe of the Meħalle mī (Muħalle mīya) whom we find as early as the already mentioned anonymous continuation of the *Chronicle* of Barhebraeus (year 1407; see Behnisch's edition, p. 6, 7—10). They are the result of the intermarriage of Arabs and Kurds (with Arab influence predominant) and are said to have renounced Christianity over 300 years ago. They dwell mainly in the qaḍā of 'Awīne, the part of Tūr 'Abdīn running west of Mārdīn to the Tigris; on this tribe see Niebuhr, *loc. cit.*; *Z.D.M.G.*, i. 59; Sachau, *Reise*, p. 421; Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 356, 578.

Three languages are spoken in Tūr 'Abdīn: Kurdish, Syriac and Arabic. They have all strongly influenced each other. The most widely disseminated is Kurdish, which all the Christians also understand and speak in addition to Syriac. The Kurdish dialect here spoken is the northern and western branch of the Kurmāndjī dialect, which is now better known from the investigations of Lerch, Prym and Socin, and Makas (see above ii., p. 1152). See especially Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Forschungen, Erzählungen und Lieder im Dialekte des Tūr 'Abdīn und des Bohtān*, 2 parts (text and transl.), St. Petersburg 1887—1890.

The Jacobites, like most of the other Christians

of Tūr 'Abdīn (especially the Kaldānī), use among themselves a peculiar Syriac dialect, usually called briefly Tōrānī, "The language of Tōr". It differs very much from the modern Syriac idiom spoken in the east (in the district of Urmia and Mōsul and in Eastern Kurdistan) by the Nestorians and Chaldaeans (Kaldānī). The Jacobite modern Syriac (or modern Jacobite) is much closer than this dialect to Edessene, i.e. to the Syriac literary language. It cannot however be said to be derived from this without further enquiry, but is to be traced to an older form of the language which was closely related to Edessene. Tōrānī texts of importance for our knowledge of the language have been collected by Prym and Socin and also by Sachau. On texts taken down by Prym and Socin in 1869 from the mouth of a Midyāt man see Prym and Socin, *Der neuaramäische Dialekt des Tūr 'Abdīn*, 2 parts (text and transl.), Göttingen 1881; cf. thereon the important review by Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv. 218—235. Sachau through the intermediary of the American mission got specimens taken down in Tōrānī by a Syrian priest; this MSS. material is now in the Berlin State Library, see Sachau, *Katalog der syrisch. Handschrift.*, p. 812—816 (N^o. 278—292). Of these so far only one text (N^o. 290, the story of the wise Haikār) has been published, namely by Lidzbarski, in *Die neuaramäischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1896, vol. i., p. 1—77 (text) and vol. ii., p. 1—41 (transl.). The Aramaic texts collected by Parisot in 1897 from Tūr 'Abdīn (s. *Contribution à l'étude du dialecte néo-syriaque du Tour 'Abdīn*, in *Act. du XI^{ème} Congrès Intern. des Orientalist.*, Paris 1897, vol. iv., p. 179—198) differ in language considerably from those collected by Sachau and Prym and Socin. Do we perhaps have here another modern Syriac local dialect? A Siegel has prepared an excellent *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaram. Dialekts des Tūr 'Abdīn*, Hannover 1923, based mainly on the texts published by Prym and Socin; cf. thereon Littmann's review in *O.L.Z.*, xxix., 1926, col. 1003—1008. Of other works, the grammatical and lexicographical sketch of Tōrānī given by Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv. 218 sq., should also be noted; cf. also Guidi's observations, *op. cit.*, xxxvii. 294—301. On the boundaries within which the modern Jacobite dialect is spoken cf. Prym and Socin, *Der neu-aram. Dial. des Tūr 'Abdīn*, vol. i., p. vi.—viii.; *ibid.*, p. vii. (repeated in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv. 255), and in Sachau, *Reise*, p. 412—413 a list is given of the localities in which at the present day (or rather 1870 and 1880) Tōrānī is still spoken. There are also Syrian villages in Tūr 'Abdīn where Aramaic is no longer spoken but only Kurdish.

Arabic is understood by the majority of the inhabitants of the larger villages. It is more frequently spoken in the south towards the Mesopotamian plains and particularly in the region of Mārdīn. The dialect of Mārdīn, which shows many peculiarities, belongs to the Tigris groups of the dialects of Mesopotamia (cf. above i., p. 339^b). It is closely related to the Arabic spoken around Mōsul. Cf. Socin, *Der arab. Dial. von Mōsul und Mārdīn* (a collection of texts), in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxvi., 1882, p. 1—53, 238—277; xxxvii., 1883, p. 188—222 (also separately, Leipzig 1904).

The number of villages in the sandjak of Mārdīn, which however includes territory not in Tūr 'Abdīn, is given by Cuinet (p. 412, 496) as

1,062; of these 410 are in the *kaḏā* of Midyāt and 97 in that of 'Awine. A manuscript Syriac chronicle (according to Prym and Socin, *Der neu-aram. Dial.* etc., i., p. iii.) estimates the number of villages in Tūr 'Abdīn at 243. In *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxv. 258—269, Socin gives a list of 168 names; cf. also the list of places in Prym and Socin, *op. cit.*, ii. 416—418 and in Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlung*, ii. 275—284. One should also consult the geographical indices to the catalogues of Syriac manuscripts, especially Wright, *Catal. of the Syriac Manuscr. in the British Museum*, London 1870, p. 1239 sq.; Sachau, *Verzeichnis der syrisch. Hss. der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin*, Berlin 1899, p. 923 sq.; Payne Smith, *Catal. codd. mss. biblioth. Bodleiana*, vol. vi., Oxford 1864, p. 664 sq. and Zotenberg, *Catal. des mss. syriaques . . . de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris 1874, p. 230 sq. The number of Syrian villages in Tūr 'Abdīn has already been mentioned; most places have a mixture of nationalities and religions, i. e. have Muslim (Kurd) as well as Christian (Jacobite, Armenian etc.) elements in their population. In earlier times Tūr 'Abdīn must have been better cultivated and more thickly populated; this is shown by the numerous ruins that exist.

For the larger towns on the edge of Tūr 'Abdīn like Mārdīn (Mārdīn), Hīṣn Kaifā, Djazīrat b. 'Omar and Naṣībīn see the special articles. The capital of (inner) Tūr 'Abdīn proper is Midyāt (Syriac: Midyād) which lies practically in the centre in a beautiful plain surrounded by hills (3,400 feet above sea-level) in about 41° 25' E. Long. and 37° 25' N. Lat. This very old place, already mentioned in the early Assyrian inscriptions (as Matīate; see Streck, *Z.A.*, xiii. 95; xiv. 169; xix. 249) lies at the intersection of two great roads which cross Tūr 'Abdīn from North to South (Naṣībīn—Hīṣn Kaifā) and from east to west (Djazīra—Mārdīn). Before the War, Midyāt is said to have had an exclusively Christian (mainly Jacobite) population of about 5,000.

Of the other larger places in Tūr 'Abdīn may be mentioned: Ṣawr (15 miles N.E. of Mārdīn), the capital of the *kaḏā* of 'Awīne (see above). East of it lies the village of Kīllīth and somewhat S.E. of the latter Erbil (Kurdish: Hāblēr: cf. above ii., p. 523 and Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlung*, ii. 206, 238). North of Midyāt, halfway between it and Hīṣn Kaifā, is Kefr Djōz (Kurdish: Kārdjūz), a fairly large Kurd village, in the neighbourhood of which is the Muslim place of pilgrimage Tell 'Abād ('Abāde), which Rawlinson wished to identify with the old Armenian royal city of Tigranocerta (cf. Sachau, *Reise*, p. 415 sq.; Lehmann-Haupt, *op. cit.*, i. 372—373, 539). Twelve miles north of Midyāt is the village of Hāh with many ruins, which testify to its former importance. We may also mention Zāz and 'Arnās, both N.W. of Hāh, one and a half and three hours' journey distant respectively, and twelve miles S.E. of Hāh the large village of Middō. Two hours west of the latter is the large Christian village of Bāsebrīna (Old Syriac: Bēth-Sabirīna) which plays an important part in the ecclesiastical history of Tūr 'Abdīn. 20 miles S.E. of Mārdīn on the S.W. spurs of Tūr 'Abdīn lie the great and impressive ruins of the town of Dārā built by Anastasius I (491—518) and later refortified by Justinian I (527—565) (also called from its founder Anastasiopolis); its name is still borne by an adjoining

village. On the ruins of Dārā cf. Sachau, *Reise*, p. 294—398, and especially Preusser, *op. cit.*, p. 44—49 (with plates 53—61).

Tūr 'Abdīn plays a very important part in the history of eastern monachism. According to a tradition in Nestorian circles, St. Eugenius came from Egypt in the fourth century and founded a monastery in the southern part of Tūr 'Abdīn, and thus laid the foundation of the monastic system which developed to such an extent in Mesopotamia. St. Eugenius, who had many followers, is said after his death in 363 to have been buried in the monastery built by him. This is not the place to go into the question of the truth of the Syriac legend of St. Eugenius; it may be sufficient to refer to the serious objections raised to it by Labourt, in *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie Sasanide*, Paris 1904, p. 302 sq.; cf. also Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syrisch. Liter.*, Bonn 1922, p. 235—236. In any case, it is certain that in the middle ages Tūr 'Abdīn became a regular monks' citadel like an eastern Mount Athos. When Niebuhr (*loc. cit.*) is told that there are over 70 ruined monasteries in this mountain land, one need not think this is an exaggeration. At the present day, Tūr 'Abdīn is still full of remains of old monasteries. Only a few are in good repair and still inhabited by monks. Great churches, for the most part of the viith—xth centuries, are still to be seen. These monuments of the mediaeval ecclesiastical architecture of the east are of considerable importance for the history of Christian art. They have been studied recently by different investigators, notably Pogon, G. L. Bell, Preusser and Guyer; for the literature see the *Bibl.* Pogon has earned special praise for collecting the numerous Syriac inscriptions on the churches and monasteries visited by him.

Strzygowski, Guyer and Herzfeld have devoted special attention to the dates and appreciation as documents of the history of art of the buildings of Tūr 'Abdīn; cf. M. v. Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, p. 269—273, 293; Guyer, in *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft.*, xxxviii., 1916, p. 215—237 and in Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.* (s. *Bibl.*), ii. 45, 336; Herzfeld, in *O. L. Z.*, xiv., 1911, p. 402 sq., 413 and in Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 277, 296, 298—299, 336, 345. Strzygowski's thesis that the art of the Mesopotamian monasteries is older than that of Syria and that Mesopotamia, especially Tūr 'Abdīn, and not Egypt, is the cradle of monasticism, has been rejected, in my view on good grounds, by Guyer and Herzfeld, who champion the later date of the Mesopotamian buildings compared with the older Syrian; cf. also Becker's remarks (*Isl.*, ii. 396) against the assumption of priority for Mesopotamian monachism.

The mother-house of all the Mesopotamian monasteries of Tūr 'Abdīn, the already mentioned Mār Awgen (Kurd.: Marōke), is 13 miles N.E. of Mārdīn (41° 30' E. Long. and 30° 7' N. Lat.) clinging to the cliffs of the southern declivities of the plateau. In the middle ages it was the headquarters of the western Nestorians and is now inhabited by Jacobite monks. Half-an-hour's journey from Mār Awgen is another old monastery, Mār Yuḥannā, founded by a disciple of St. Eugenius and bearing his name (on him cf. the work by Yeshū'denāḥ, N^o. 2 quoted above ii., p. 801a).

In the middle ages one of the most important monasteries of Tūr 'Abdīn was the Monastery of

Abraham, frequently referred to in Syrian literature briefly as "the great monastery (on mount Izlā)"; cf. e.g. the indices to Chabot's edition of Yeshū'denah's work just mentioned. Its founder was the celebrated creator of definitely Nestorian monachism, Abraham of Kaskar (d. 588); on him see vol. ii., p. 801a. G. Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, p. 170 sq.) wished to identify this monastery with the monastery in ruins at Mār Bauai (= Mār Bāb, 3 miles S. W. of Mār Awgen) mentioned by Taylor. This is not possible: we must rather identify the monastery of Abraham with Dēr Mār Ibrāhīm, visited by Hinrichs on his journey in 1911; see his notes in Bell, *Churches and Monasteries of Tūr 'Abdīn*, Heidelberg 1913, p. 49—50 or p. 105—106.

At the present day the principal monastery of Tūr 'Abdīn and the greatest centre of pilgrimage for the Jacobites is now the monastery of Kartmīn (Old Syr.: Kartāmīn), about twelve miles S. E. of Midyāt. This coenobium, perhaps the most celebrated of the Jacobites in Asia, was in the middle ages one of the richest and most venerated in the whole of the East. In its greatest days it held 300 monks, while at the present day there are only about a dozen there. It is said to have been founded in 399 under Arcadius; its founders are said to have been St. Samuel (d. c. 406) and Simeon (d. 433). It is still usually called among Syrians Mār Gabriel after its great Abbot, St. Gabriel (d. 667). The Muslims and Greeks usually call it Dēr 'Amr (in travellers also we find Der Amar and quite wrongly Der el-Amr) = Dair 'Umar, the monastery of 'Omar. The caliph 'Omar at the time of the Arab invasion is said to have given the Abbot rights of jurisdiction over all Christians in the country. In Kartmīn are three churches, i.e. two, in addition to the principal called after St. Gabriel, which are dedicated to the Virgin and to the forty Martyrs. The structure of the church of St. Gabriel, perhaps the oldest in the country, is typical of the monastic churches of Tūr 'Abdīn. The village of Kartmīn is built among the ruins of another monastery, that of St. Simeon. For the history of Kartmīn cf. the essay by Nau, in *Act. du XIV^{ème} Congrès Intern. des Orient. à Alger*, vol. ii., Paris 1906, p. 76 sq. and the Syriac chronicle discussed by Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 273 sq.

Among the oldest churches in Tūr 'Abdīn is that of Mār Kyriakos in Arnās and that of Mār 'Azaziel in Kefr Zeh (1½ hours S. E. of Arnās); stylistically they are closely connected. According to Guyer, the village of Hāh is the archaeological centre of Tūr 'Abdīn. In it are two very interesting old churches: Mār Sōwō (Sābā) and that of the Virgin, the al-'Aḥrā, which is very rich in ornament, and has come down to us practically uninjured from the time it was built. Among the latest of the mediaeval churches is that of Mār Ya'qub in Šalāh; this monastery became one of the most important in the country when it became the residence of a separate patriarch for Tūr 'Abdīn.

We may further mention that ruins of monasteries and churches—Pogon, *op. cit.*, p. 116 mentions twenty—are particularly numerous in Bāsebrīna (cf. above); but they are mainly of more recent origin. In conclusion we may just mention the famous monastery of Dēr al-Za'farān (one hour east of Mārdīn) which till 1924 was the residence of the Jacobite patriarch; he now lives in Aleppo; cf. on it especially Peter-

mann, *op. cit.*, ii. 343 sq.; Sachau, *Reise*, p. 405 sq.; Parry (who stayed six months in it), *op. cit.*, p. 103—140 and Preusser, *op. cit.*, p. 49—53 (with plates 62—65).

As already mentioned, there was in the area of Tūr 'Abdīn in Roman Byzantine times a large number of forts which were mainly intended to defend the Roman frontier from Persia. Ruins of such citadels may be seen in several places, for example the Paḥḍīof of Byzantine writers is probably identical with the modern Ka'at Hātim Ṭaiyī' (about three hours' journey south of Bāsebrīna): cf. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 2nd ser., i. 13. Another citadel frequently mentioned in the classics, Sarbane (the forms Sisara and Sisaurana also handed down are probably corruptions), is probably to be located on the site of the modern Sērwan (cf. Weissbach, *op. cit.*, 2nd ser., i. 2433). On other celebrated citadels, like the "new citadel" (Arab. al-Ka'at al-Djadīda), apparently the modern Ka'at Djadīd (two and a half hours' S. W. of Ka'at Hātim Ṭaiyī'), and the citadel of Hāitham (Syr. Ḥesnā de Hāitham), often mentioned in Syriac or Arabic sources, which must have stood near Bāsebrīna, see Guyer in Petermann's *Mitteil.*, vol. 62 (1916), p. 297. On the citadel of Finik on the north bank of the Tigris (above Djazira) which is mentioned as early as late classical writers (as Πύνακα, Phoenice) and has played a notable part in the history of the Kurds (cf. above ii., p. 1139b) see Tuch, in *Z.D.M.G.*, i. 57—61; M. Hartmann, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), index (s. v.).

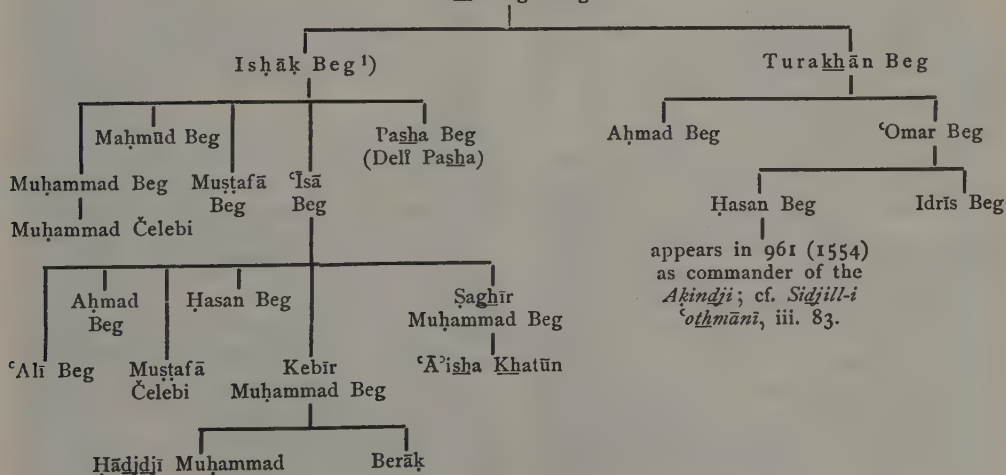
Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the text: B. G. A., passim (indices); Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 559. See also the geographical indices to the catalogue of manuscripts, especially Wright for the British Museum (p. 1336 s. v. Izlā Mons; 1341 s. v. Tūr 'Abdīn) and Sachau for the Royal Library in Berlin (p. 913 s. v. Izlā and p. 926 s. v. Tūr 'Abdīn). — Niebuhr (1766), *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, ii., Copenhagen 1778, p. 387—388; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 132; x. 71 sq., 76—77; xi. 439—442; H. Southgate (1838), *Narrative of a tour through Armenia, Koordistan etc.*, London 1840, ii., p. 268 sq., 273—275, 313—314; G. P. Badger (1842, 1844, 1850), *The Nestorians and their rituals*, London 1852, i. 45—58, 63, 66—69; C. Sandreczki (1850), *Reise nach Mosul una durch Kurdistan nach Urumia*, Stuttgart 1857, i. 267—307; iii. 341—360; H. Petermann (1853—1854), *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861, ii. 31—43, 340—347; A. Schlāfli (1861), *Reisen in den Orient*, Winterthur 1864, p. 43—61; J. G. Taylor (1861—1863), *Travels in Kurdistan*, in *J.R.G.S.*, xxxv., 1865, p. 21—58; Czernik, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, Erg.-Heft. No. 45, 1876, p. 14—15; Socin (1870), *Zur Geographie des Tūr 'Abdīn*, in *Z.D.G.M.*, xxxv., 1881, p. 237—269; Prym and Socin, *Der neuaram. Dialekt des Tūr 'Abdīn*, Göttingen 1881, i., 1—x (geograph.-ethnograph. division by Socin); G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, p. 167—173; Sachau (1880), *Über die Lage von Tigranokerta*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1880, part ii., 1881, p. 9—19, 27, 65—75; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Berlin 1883, p. 378—435; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., Paris 1892, p. 407—519; Parry, *Six months in a Syrian Monastery*, London 1895;

M. Hartmann, *Bohtān* (= *Mittel. der Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, vol. i. and ii.), Berlin 1896—1897, s. the indices s. v. Tūr 'Abdin etc.; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt (1899), *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i.3, Berlin 1910, p. 337—380, 504, 508, 510, 513; H. Pognon (1891, 1905), *Inscriptions Sémitiques* etc., Paris 1907, p. 39—50, 72—75, 91—100, 108—116, 120—125, 186—202, or N^o. 13—14, 22—35, 51—54, 60—62, 67—71 and 92—106 with plate vi.—vii., xvi., xix—xxi., xxiv.—xxv., xxvii.—xxix., xxxvii.—xli.; E. Banse (1908), in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, vol. lvii., 1911, p. 119—122, 172—175; E. Banse, *Auf den Spuren der Bagdadbahn*, Weimar 1913, p. 68—87; G. L. Bell (1909 and 1911), *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, p. 296—322; G. L. Bell, *The Churches and Monasteries of the Tūr 'Abdin*, in M. v. Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1911, p. 224—262; G. L. Bell, *Churches and Monasteries of the Tūr 'Abdin and Neighbouring Districts* (= *Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. der Architektur*, Beiheft ix., p. 57—112), Heidelberg 1913; Preusser (1909), *Nordmesopotam. Baudenkmäler* (= 17. wissenschaftl. Veröffentlich. der deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch., Leipzig 1911), p. 23—55 with plate 34—66; W. A. and T. A. Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, London 1914, p. 42—68; Sykes (1906), *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, London 1915, p. 354—357, 578; S. Guyer (1910), in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, lxii., 1916, p. 208—210, 254, 296—299; K. Uhlig, *Mesopotamien*, in *Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. für Erdkunde*, Berlin 1917, p. 5, 7—8, 56—58; Th. Naab (about 1905), *Drei Jahre in Mesopotamien*, Basel 1918, p. 131—138; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1911—1920, passim; s. index in vol. iv. 47, s. v. Tūr 'Abdin. — In his above mentioned essay *Zur Geographie des Tūr 'Abdin* (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxxv. 237 sq.) Socin utilises and sums up, in addition to accounts of the already mentioned travellers Southgate, Badger, Sandreczki, Taylor and Czerwik, also the somewhat scanty descriptions by Shiel (the first European to penetrate to the interior of Tūr 'Abdin in 1836), de Beaufort (1840) and Goldsmid (1864). Many travellers have only touched the southern edge of Tūr 'Abdin when taking the road from Diyār Bakr via Mārdin and Naṣībīn to Mōṣul; for example: Niebuhr, Buckingham (1816), Southgate, Badger, Banse, Wigram; others, like Layard (1849) going from north (Armenia) to Mōṣul only skirted the eastern edge of Tūr 'Abdin. The journey by water, frequently undertaken e. g. by Moltke (1839) and Schläfli, on the Tigris by *Kelek* from Diyār Bakr to Mōṣul gives a knowledge of the north and west borders of Tūr 'Abdin. The following travellers (in chronological order) have visited the interior of Tūr 'Abdin: Shiel, de Beaufort, Badger, Sandreczki, Taylor, Goldsmid, Socin, Fagnan, Sachau, Lehmann-Haupt, Naab, Sykes, Bell, Preusser, Guyer (1910), Viollet (1910), Hinrichs (1911). No detailed account of Guyer's journey has been published, nor of those of Viollet and Hinrichs (cf. for these two: Bell, *Church. and Monast.*, 1913, p. 61, 105—106). It may be added that in the reports of the above mentioned American missions much valuable material will be found about religious, social and ethnographical conditions in Tūr 'Abdin.

On cartography cf. the notes by R. Kiepert in M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 410—411. The map of Tūr 'Abdin by H. Kiepert appended to Socin's article in the *Z. D. G. M.*, xxxv. is now practically obsolete and we have much fuller and better material available. The best maps of this district now are: R. Kiepert (1893), *Karte von Syrien und Mesopotamien* (1:850,000), east sheet prepared by R. Kiepert in 1893 which accompanies M. v. Oppenheim's book; R. Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien*² (1:400,000), Berlin 1914, sheets Diarbekir and Nṣēbin. Maunsell's map: *Eastern Turkey in Asia* (1:250,000), London, War Office (1903), sheet 25 (Mardin) and 26 (Bohtan-Jezire) should also be mentioned. A special map of the *Umgebung von Mārdīn und Naṣībīn* (1:200,000) was prepared in 1918 by the Kartographische Abteilung der preussischen Landesaufnahme in Berlin. (M. STRECK)

TURAKHĀN BEG, an Ottoman general, conqueror of Thessaly and warden of its marches. The hitherto obscure origin of Turakhān Beg is now explained in his last will and testament of Djumādā I 850 = August 1446 (in a certified Greek translation in Epam. G. Pharmakidis, *Ἡ Δέσποια*, Volo 1926, p. 280—287) where he calls himself son of the "late Pasha Yigit Beg" (τοῦ μακαρίτου Πασσῶς Ἰγῆτος Βέη). Accordingly, his father was the well known Pasha Yigit Beg (called by the Serbians and Italians Pasaythus, Basaitus etc.; cf. C. J. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien*, iv. 7, note 5) who conquered Ūsküb (Skoplje, on Jan. 6, 1392) and governed a part of Bosnia after 791 (1390) in the modern southern Serbia as Ottoman warden of the marches and must have died about 1413 in Ūsküb. There his tomb is still shown (*türbe*; cf. Gliša Elezović, *Turski spomenici u Skoplju*, Skoplje 1927, p. 5 with a picture). There is no support for the statement of the *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, i. 37 that he did not die till 835 (1431); nor for the statement that the grand vizier Ishāk Pasha had been his "slave" (*köle*). This is obviously due to confusion with Ishāk Beg, the first governor of Bosnia, whose "lord" (*Efendi*) he is called in a curious gloss in the *Altosman. anonymen Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, p. 28, 3 (which is probably followed by Şolakzāde, *Tārīkh*, p. 52). Nor was Yigit Beg the son of Ishāk Beg, as has been stated in C. J. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, II/i. 127 (probably following Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm. Turc.*, p. 315, 13), but obviously his father, as is evident beyond doubt from the Arabic inscription on the mosque of Ghāzī Ishāk Beg at Skoplje of the year 842 (1438—1439) (cf. the text in Elezović, *op. cit.*, p. 11 infra). When then Ishāk Beg appears in Č. Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive* (Sarajevo 1911), p. 200, as the son of Pasha Yigit Beg ("Pašait-beg"), this is quite correct although his epithet there, Hranušić, is an unnecessary slavisation (cf. p. 192 infra). It is therefore evident that Ishāk Beg and Turakhān Beg were sons of Pasha Yigit Beg, i. e. were brothers. We do not know when and where Turakhān was born. The meaning of the name also is uncertain, if it is not to be connected with *Tarhān* (cf. in Astrakhān) mentioned in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 410; its pronunciation is assured by the Byzantine form Τουραχάνης in G. Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles, in the *Chronicon breve*.

Aḥmad and 'Omar with a large force to the Peloponnesus, where he again took the outer defences of the Isthmus, invaded Arcadia plundering and burning, and ravaged and burned the whole Gulf of Messene passing via Ithôme (i.e. Messene). When the difficulties of communication made it necessary to divide his army, his son Aḥmad was captured in the pass of Dervenaki between Mycenae and Corinth by the brother-in-law of Matthaeus Azanes, the despot Demetrius of Sparta (cf. Phrantzes, p. 235 and W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, p. 426), but was liberated in December 1454 by his brother 'Omar (*ibid.*, p. 383, *xx sq.*). In October 1455 Turakhān appeared with his sons in Adrianople (Phrantzes, p. 385, *x sq.*). He died in the middle of 1456, probably at a great age (Phrantzes, p. 386, *x*). His official residence as governor was at Larisa in Thessaly (Turkish: Yeñişehr-i Fanār; q.v.), the lands of which he held as a fief. There he built a mosque and numerous other buildings for charitable purposes; even a Christian church, in Timovo (Greek Tyrnawos) not far from Larisa, which is still standing, was built by him. His tomb, a chapel-like *türbe*, is in Larisa on the north east edge of the town. The cemetery around it with a monastery has now disappeared. Turakhān Beg had two sons, Aḥmad and 'Omar, who accompanied their father on his campaigns. 'Omar, who appears as Ottoman warden of the marches in the Peloponnesus, while his brother Aḥmad succeeded his father in Thessaly, was left in 1456 by Muḥammad II on the Peloponnesus with an army (Phrantzes, p. 388, *xx sqq.*), in 1463 acquired the country round Naupactos and in 1467 after an initial reverse inflicted a defeat on the Venetians (Phrantzes, p. 425, *23*; a fuller account of 'Omar, Ὀμάρης [Phrantzes always writes Ἀμάρης], is given by Chalcocondyles, cf. the Index s.v. Omares). On the latter life of the two brothers, of whom Aḥmad, like his father, had made the pilgrimage,



1) The left part of the genealogical table is taken from the book by Cl. Elezović, *loc. cit.*, p. 221. It requires to be checked, as there might be confusion with the descendants of an Ewrenos-oghlu, among the sons of 'Isā Beg at least. Cf. also C. J. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, iv. 8, note 1, where attention is called to such possible confusions.

not much is known. 'Omar seems to have been the more active of the two. In 1477 he fought on the Isonzo against the Venetians (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 151), next year defeated the Albanians (*ibid.*, ii. 157) and was still alive in 1484, as his will dated Muḥarram 889 (February 1484), shows (cf. E. G. Pharmakidis, *op. cit.*, p. 287—303 or 307—310). 'Omar Beg had two sons, one of whom, called Ḥasan Beg, is known from his will written in Shawwāl 937 (May 1351; cf. Pharmakidis, p. 310 *sqq.*), while the other, Idrīs Beg, made a name in his day as a poet and excellent translator of Ḥatīfī's *Khosrew u-Shīrīn* and *Lailā u-Madīnūn* into Turkish (cf. Seḥī, *Tedhkire*, p. 36 *sq.*). The family of Turakhān-oghlu, which was established around Larisa and owned extensive estates until quite modern times, later played no important part in history. A certain Fāḥik Pasha, recorded as a late descendant of Turakhān Beg, by his extortions as governor of Rūm-eli made his name hated; he was beheaded in the court of the Serai in Stambul at the age of 70 in March 1643 (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, p. 322 from Na'imā, and Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, iv. 535). J. Ph. Fallmerayer in 1842 saw "at the chief mosque [of Larisa] a biography of Turchan-Beg preserved there" (cf. *Fragmente aus dem Orient*², 1877, p. 381 *sqq.*) but this seems to have since disappeared (like the MS. biography of the Ewrenos-oghlu [q. v.] mentioned by Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce*, i. 117). The genealogical table on p. 877 gives a conspectus of the descendants of Pasha Yigit Beg, the real founder of this Ottoman noble family.

Bibliography: D. Urquhart, *Spirit of the East*, London 1838, vol. i.; cf. the German transl. by F. G. Buck, Stuttgart and Tubingen 1839, i. 226 *sqq.*, from an Arabic biography of T. and his family preserved in the public library at Tyrnacinos in Thessaly. (F. BABINGER)

TÜRĀN (or Ṭawārān?), the old name of a district in Balūcistān.

According to Ṭabari, i. 820, the kings of Tūrān and of Makurān (Mukrān) submitted to the Sāsānian Ardāshīr (224—241). The Paikuli inscription only mentions the Makurān-shāh. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 38, thinks that these princes at first owned the suzerainty of the Sakas and their submission to Ardāshīr was the result of the conquest of Sakastān (= Sistān) by this monarch.

Balādhuri does not mention al-Tūrān. According to one of his sources, Ḥajjīdjādī [q. v.] appointed Sa'īd b. Aslam to Mukrān and "(all) that frontier". Iṣṭakhri, p. 171, and Ibn Ḥawqāl, p. 226, among the inhabited places in Tūrān mention Mḥālī(?), Kizkānān, Sūra (Shūra) and Ḳuṣḍār (or Ḳuzdār). Ibn Ḥawqāl, p. 232, says that Tūrān is a valley with a fortified town (*ḡaṣaba*) also called al-Tūrān and in its centre is a fortress (*ḡiṣn*) commanded by an ignorant Bāsrīan. Ibn Ḥawqāl, p. 232—233, mentions Ḳuzdār separately from the *ḡaṣaba* of the same name. Ḳuzdār was the town (commercial?) of Tūrān possessing "a district and several towns". A certain Mughīr (or Mu'īn b. Aḥmad) had seized Ḳuzdār and only recognised the direct authority of the 'Abbāsīd caliph.

The statements in Idrīsī, i. 166, 177, confuse the situation, for he gives the name al-Ṭūbarān to the station in Makurān which Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 55, calls al-Ṭabarān [ten farsakhs S. E. of Fahrādī, on the river which is now called Sarbāz and flows

into the sea near Gwattar], but then associates Ḳuzdār and Kizkānān (towns in the district of Tūrān!) with this Ṭabarān. On the other hand, he places Tūrān 4 days' journey from Ḳuzdār, in the direction of Mastundj, i.e. to the north. As the site of Ḳuzdār [q. v.] is known (85 miles S. of Kalāt at a height of 4,050 feet: cf. the article BALŪCISTĀN), Tūrān (the town) must be located at Kalāt.

The town of Ḳandābil, five farsakhs (more accurately 5 *marḥal*) from Ḳuzdār, is outside of Tūrān and is the capital of the district of the Budhas (Balādhuri, p. 436: Zuṭṭ al-Budha). Ḳandābil, lying in the plain, is identified with Gandāwa (75 English miles N.E. of Khozdar, to the north of the Indus, at a height of 314 feet above sea-level).

The position of Kizkānān, the residence of the already mentioned Mu'īn b. Aḥmad (chief of Tūrān according to Iṣṭakhri, or of Ḳuzdār, according to Ibn Ḥawqāl), is unknown. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 192, 275—276, connects Kizkānān with Kikān (cf. Balādhuri, p. 432) and seeks it at Kalāt. In this case, Kizkānān = the *ḡaṣaba* al-Tūrān. The land between Kizkānān and Ḳandābil, inhabited by Budhas and possessing vines, bore the name of its chief Ayl (or Utl [?]).

Yākūt, iii. 557, reckons Tūrān (the *ḡaṣaba* of which is Ḳuzdār and which has several *rustāk*) among the *nāḥiya* of Sind. He also mentions a *nāḥiya* of Tūrān in Madā'in and a village of Tūrān belonging to Harāt.

The Arabs write Turan with *ṭ* which may represent some local aspiration of *t*. In principle there is nothing to object to in the connection of Tūrān with Tūrān but it would be unwise to go beyond stating the similarity of the names. The connection is still weaker if we connect Tūrān with Ṭabarān and Ṭabarān.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topogr. Persiens*, i. 56, thinks the name Tūrān may come from the Iranian term Tūra, which means "enemy, non-Iranian countries"; Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 31—33, 187, 190; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 332; Hüsing, *Völkerschichten in Iran, Mitt. d. Anthropol. Gesell. Wien*, xxxvi., 1916, p. 200, seeks the real Tūrān not in Turkestan but in Tūrān of Ḳuṣḍār (inhabited by the ancestors of the Brahūi of our day!). (V. MINORSKY)

TÜRĀN, an Iranian term applied to the country to the north-east of Iran. The form of the name is not earlier than the Middle Persian period. The suffix *-ān* is used to form both patronymics (Pāpakān) and the names of countries (Gēlān, Dailamān) (cf. *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, 1/ii., p. 176; Salemann, *ibid.*, 1/i., p. 280 expresses doubts as to whether *-ān* is from the genitive plural *-ānām*).

Three questions are raised by the name Tūrān: 1. its origin, 2. its later acceptance, which identifies Tūrān with "the land of the Turks", 3. its modern geographical, linguistic and political applications.

The Tūra. In the Iranian sphere, the element Tūr of Tūr-ān has analogies in the Avestan Tūra- (Tura-). In the parts preserved of the Avesta, we have 1. Tūra, the father of two pious individuals, who bear the Iranian names of Arəjahwant and Frārazī but of whom nothing more is known (*Vasht*, xiii. 113—123); 2. the people called Tūra or Tura, probably nomads (*Vasht*, xvii. 55: *asu-aspa* "having swift steeds"). [The adjective from Tūra, with epenthesis, is *tūrya*].

The Tūryans are several times represented as enemies of the Iranians and of the true religion (cf. *Yasht*, xvii. 55 where they pursue *Ashī wahuhi*). A subdivision (?) of the Tūryans is called *Dānu* (*Yasht*, xvii. 55–56), which may be connected with the Sanskrit *dānava* “demons”. A particularly hateful figure is that of the “Tūryan brigand” *Fraṇrasyan* (= *Afrāsīyāb*), whose fruitless attempts to seize the royal power (*xwarəna*) are related at length in *Yasht*, xix. 56–64. But the same *Yasht*, xix. 93, admits that the *xwarəna* had once been in the possession of *Fraṇrasyan*, when he played the part of defender of Iran against the tyrant *Zainigav*. The hostility to *Fraṇrasyan* might therefore have political roots.

Quite a number of passages reveal that there were pious people among the Tūra. The family of the Tūryan *Fryāna* is particularly praised in a very early passage in the *Gāthās* (*Yasna*, xlii. 12). The passage in *Yasht*, xiii. 143 is very well known: “we sacrifice to the *frawashī* of the pious men and the pious women of the Aryan (Iranian), Tūryan, *Sairimyan*, *Sāimyan* and *Dāhyan* lands”.

An indirect indication of the abode of the Tūra is given in *Yasht*, v. 57, where the descendants of **Vaēsaka*, lieutenant of *Fraṇrasyan* (*Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i. 248, 264: *Wēsa*), are located at the pass of *Xsathrō-suka*, situated “very high” in *Kaṇha* (= *Bukhārā*?; cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 196; in Chinese: *Khang* = *Samarkand*). On the other hand, the name of the canton *Tūr*, which the Armenian translator of Ptolemy mentions in *Kȟwārizm* (ed. Soukry, § 34; cf. below), is very significant.

Several hypotheses have been put forward regarding the ethnical character of the Tūra. Geiger, *Ostir. Kultur*, p. 194, thought that this term referred to all the peoples of the steppes without distinction of race (“ein Kollektivbegriff... , der keine ethnographische Trennung bezeichnete, sondern die Steppenvölker der Ebenen vom Kaspisee bis an den Sir und darüber hinaus umfasste”). Geiger thought it possible that there were Tatar elements among the Tūra (“Überreste einer tatarischen Urbevölkerung”?). It should however be noted that Geiger's attempt (p. 198) to find the Huns among the Tūra is now rejected (*hunu*, “son, descendant”; Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterb.*, col. 1831).

The term *dānu* (cf. above) may also have a non-ethnical significance and mean the non-Mazdaean Tūra (“demons”) [Christensen (1928) has revived Geiger's thesis; he supposes that Tūra was “originally the designation of the nomad peoples, whether they were of Iranian race or not”].

On the other hand, Blochet, in his article “Le nom des Turcs dans l'Avesta” supports the popular etymology Tūra = Turk and seeks to explain the names of the Tūryan *Dānu*, *Kara* *Asabana* and *Vara* *Asabana*, by the Turkish words *kara* “black” and *gör* (?) “clever”: “the name Turk, or at least the root from which it comes [sic!], was in existence at a date long before the sixth century”. In this connection it may be recalled that whatever may be the etymology of the name Turk (cf. *ürk-türk*, “force, power”: F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii. 10; *türküm*, “family”: *Kāshgharī*, i. 368), the name Tūra is readily explained in Iranian as “courageous”, “brave”; cf. *tūr* in Persian and in Kurdish and the significant allusion of Firdawsī to the character of Tūr, son of Faridūn. It is true that the etymology of *Kara* and *Vara* is still obscure and that, ac-

cording to Firdawsī, a member of the *Vēsa* family bears the name of *Kurūkhān* (?) (ed. Vullers, i. 261), but alongside these names one could place other Tūryan names of clearly Iranian appearance, including that of the third companion of *Kara* and of *Vara*, *Dūraēkaēta* “whose wish goes far”. (This argument would lose its value if we could prove that the princes of Tūra were of foreign origin, but at the same time, one would lose all means of identifying the people).

The most elaborate hypothesis concerning the Tūra is that of Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 155–157. According to him, the celebrated ancestral home of the Iranians *Airyānəm waejō* was in *Kȟwārizm*. The legendary wars of Iran and Tūrān reflect the struggles between the settled Iranians (who, proud of their superior culture, had monopolised the name *airyana*) with the nomad *Massagetai* “fish-eaters” (cf. Avesta *masya* “fish” and the Scythian plural suffix *-ta*). It is these Scythian *Massagetai*, living at first to the east of the Oxus and the sea of Aral, who must have taken the name of Tūra. The district of Tūr which the Armenian translator of Ptolemy (Ananias of Shirak?) mentions in *Kȟwārizm* must be a memory of the Tūra people. [The connection of the district of Tūr with the Bactrian satrapy of *Touropota* (Strabo, xi. 517) has still to be settled (cf. Oberhummer, *op. cit.*, p. 194, 202)]. The later migrations of peoples have completely changed the ethnical map of Asia and gradually the term Tūra was transferred to the new enemies of the Iranians, the *Sacraucaae*, the *Tokharians*, the *Yüe-č'i*, the *Kūshāns*, the *Kȟiōnites*, the *Hephthalites* and the *Turks*.

The Sanskrit translation of the *Avesta* renders Tūra by *Turushkah*. This last word seems usually to refer to the Turks, but as the Sanskrit translation is very late (*Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, p. 50), its interpretation of ethnical terms has no value.

The influence of the *Shāh-nāma*. The connection between the Tūrān and the Tūra was found quite late (cf. Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthums-kunde*, 1871, i. 553 and especially Geiger, *op. cit.*, 1822, p. 193). The Middle Persian sources which might retain traces of the evolution of Tūrān from Tūra have had no direct influence on the formation of the current connotation of Tūrān. We can therefore say that the principal source of oriental and European views on this subject has been the *Shāh-nāma*. The parallel Persian and Arabic sources, also based on the Middle Persian *Kȟwātay-nāmak*, have served only as a supplement to Firdawsī's poem.

Tūrān is mentioned in the chapter of the *Shāh-nāma* relating to the tripartition of the world by Faridūn (*Thraētaona*, *Frēdhōn*), the last universal monarch (ruler of the clime *Xvanīras*); cf. Macan's edition p. 58; Mohl, i. 138; Vullers, i. 77–78.

Tūrān and its eponym. *Yasht*, xiii. 143 (cf. above), which is very early, reflects the idea that the world is made up of five nations. On the other hand from the Pahlavi *Dēnkart* we know that an Avestan book, now lost, spoke of the tripartition of the world among the sons of Faridūn (*Thraētaona*, *Frēdhōn*); Sarm, *Tūč* and *Erēt* (Pahlavi forms). We have evidently a case of two sets of traditions being amalgamated by giving the ancient peoples Iranian eponyms. But as the changes had taken place in the world as known to the Iranians, the two eldest sons of Faridūn had to be given, one in the west the

other in the east, apanages in conformity with the political divisions of the period (Sāsānian?). The west was thus identified with Rūm (Byzantine empire) and the east with the Turks, neighbours of the Persians since the defeat of the Hephthalites under Khusrāw I (ca. 557).

The ancient legend of the tripartition of the world among the sons of Thraētaona symbolised the relationship of the ancient peoples of whom they were the eponyms. In the time of Firdawsī, the legend was totally deprived of ethnical foundation and the contradictions had to be concealed by playing upon words. In the *Shāh-nāma*, Faridūn gives his sons the name of Salm, Tūr and Irādī only after subjecting them to a test to reveal their characters. The eldest, who has escaped the danger without scathe (*salāmat*) receives the lands in the west (*Rūm wa-xāwar*) with the title Xāwar-khudāy. To the dashing second son (*tūr* = courageous) is given Tūrān and he becomes Tūrān-shāh, or Shāh-i Čin, "lord of the Turks and Chinese" (Türk wa-Čin; cf. ed. Vullers, reign of Faridūn, verses 460 and 295). The youngest, as brave as he is prudent, receives "Irān and the plain of the heroes" (or perhaps of the Kurds: cf. *ibid.*, verses 291, 300 and 321) with the title *Irān-khudāy*.

In the Arabic writers (cf. Ṭabarī, i. 226) the name of the eldest son still has the form Sarm < Sairima. But as the Pahlavi alphabet does not distinguish *r* and *l*, Firdawsī (as well as the *Mudjimal al-Tawārikh*) preserved the variant Salm which lent itself to a play on the Arabic root *s-l-m*. [Modi's attempt: *Asiatic Papers*, Bombay 1905, p. 244, and Blochet's: *Rev. de l'Or. Chrétien*, 1925, xxv., p. 431, to connect Sairima directly with Rome (*sRim, cf. Armen. hRom) is wild in every respect]. That the connection of Salm with the west is still very slight is evident from the fact that the two brothers Salm and Tūr fight east of the Caspian Sea (Tha'alibi moves the scene of war to Ādharbāidjān) and hold there jointly a naval stronghold Alānān-diž (Dihistānān Šūr, on the Cape of Hasan-čuli? on which see Barthold, *K. istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 33). The name of the Alāns (ancestors of the Ossetes and descendants of the Sauromates = Sairima?) in these regions can relate only to a period about the first century B.C., when the Iranians still ruled around the Caspian (Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 108).

The name Tūr (Firdawsī and *Mudjimal al-Tawārikh*) appears in the *Dēnkart*, viii. 13 as Tūc and this form predominates in the Arabic sources: Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 15: Tūdj or Tūs; Dinawari, p. 11 (the sons of Nimrud: Irādī, Salm and Tūs); Ṭabarī, i. 226; *Fihrist*, p. 12; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, ii. 116; Birūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāhiya*, p. 102; Tha'alibi, ed. Zotenberg, p. 41 (Tūz, Tūž). In any case the form Tūr chosen by Firdawsī to explain Tūr-ān as the apanage of the bearer of this name differs from the forms found in the Pahlavi and Arabic sources. According to Marquart, *Beiträge*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1895, p. 664—7, Tōc < Tauriç (from Tūra); according to Christensen, Tūc is from Tūr + č = "of Tūryan origin".

Tūrān as a geographical term. The term Tūrān, formed from the name of the people Tūra, which is derived from that of its eponym Tūc/Tūr, and ultimately applied to the country of the Turks, ought to be found in the Sāsānian *Khwālay-nāmak*, the source used by the Arab

historians and by Firdawsī. It is true that the *Bundahish*, xii. 13, 39, etc. uses only the term Turkestān [while Salmān, "land of Salm" *ibid.* xx. 12, there designates the country from which the Tugra comes] but we find Tūrān in the *Dēnkart* viii, and in the fragments from Turfān (F. W. K. Müller, ii. 87).

For Firdawsī, Tūrān, land of the Turks and of the Chinese, is separated from Irān by the Oxus (*Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, reign of Faridūn, verses 295, 309, 322, 456, 459, 542, 792, reign of Nawdhār verse 133; ed. Mohl, v. 680, reign of Bahrām Gūr). On the other hand in the account of the defeat of Afrāsiyāb, the beginning of his domains seems to be extended to "Kīpčāk". Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 110, from the manuscripts, emends this name to Ɔočkār (*bāshi*) and identifies it with the encampment of the Ɔarluḫ [q. v.] 5 farsakhs beyond Tarāz [q. v.]; cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 24: *Kšry bās*. In the same way the capital of Afrāsiyāb, Kang-diz, is located by Firdawsī somewhere near China, without any connection with the country of Kang (Bukhārā) (ed. Vullers, verse 1381; cf. Bartholomae, col. 437; Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 109). These details may record the early stages in the western movements of the Turks. As to the Chinese, subjects of the kings of Tūrān, Firdawsī may have substituted their name for that of the old Avestan people Sāinav, already assimilated to the Chinese in the *Bundahish* (Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, ii. 554).

The Muslim writers, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, have not been logical in the use of the term Tūrān. But since for the Arab geographers, the land of the Turks began only to the east of the Sir Daryā and did not include Transoxiana (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, *Gibb. Mem. Ser.*, p. 64), it seems that there was a tendency to identify Tūrān with Transoxiana, i. e. with the lands between the Amū-Daryā and the Sir Daryā. According to Khwārizmī, *Maṣāliḥ al-ʿUlūm*, p. 114, the Persians call the land beside the Oxus, Marz-i Tūrān. For Yāqūt, i. 892, Tūrān is the country of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr (Transoxiana); after the tripartition of the world by Afridūn, the Turks called their land Tūrān after their king Tūdj. (Yāqūt also mentions a village of Tūrān near Harrān). Very curious is the archaïcising reference in Dimishqī, *Cosmographie* (ca. 1320), ed. St. Petersburg, p. 114, according to which the Sayhūn (Sir-Daryā) forms the frontier between Transoxiana, i. e. "the land of the Hayātila called Tūlān (= Tūrān)" and the land of Turkestān which is called Farḡhāna (on Haital = Transoxiana, cf. also *Ērānshahr*, p. 307). Much more vague is the use of the term in the *Masālik al-Absār* (xivth century) where the Volga is called Nahr-Tūrān and the summer camps of the old kings of Tūrān (the former Khāns of Kīpčāk: Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 138) are located at Arḡ-tagħ (?), identified by Quatremère and Marquart with the Ural Mountains.

In the *Zafar-nāma* (xvth century), Tūrān is only used for poetical comparisons (i. 34, 624: "the heroes of Tūrān in Irān"). Abu 'l-Ḡhāzī (xviith century) sometimes uses it as a mythological term (ed. Desmays, p. 2, 129, 140), sometimes identifies it with western Siberia (p. 177), sometimes seems vaguely to regard the lands of Muhammad Khwārizmshāh as situated between Irān and Tūrān (*Irān birlān Tūrān arāš*; p. 96).

The term Tūrān became known in Europe from Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Paris 1697,

p. 63, where we are told that Afrāsiyāb, a Turk by birth but a descendant of Tūr, son of Faridūn, was king "of all the country which lies beyond the river Oxus... to the east and north; this country used to be called Tūrān but it has since received the name of Turkeṣtān". This last term is already found in the maps of Ortelius and Mercator in the xvth century (Oberhummer). The term Tūrān became naturalised in Europe only in the sixteenth century. Its vague character has earned it a certain degree of popularity as applied to ideas where accuracy of definition is out of the question.

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Turanian languages. The inventor of this term seems to have been the historian Bunsen (1854) who applied it to those languages of Asia and Europe, which are neither Indo-European nor Semitic. The real populariser of the term was Max Müller, *The Languages of the Seat of War in the East, with a Survey of Three Families of Languages, Semitic, Arian and Turanian*, London 1855, who includes in this group (for he avoids the term "family") of agglutinative languages not only Finno-Ugrian and Altaic but also Siamese, Tibetan, Malay etc. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines accadiennes*, Paris 1874, extended the term to include Sumerian. J. Oppert, in *Les Peuples et la Langue des Mèdes*, Paris 1889, wrongly taking the language of the second column of the Achaemenian inscriptions (the Neo-Elamite) for Median concluded that the Medes were "Turanian". Turanian became a regular dumping ground for languages awaiting classification. But already Castrén (1862) pointed out the proper line of criticism. He first of all isolated the quintuple group of "Ural-Altaic" languages with its branches, Finno-Ugrian, Samoyed, Turko-Tatar, Mongol and Tunguz. Later researches have brought further restrictions by separating the first two of these from the last three, which form the Altaic group. G. Ramstedt, the founder of the comparative gram-

mar of this group, has, after some hesitation, solidly established the relationship of Turkish with Mongol and their connection with Tunguz is also admitted. On the other hand, the connection of Altaic with Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed still lacks decisive proof. As to the term Turanian, it has been completely banished from modern linguistics. Cf. Deny, *Langues turques, mongoles et tounougouzes*, in *Les langues du Monde*, Paris 1924; Poppe, *La parenté des langues altaïques. Histoire et état actuel de la question* (in Russian), Bākū 1926; Sauvageot, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des langues ouralo-altaïques*, Paris 1929.

Pan-Turanianism. This political term is used on the one hand as synonymous with the Pan-Turkish movement (*Türk-dünlük* "Turkism") and on the other is applied to something much more vague, the tendency to a rapprochement among the "Turanian peoples".

In the latter meaning, it has been particularly employed in Hungary where the first appearance of the term Tūrān, in the ideal sense of the distant fatherland, dates from 1839 (according to Count Teleki: "eine gewisse Schwärmerei für Stamm-land und Stammverwandte"). The review *Turan* founded at Budapest during the World War by the *Turanische Gesellschaft*, to judge from the Bulgar and Turkish prospectuses, was intended to study the history and civilisation "of the peoples who are related to us" (in Turkish: *bizim-le karabeti olan milletler*). The editor however (1918, No. 1, p. 5) took up quite a distinct attitude in the following pronouncement: "our Tūrān is geographical; it is neither the Tūrān of Max Müller, the subject of lively controversy, nor the Tūrān of political aspirations". Count Teleki and Prof. Cholnoky (*Turan, ein Landschaftsbegriff*, *ibid.*, No. 1, p. 85) conceived this region as lying between the following boundaries: the Caspian Sea, the Iranian plateau, the mountains at the sources of the Sirdaryā and the Irish and the plateau of Akmolinsk. Setting aside the value of the ideas of these authors on the uniformity of this geographical milieu and on the influence it has exerted upon the peoples who have lived there, it must be recognised that from the point of view of geographical terminology (cf. above) such a use of the word Tūrān is quite new and personal. Broadly speaking, this Tūrān is a useless term substituted for Turkeṣtān, which has at least the merit of being a definite conception.

In Russia also we can find tendencies parallel to those of the Hungarian "Turanians". The group called "Eurasian" has interested itself in geo-politics and the cultural influences of the Eurasian peoples; cf. I. R., *L'héritage de Gengis-khan* (in Russian), Berlin 1925; Prince N. Troubetskoï, *Sur l'élément touranien de la culture russe* (in Russian), Paris 1927. Much clearer in principle are the tendencies of the Pan-Turanian movement comprised in the narrower sense of "Pan-Turkish" but in the absence of a complete study of this cultural and political movement we can only give a summary account of its stages of development and programme.

The Ottoman empire at the period of its greatest expansion was quite without any tendencies to Turkism. The highest offices were filled by non-Turks, whose conversion to Islām was often of recent date. The levies of Christian children [cf. DEWSHİRME] provided the state with the most capable civil and military officers (cf. Lybyer, *The Govern-*

ment... of *Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge Mass. 1913, p. 51—56). The theory of the *sulṭān-khalīfa* excluded the possibility of preferring the Turkish elements to the other Muslim subjects of the empire. Even in the sixteenth century the word *türk* had in the Ottoman empire the definite meaning of "peasant, rustic, yokel" (cf. the popular proverbs). In this connection the poem by Mehmed Emin Bey, written during the war with Greece in 1897, marks the date of the complete change of meaning of the word: *Ben bir türk-üm, dinim dînsim ulu-dur*: "I am a Turk, my religion and my race are exalted ones".

Several factors have determined the development of the "Turkist" movement, sometimes called Tūrānian.

a. The formation in the sixteenth century of numerous national movements (Greek, German, Italian, Slav, Armenian, Arab) several of which were directed against the Ottoman empire.

b. The reverses suffered by the Ottoman empire, which deprived it of its possessions in the Balkans, in Africa and finally in Asia also (Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Mawṣil). With each diminution of Ottoman territory the Turkish element of Anatolia gained in importance, not only as regards numerical proportion but also from the point of view of the only sure and stable basis upon which the state could be established.

c. The progress made by Turcology, which has drawn up an inventory of the Turkish peoples, established the affinity of their languages and thrown light upon the early history of the Turks. [More direct has been the influence of the romantic work by L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, Paris 1896 (Turkish adaptation by Neđjib 'Aşım). Among the earlier works which have exerted an influence on these lines Ziyā Gök Alp mentions de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Turcs, des Mongols et des Huns*, Paris 1756—1758 and Lumley Davids, *Turkish Grammar*, London 1832 and 1836. Here also we should mention the sketches of national movements published by the *R. M. M.* and the work of R. Hartmann tending to establish a bond of union among Turkish peoples].

d. The formation in Russia of a Muslim *intelligent-sia*, primarily Turco-Tatar, and the impetus given to the Turkish press in Russia by the events of 1905. The emigrés from Russia, like 'Alī Husain-zāde (Bākū), Yūsuf Aḳ-čura (Qazāh) and Aḥmad Aghā-oghlu (Qarabāgh) have been the driving forces in the movement and even had to overcome considerable opposition emanating from the Turks of Turkey.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, three political theses were to the front in Turkey: Pan-Islāmism, Ottomanism and Pan-Turkism. An open discussion of these was instituted (in 1902—1903) in the journal *Türk* published in Cairo. The Pan-Turkish point of view was championed by Yūsuf Aḳ-čura-oghlu whose article *Üç tarz siyāset* (reprinted at Stambul in 1327) has played an important part in the elaboration of the programme of the movement. Aḳ-čura criticised Ottomanism as tending to diminish the privileges of the Turks and contrary to Islām which recognises equal rights for all believers. On the other hand, Pan-Islāmism would exacerbate the non-Muslims and meet resistance from certain European powers. The author then declared for Pan-Turkism, thinking it would overcome the greatest obstacle, represented

by Russia, with the help of other governments (*R. M. M.*, xxii., p. 179—221).

In the same journal *Türk*, Aḳ-čura's thesis was criticised by the liberal 'Alī Kemāl, in the name of Ottomanism, and by Aḥmad Ferid on grounds of possibility, for pan-Islāmism seemed to him unrealisable and pan-Turkism so far non-existent.

In the early days of the revolution of July 1908, Ottomanism (= equal Ottoman citizenship for all ethnic elements) triumphed officially but before a year had passed the Committee of Union and Progress had reluctantly to recognise there were irreconcilable tendencies among the nations that composed the Ottoman empire. The Turkist movement was growing rapidly.

On Dec. 24, 1908, the Turkish Assembly (*Türk Derneyi*) was founded at Stambul with the object of studying the situation and the activities (*aḥwāl we-af'āl*) of all Turkish peoples. In practice, the interest of this body has been confined to questions of language, which have been discussed in the reviews *Yeni-lisān*, *Gendj kalem* etc. In 1911 the Turanian Society for the propagation of knowledge (*Tūrān neshr-i me'ārif dîmî'iyeti*) was created and in December appeared No. 1 of the periodical *Türk-yurdu* edited by Y. Aḳ-čura. On May 25, 1912, the *Türk odjaları* (Turkish Hearths) were founded, circles for the study of Turkish culture.

At the same time the great theorist of Turkism, Ziyā Gök Alp [q. v.], elected in 1910 a member of the Central Committee of Union and Progress, began his activity first at Salonica (1909) and later at Stambul (1912). In a series of poetical works he aroused the memories dormant in the blood of the Turks and sang the Turkish ideal as personified in the mysterious land of Tūrān: "The children of Oghuz-khān will never forget this country which is called Tūrān" (*Türklük*, 1911). This land is associated with Attila, Fārābī, Ulugh Beg, Ibn Sinā (the Turkish origins of the latter [q. v.] are not by any means proved). "The fatherland of the Turks is neither Turkey, nor Turkeṣtān, their fatherland is the great eternal land of Tūrān" (*Tūrān*, 1914).

The teaching of Ziyā Gök Alp was summed up in the formula "Turkicise yourself (from the point of view of culture, *harṭh*), Islāmicide yourself, modernise yourself (from the point of view of civilisation, *medeniyet*)". The systematic exposition of the theories of this writer will be found in *Türkölüyün esāsalar?*, "The foundations of Turkism", published at Angora in 1339 (1923) a year before the author's death. In this work, the idea of Tūrān is a little more practical. Ziyā Gök Alp defines the nation as a group of individuals connected by language, religion, ethics and aesthetics. Tūrān is not a mixture of Turks, Mongols, Tunguz, Finns and Hungarians. "The word Tūrān is a name covering the Turk tribes exclusively". The reunion of the Turks can only be brought about by stages. The immediate ideal of Turkism is the cultural union of the Oghuz-Turks, i. e. the Turks of Turkey and the Turkomans of Aḥarabāidjān, of Persia and Khwārizm. Their political union is not at present envisaged but one cannot foretell the future. On the other hand, if the Tatars, the Özbegs and the Kirghiz succeed in creating civilisations of their own and in forming separate nations, they will retain their respective names, but in that case "Tūrān" will serve as a common term

for all the peoples enumerated, forming an ethnical union (*q̄āmī'e*).

Tūrānian romanticism has had various repercussions in the purely literary field in the works of Ahmad Hikmat (*Alīn ordu*), Khālide Edib Khānīm (*Yeñi Tūrān*, 1913), Ağa Gündüz (*Muhterem kâtîl*, a drama produced in 1914 whose subject is a Turkish rising in the Caucasus), Müfide Ferid Khānīm (*Ay Demir*, a Turkish rising in Central Asia). On literary Tūrānianism during the War, cf. M. Hartmann, *M.S.O.S.*, 1918, xxi., p. 19—22.

During the War of 1914, the Young Turks (Committee of Union and Progress) governing the Ottoman empire officially professed Ottomanism, at least so far as Muslims were concerned, but in fact the deportations of Armenians in 1915 were realising the programme of the Turkicisation of Turkey.

Expansion towards the East. The war of 1914 had drawn a curtain between the Turks of Turkey and their kinsmen. The Russian revolution of 1917 entirely modified the situation. By the clause added at the last minute to the treaty of Brest-Litowsk, Turkey obtained the return to the frontier of 1877 in Transcaucasia (surrender by Russia of Batum, Kars and Ardahan). The refusal of the Turks of Ādharbāidjān to resist the Ottomans put an end to the Transcaucasian confederation (April 22, 1918), which was replaced by three independent republics (Ādharbāidjān, Georgia and Armenia). Under the command of Enver Pāshā's brother, the Turks advanced as far as Petrowsk on the Caspian Sea but the armistice of Mudros (Oct. 30, 1918) forced them to turn back. The English then occupied and later withdrew from Transcaucasia. While in the capital, occupied by the Allies, Dāmād Ferid Pāshā's government in *extremis* was making a last attempt to unfold a programme of Ottomanism, the nationalist government was formed in Asia Minor (summer of 1919) and by energetic measures was able to retain the ground gained by the Young Turks at Brest-Litowsk. The republic of Armenia was conquered (Peace of Alexandropol of Dec. 3, 1920). Georgia declared its neutrality and submitted to the ultimatum (of Feb. 23, 1921) which demanded the evacuation of Artwin and Ardahan. On March 16, 1921, the Turkish-Soviet treaty was signed at Moscow and on Oct. 13 confirmed at Kars, with the participation of the three Caucasian republics (now Soviets). Turkey withdrew her claim to Batum but, what was not in the Brest-Litowsk treaty, received the district of Igdir on the Araxes (which Persia had ceded to Russia in 1828) and thus enabled her territory to be contiguous to that of Nakhicewān, which had been created as a dependency of the Soviet republic of Ādharbāidjān.

The government of Angora thus secured concrete gains in Transcaucasia but publicly disowned Enver Pāshā's achievements, who had at first allied himself with the Soviet government but finally raised the standard of revolt in Turkestan where he dreamed of founding a Turkish empire. He fell in a skirmish in eastern Bukhārā on Aug. 4, 1922 ("as a martyr to Turkism" as his colleague Dr. Nāzım said at the trial of the Young Turks in August 1926); cf. Castagné, *Les basmatchis*, Paris 1927.

Cultural Movement. The old leaders of the Tūrānian movement had early rallied to the government of Angora. (The poet Mehmed Emin

and Aḡ-čura Oghlu arrived at Angora in April 1921). From April 23, 1924 the Turkish Hearths (*Türk odjakları*) resumed their activity in Angora under the leadership of Ḥamdullāh-Subḥi. Their first *kurultai* met at Angora on March 28, 1926. In 1928 Yūsuf Aḡ-čura produced at Stambul the annual *Türk yılı* (The Turkish Year) with summaries of the doings of Turks abroad. As a result of the Russian revolution of 1917 a new wave of emigration swept over Turkey. The supporters of the old nationalist governments overthrown by the Soviets established the review *Yeñi Kafkasiya* (1924) which was succeeded in March 1929 by the *Odlu Yurt* "Land of Fire" (= Ādharbāidjān). These organs of Turkish solidarity have not however linked up with the local Turkish press.

As regards the Turks in what was the Russian empire, since the revolution of 1917, they have realised and even gone beyond their old programme of establishing their own civilisation and autonomy. But alongside of this natural evolution, the Turks of the U. R. S. S. have actively and passively taken part in all the phases of the Soviet revolution. For the moment (1930) it is impossible to separate the results of the particular and general factors and to say to what point the tendencies of all the peoples of Turkish origin are converging.

The communications and discussions at the first Turcological congress at Bākū from Feb. 26 to March 6, 1926 (131 delegates, Soviet and foreign, including two from Turkey) were of great interest (see the shorthand reports published in Russian, Bākū 1926, and Menzel's detailed analysis in *Der Islam*, 1918). The decision of the congress regarding the optional adoption of the Roman alphabet (compulsory since 1928) had a great influence on the introduction of the new alphabet into Turkey (1928) (cf. H. Duda, *Die neue Lateinschrift in d. Türkei*, O.L.Z., June 1929, col. 441—453; E. Rossi, *Il nuovo alfabeto, Oriente Moderno*, Jan. 1929, p. 33—48).

It is difficult to foretell the future of the Pan-Turkish movement. The cultural attraction of Angora, this great centre of Turkism, is legitimate and inevitable. But Angora is now a lay capital entirely free from the Islāmic prestige of the old Stambul. The intensity of its influence will therefore depend primarily on the worth of the Turkish culture (*harth*) which will be developed there. Even the bringing of all Turks "descended from Oghuz" under one culture according to Ziyā Gök Alp's idea would not be easy, because, for example, the Persian Turks, the immediate neighbours of Turkey, are very much under the influence of Persian culture, the persistence of which is a historical fact. As to the political union of the Turkish peoples, account must be taken of the very different conditions under which they live. Their lands are very scattered. They are separated by the Caspian Sea and the desert. In Transcaucasia the corridor between Georgia and Armenia on the one side and Persia on the other is very narrow and is of no importance, unless a complete reversal of the situation in Transcaucasia and in Persia should take place simultaneously, which is quite beyond the programme of Turkism pure and simple.

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(V. MINORSKY)

TÜRĀNŠĀH B. AIYÜB AL-MALİK AL-MU'AZ-ZAM SHAMS AL-DAWLA FAKHR AL-DĪN, founder of the Aiyübid dynasty of the Yemen.

He was born at the beginning of Radjab 569 (February 1174); two years before, the death of the last Fātimid 'Ādīd [q.v.] had formally made Saladin lord of Egypt; the relationship of vassal and overlord between him and the Zangid Atābeg Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd had now become unnatural and threatened to end in war; King Amalrich of Jerusalem, with whom Saladin had been fighting, was still unsubdued; the Crusaders of Kerak and Shawbak [q.v.] were harassing the roads to Egypt. That Saladin should choose such a time for the conquest of Yemen is remarkable and is not completely explained by the religious grounds which induced him to wage this war, namely the expulsion of the Khārījī Mahdī [q.v.] from Zabīd and of the Shī'ī Banū Karam [q.v.] who were formally incorporated in the Fātimid hierarchy from 'Aden. It is characteristic of Saladin's foresight that he wished to secure for himself a province to which he could retire on any emergency; the general situation indicated that this could only be found in the south, where alone his troops could be employed; for if he wanted to avoid an open breach with Nūr al-Dīn, it was best to leave Frankish power in Palestine as a bulwark between them for the time. Only a year before, he had sent to Nubia one of his five brothers, an elder one, Tūrānshāh, whose name popular rumour had connected with the death of the last Fātimid; but Tūrānshāh did not think the country worth the difficulty and expense of taking it. The old-established relations between the holy cities and Egypt now attracted his attention to the Arabian

peninsula at the northern approach to which the port of Aila [q.v.] had already been occupied in 566 (1171). Tūrānshāh was therefore sent to Yemen, took Zabīd in Shawwāl of the year 569 (May 1174), 'Aden in the same year and in the following year drove from Ṣan'ā' the Ḥamdānid 'Alī b. Ḥātim al-Wahīd, whose power to resist had been weakened by the continual attacks of the Zaidī Imām Aḥmad b. Sulaimān of Ṣa'da. Tūrānshāh however did not feel comfortable in a country where snow never fell and he could not obtain his favourite fruits. As a result of urgent representations to his brother, he obtained a transfer to Syria in 571, which had in the meanwhile passed to Saladin on the death of Nūr al-Dīn. After spending three years in Damascus as governor of Syria, his brother transferred him to Alexandria where he died on 1st Ṣafar 576 (June 27, 1180).

The career of Tūrānshāh is not unimportant but the initiative was always Saladin's; Tūrānshāh was more a man who enjoyed life. Even while still in Egypt he had acquired considerable wealth; from the Nubian campaign he brought back many slaves, including the Christian metropolitan; before the Yemen campaign he had been given large old family fiefs in 'Baalbek; in Yemen itself his brother gave him rich estates as his personal property. On leaving there, his main anxiety was that his representative should send him the revenues promptly. This man with all these estates nevertheless left behind him 200,000 dinārs of debts which his brother paid. The body of Tūrānshāh, always homesick for Syria, was taken by his sister Sitt al-Shām Zumurrud and buried beside the medresa built by her in Damascus.

The Aiyübid conquest was of considerable significance for the Yemen. The three small states there were combined and united to a great power. The occupation was very thoroughly carried through. It is true that the last Ḥamdānid was able to escape to the highlands, but the last Mahdī 'Abd al-Nabī and his two brothers and the last real ruler of the Karam, the major domo Yāsir, were put to death some time after their surrender by Tūrānshāh's orders. The latter's departure so soon after the conquest was not calculated to keep the conquered territory together. Dangerous risings at once broke out. It was only when Saladin sent his other brother Tuḡhtegīn Saif al-Islām who stayed there from 578—593 (1182—1196) that Aiyübid rule became more of a reality. He was followed by his sons Mu'izz al-Dīn Ismā'il till 598 (1201) and al-Nāṣir Aiyüb till 611 (1214); both were assassinated. In 612 (1215) the head of the family, Saladin's brother al-'Ādil Saif al-Islām Abū Bakr, sent his young grandson al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf there. The gradual breakdown in family discipline however had resulted shortly before this in a great-grandson of Saladin's brother, Nūr al-Dīn Shāhānshāh called al-Muẓaffar Sulaimān, on the appeal of Nāṣir's brother, establishing himself in Yemen, posing as a Ṣūfī with a retinue of Ṣūfis. Along with Tūrānshāh, five brothers of the family of the Banū Rasūl had come into the country and soon attained great importance as indispensable councillors and wealthy owners of land. In the fight between Sulaimān and Yūsuf, 'Alī b. Rasūl brought about the success of the latter, conquered the Ḥijāz in his name and was appointed wālī of Mecca in 619 (1222). His son 'Omar, after the death of the weak Yūsuf in 626 (1228), assuming

the name al-Manṣūr, founded the dynasty of the Rasūlids, which ruled the land for over two centuries as a native Yemen dynasty, after the foreign rule of the Aiyūbids had prevailed for only half a century.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭhīr (ed. Tornberg), xi. 260 sqq., cf. index; Ibn Khallikān, Būlak 1299, i. 123 sq. (in de Slane, ii. 284); Khazradjī, *al-Uḫud al-huṭuṭiyya* (G. M. S., iii.), iv. 26 sqq.; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, 1894, p. 98; von Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 98.

(R. STROTHMANN)

TURBAN, the headdress of males in the Muslim east, consisting of a cap with a length of cloth wound round it. The name turban is found in this form in European languages only (English turban, turband; French turban, tulban; German Turban; Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, turbante; Dutch tulband; Rumanian tulipan; all going back to older forms with *o*: tol(l)iban, toli-pan, tolopan, tourbant, tourban, torbante) and is usually traced to the Persian *dulband*, from which is also said to be derived the word tulip (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1911, p. 682, where also is cited from the *Revue des Langues Romanes*, liii. 54 the Spanish name of the hammer-headed shark, torbandalo). It should be remembered however that the word *dulband* is by no means so widely disseminated in the east as one would have expected from the general use of the word turban in Europe, but is limited to the Persian (and to a smaller extent Turkish) speaking area and even here is not the only name in use. The commonest word in Arabic is *imāma*, which properly means only the cloth wound round the cap and then comes to be used for the whole headdress, and in Turkish *şarık* is the usual name for the turban. Besides these however, there are a large number of other names for what we often loosely call turban and for its parts in different Muslim countries; these are given in a preliminary list at the end of the article.

The origin of this form of headdress ought probably to be sought in the ancient east; a turban-like cap seems to be found represented on certain Assyrian and Egyptian monuments (cf. Reimpell, *Geschichte der babylonischen und assyrischen Kleidung*, p. 40; Josef von Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel*, Denkschr. Ak. Wien, lxii., 1918, p. 87 sq. and von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 268 and *Staatsverfassung*, p. 441). In Arabia the pre-Muḥammadan Beduins are said to have worn turbans, and it has been supposed that the high cap is the Persian and the cloth wound round it the true Arab element of the turban (Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, p. 44, 237).

In Islām in course of time the turban has developed a threefold significance, a national for the Arabs, a religious for the Muslims and a professional for civil professions (later divided into religious and administrative offices *waḡā'if dīniyya wa-dīwāniyya*) in contrast to the military.

Many details about the Prophet's turban have been handed down by tradition but most of these ḥadīths bear obvious traces of a late date. They therefore prove nothing for the time of the Prophet but only show what later ages wanted to believe. To the latter the turban, as succinctly expressed in a ḥadīth, signified "dignity for the believer and strength for the Arab", *waḡār li 'l-Muslim wa-*

izz li 'l-'Arab and the Prophet to them is the owner of the turban par excellence (*ṣāhib al-imāma*). The makers of turbans in Turkey (*dulbendājiān*) have actually chosen the Prophet as their patron saint, for he is said to have traded in turbans in Syria before his call and to have exported them from Mecca to Boṣrā (Ewliyā, i. 590). The only reliable ḥadīth is negative: the *muhrim* is not allowed to wear the turban, nor *ḡamiṣ*, *sarāwil* etc. This ḥadīth is also found in Bukhārī in the *Bāb al-'Amā'im* (Libās, bāb 15) contrasted with the following, mostly weak, ḥadīths. According to one, for example, Adam is said to have worn a turban which Gabriel wound round his head on his expulsion from Paradise; previously he wore a crown (*tādīf*). The next was Alexander *Dhu 'l-Karnain* who wore a turban to conceal his horns. A much quoted ḥadīth runs "turbans are the crowns of the Arabs" (*al-'amā'im tidjān al-'Arab*), which is variously explained to mean, either that turbans are as rare among the Arabs as crowns among other peoples for most Beduins only wear caps (*ḡalānis*) or no headdress at all, or that the Arabs wear turbans as the Persians crowns, so that the turban would be a national badge of the Arabs as the crown of the Persians. A similar ḥadīth runs "wear turbans and thus be different from earlier peoples" (*ʿittammū ḡhalīfu 'l-umam ḡablakum*).

Still more numerous are the ḥadīths which describe the turban as a badge of Muslims to distinguish them from the unbelievers; turbans are a mark of Islām (*al-'amā'im simā al-Islām*); the turban divides the believers from the unbelievers (*al-'imāma ḡadjiṣa bain al-kufr wa 'l-imān or bain al-Muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn*); the distinction between us and the unbelievers is the turban on the cap (*farḡ mā bainanā wa-bain al-mushrikīn al-'amā'im 'ala 'l-ḡalānis*); or the prophecy: my community will never decay so long as they wear turbans over their caps (*lā tazālū ummati 'ala 'l-fiṭra mā labisu 'l-'amā'im 'ala 'l-ḡalānis*); and on the day of judgment a man will receive light for every winding of the turban (*ḡawra*) round his head or round his cap. Thus "to put on the turban" means "to adopt Islām". Nevertheless the stage was never reached where it was a religious duty (*farḡ*) to wear the turban; it is however recommended (*mustaḡabb*, *sunna*, *mandūb*) and a general recommendation runs: "wear turbans and increase your nobility" (*ʿittammū tazādū ḡilman*).

Especially at the *ṣalāt* and on going to the mosque or tombs is the wearing of the turban recommended and it is said: two rak'as (or one rak'a, or the *ṣalāt*) with a turban are better than seventy without; for it is not proper to appear before one's king with head uncovered. Or: God and the angels bless him who wears a turban on Fridays. In great heat and after the prayer however, it is permitted to take off the turban, but not during the prayer itself, on the other hand the want of a turban is no reason for absenting oneself from prayer. At other times also — in great heat or at home or while washing — the turban may be removed, and as a rule the Arabs always wore the turban "until the ascension of the Pleiades", i. e. until the beginning of the great heat. Even in later times the turban played an important rôle in the spreading of Islām, e. g. in the Sudan (cf. A. Brass, in *Isl.*, x. 22, 27, 30, 33; *M. S. O. S. As.*, vi. 191 sq.).

It has not always been the custom in Islām for

none but Muslims to wear turbans. The later regulations for dress demand, it is true, that only believers may wear turbans while unbelievers are only to wear a cap (*kalansuwa*). But in earlier times unbelievers were only to wear turbans of another colour or with some distinguishing mark. Rulers who were not generally well disposed to members of other faiths were always distinguished by strict regulations about dress; but with a change of attitude the observation of the prescriptions became slacker until it again became necessary to enforce them more strictly. In later days appeal was frequently made to an alleged dress regulation by 'Omar I, which is however probably a later invention and was probably transferred from 'Omar II to 'Omar I. The latter is said to have been the first to forbid Christians to wear the turban or dress resembling that of the Muslim (cf. now Tritton, *Islam and the protected Religions*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1927, p. 479—484). Further laws about dress are attributed to Hārūn al-Rashīd who, like 'Omar II, is said to have issued a general order forbidding Christians to wear the same dress as Muslims. Mutawakkil is said to have prescribed yellow for the unbelievers, including the turbans if they wore any, and the Fātimid Hākim black because this was the colour of the hated 'Abbāsids. At one time Christians were forbidden to wear red, at another any one who wore white was to be punished by death. In Egypt and Syria in the eighth century A. H. Christians wore blue, Jews yellow and the Sāmira red and they might also wear silk, turbans, and neck-veil (*ḥarīr*, *imāma*, *ṭailasān*) of these colours (Kālkashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, xiii. 364).

Turkey has had a whole series of dress regulations of its own: the earliest was enforced by 'Alā' al-Dīn Pasha (d. 732 = 1331) in the reign of Orkhan (cf. above i., p. 247^b). He introduced a cone-shaped cap of white felt but only for officials in the Sultān's service; other subjects apparently had freedom of choice in their dress. In the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror (*Fātiḥ*), further laws about rank, titles and dress of the officials were issued. Under Sulaimān the Legislator, ranks and professions were carefully graded as described in the *Shamā'il-nāme-i Al-i 'Othmān* of Luḳmān b. Saiyid Ḥusain about 1580 (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 17; Karabacek, p. 4). Sulaimān also regulated the use of the turban, hitherto apparently quite arbitrary, and issued regulations about the trade of turban-makers, *ṣarīḥdjīllar* (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 443). Unbelievers were given red, yellow and black, while white was restricted to the Ottomans. About 1683 in the reign of Murād IV, only the Stambul Turks wore white turbans, the Arabs in Egypt various colours, the people of Barbary, white with gold. Jews and Christians in the east in those days wore blue (*Voyage d'Horace Vernet en Orient*, ed. M. Goupil Fesquet, Paris 1839—1840) and according to Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* (Copenhagen 1774), Christians wore a blue stripe on their caps so that the tax-collector could at once readily recognise them.

In other countries also the colour of the turban was not at all uniform and for every colour authority was given from alleged ḥadīths of the life of the Prophet, which of course are all weak. A pious Muslim like Kattānī deduces from the contradictory description of the shape and colours of the Prophet's turban that he allowed himself considerable liberty

and sometimes wore the turban without the cap and sometimes the cap without the turban, and sometimes both together; in the house or when visiting the sick he put off both, but never when addressing the community, when he wished to make an impression on the people.

The commonest colour for the turban is white. The Prophet is said to have been fond of this colour and it is considered the colour of Paradise. There is not actually a ḥadīth telling us that the Prophet's turban was white, but probably only because white was the normal colour. The angels who helped the believers at Badr are said to have worn white turbans.

If now the following references speak of turbans of other colours, they are not in direct contradiction with white, for the colours in question are connected with the events and have therefore a special reason. For example another tradition says that at Badr the angels wore yellow turbans with the object of encouraging the fighting Muslims. According to another story, only Gabriel had a yellow turban of light, the other angels white, and others again reconcile the various statements about the angels at Badr by ascribing to some white, others green, black, red etc. turbans. The Prophet is said to have at first liked the colour yellow but later forbade it.

The Prophet is said to have worn a black cloak and a black turban on entering Mecca and at the address at the gate of the Ka'ba, also on other occasions at addresses from the minbar, on the day of Hudaibiya and during his illness. In black there is said to be a subtle allusion to sovereignty (*su'dad*) and besides black is the foundation of all colours. The 'Abbāsids claimed that the black turban of the Prophet worn at the entry to Mecca had been handed down to them, and in a tendentious ḥadīth in which Gabriel prophesies the coming of the 'Abbāsids, he of course wears a black turban. Turbans of black silk (*khass*) are said to have been at first permitted but later forbidden by the Prophet; the so-called *ḥarḳāniya* turbans are black (the derivation of the word is uncertain, according to Suyūṭī from *ḥ-r-k*, to burn) and the Prophet is said to have worn them on his campaigns. Many great men in Islām are also said to have worn black turbans, such as Hasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn al-Zubair, Mu'āwiya etc. and Suyūṭī wrote a whole book on black dress (*Thalāḍī al-Fu'ād fī Lubḥ al-Sawād*). Later writers often claim the black turban as the special headdress of the *ḫaṭīb* and the *imām*.

The Prophet is said to have at first liked to wear blue but then forbade it because the unbelievers wore it. On behalf of red, it is urged that the angels at Uḥud (or also at Ḥunain) wore red turbans. According to others, Gabriel wore red at Badr and on one occasion appeared to 'Ā'isha in a red turban. The so-called *ḫitriya* turban which the Prophet wore is also said to have been red. Sometimes also striped material has been used as turban cloth, e. g. yellow and red or green and red (Fesquet).

In the history of religion the green turban is important, as the well known badge of the descendants of Muḥammad. Tradition is unanimous that the Prophet never wore a green turban, and there is no support for the colour green in law or tradition. But green is the colour of Paradise and it is also said to have been the Prophet's

favourite colour and some say that the angels at Hunain (or also at Badr) had green turbans. The green turban as a badge of the *sharifs* is however of much later origin: the 'Abbāsīd al-Ma'mūn in Ramaḍān 201 is said to have clothed the eighth *Shi'ī* Imam 'Alī al-Riḍā in green, when he designated him his successor; the latter died before he could succeed, the 'Abbāsīds went back to black and there were even persecutions to compel the 'Alids to wear black (cf. Ibn 'Abdūs, *K. al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Märk, p. 395 sq.). They seem however for a period at least to have worn a piece of green cloth in the turban as a special badge (*shatfa*) and to have been fond of wearing green, especially in times of liberty of conscience. In 773 A. H. the Mamlūk Sultān Ashraf Sha'bān ordered that the turban cloths (*al-ʿaṣāʾib ʿala l-ʿamā'im*) of the 'Alids should be green and from 1004 A. H. the whole turban became green by order of the Ottoman governor of Egypt al-Saiyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf. This fashion spread from Egypt to other Muslim countries, at first regarded as a late innovation and sometimes disputed, but has now become generally approved. It is now regarded as a law that no non-'Alid should wear the green turban nor strictly anyone who is only connected with the Prophet on the mother's side but this last point is frequently disregarded. A short essay has recently appeared on the green turban in the Baghdad monthly *al-Murshid*, ii. 6 (July 1927) *Turikh Atwār al-ʿAmā'im*, p. 229—232; cf. also *al-Khudra Sh'ar Al Muḥammad* by al-Saiyid Hibat al-Din al-Shahraṣṭānī, i. 4 (March 1926), p. 106—108.

Not only the colour but other *ādāb* of the turban are regulated by religion: 1. When should a boy be first given a turban? When his beard begins to grow, when he reaches maturity or at the age of say 7 to 10 years. One should go by the practice of the country; but in any case it shows shamelessness to wear a turban before one's beard begins to grow. 2. How should a turban be wound? Here again the answer is given by stories of how the Prophet wound his. It should be wound standing (trousers on the other hand are put on sitting), with the right hand, twisted to the right around the head and not simply laid upon it and in doing this, one should act according to the sunna, as regards pulling under the chin (*tahnik*) the loose end (*ʿadhāba*) and the size of the turban. As in putting on any other garment, one should utter a *basmala* while the *ḥamdala* is only used for new articles of clothing. A new turban should if possible be put on for the first time on a Friday. It should be carefully done before a looking-glass but one should not spend too much time over it. People of position may have their turban wound by two servants. There are countless ways in which a turban may be wound; 66 are mentioned but these are not all. 3. The question whether gold and silver ornaments may be worn in the turban is usually answered in the negative. In the course of the development of the headdress, it was the women in particular who adorned their turban-like headdress in this way. Silk on the other hand is allowed with certain restrictions. 4. The turban has acquired considerable religious significance as a symbol of investiture, since there is no crown or coronation proper as symbols of sovereignty in the Muslim east. The prototype is again an act of Muḥammad's; he

is said to have put a turban on 'Alī at the pond of Khumm and again when in Ramaḍān of the year 10 he appointed him governor of the Yemen; he is next said to have wound the turban on every governor in order to teach him fine manners (*taḍammul*) and to give him dignity. Following this example, the caliphs, the successors of the Prophet, put the turban on their viziers and later on sultāns. For example Kaḷāshandī, iii. 280 sq. describes the investiture of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sultān Abū Bakr b. al-Nāṣir in 742 by the Egyptian 'Abbāsīd caliph Ḥākim II. The caliph wore a black neck-veil (*ṭarḥa*) with white stripes (*markūma bi l-bayāḍ*) and placed on the head of the sultān a black turban (*'imāma sawdā'*) with white stripes round the edge (*markūmat al-ṭaraf bi l-bayāḍ*). Then we have a description of the investiture of Nāṣir Farajī by Mutawakkil in 801 A. H. where we are told *'imāma sawdā' markūma, fawḳahā ṭarḥa sawdā' markūma*. The turban is also an essential feature of the robe of honour (*khi'l'a*) which Muslim rulers used to bestow upon their viziers and emirs (there is a poetical description of a turban, for example, in Miḥyār al-Dailamī [d. 428 = 1037], *Diwān*, i. 242; a description of a robe of honour of the Mamlūk period: Kaḷāshandī, iv. 52 sq.) and this is the origin of the differences in the turbans of the different classes, which were such that the initiated could at once tell an individual's profession by his turban. In general it may be said that the largest turbans belonged to the highest and most respected ranks, especially of the clerical profession, and the differences in sizes of the turban are, according to some, more important than those of colour. With this is connected the endeavour to give oneself as large a turban as possible and against this religion has had to fight: a warning is uttered against wearing too large a turban as it is an extravagance — but not among learned men; on the contrary, they ought to be recognisable at once by some external feature to attain success in their labours. Hence the dress of the scholar is not a censurable innovation (*bid'a*), although earlier men of learning did not wear it. All other statements about the sizes of turbans, including definite lengths like seven or ten ells, are again defended from the example of the Prophet.

To mention a few isolated examples, we have in Kaḷāshandī, iii. 280 the description of the turban of the 'Abbāsīd caliph Mustafīn, who in 815 was for a period independent Sultān of Egypt; his turban was round, of pleasing appearance (*laṭīfa*), with a tail hanging behind (*raṣraf*) $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{3}$ ells in length. (The Christian patriarch also had a larger and more regular shaped turban than the other priests). The dress of the Sultān of Morocco is described for example in the published portion of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Omārī (*Wasf Ifrikiya wa l-Andalus*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Tunis about 1923), p. 31, as not too large with *tahannuk* and *ʿadhāba*; cf. Kaḷāshandī, v. 203: with a long narrow turban. The head-dress of the Ottoman Sultāns is frequently described. The turbans of dead Sultāns were kept in their tombs, e.g. in the mausoleums in Brussa (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 446) and in other places we find them modelled in stone on the tombs.

The turban, generally speaking, has, as we have said, become the badge of the civilian profes-

sions. Turban-wearer (*ṣāḥib al-ʿimāma*: Ibn Shīth, *Maʿālim al-Kitāba*, p. 34 or *rabb al-ʿimāma*) is synonymous with civilian and there is the expression: he abandoned the turban of men of the law and assumed in its stead the cap (*ṣharbush*) and the dress of the emirs (Maḳrīzī-Bloch, p. 335, note). Kaḳḱashandī often uses *al-mutaʿammimūn* in this sense, e.g. xi. 114: *al-m. min arbāb al-waḳāʿif al-dīniya wa 'l-dīwāniya* and *al-m. dūna arbāb al-suyūf*. To distinguish the various officers, the officials in Turkey under the old régime had different badges on their turbans, clusters of feathers and egrettes (*süpürge* and *balıḳdžıl*), and soldiers wore on them decorations awarded for bravery (*sorghuç* and *çelenk*; v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 446). Fesquet says that secretaries and scholars wore the turban high with many windings, merchants and artificers loose and broad and slaves very small.

It is on this point that we find the differences in the various countries and especially between the east (Syria, the 'Irāk, Egypt, Persia) and the west (Spain, North Africa). This is noticeable in the description of western dress in Kaḳḱashandī and in the *Masālik al-Aḱṣār*, and vice-versa in the accounts of eastern customs as given by the Moroccan Kattānī. In Muslim Spain very few turbans were worn at all; the neck-veil (*ṭailasān*; *Masālik*, p. 42; Kaḳḱashandī, v. 271) was rather worn instead; the loose end (*ʿadhāba*) and the chin-strap (*taḥnik*) are, originally at least, apparently western fashions. In 1596 we find the Turks being struck by the narrow turban of striped silk worn by the Persian ambassador (*G. O. R.*, iv. 275).

In modern times there has arisen a movement against the turban, which is more or less apparent through the whole of the east. Men are reluctant to wear a turban and the young people and the women laugh at it and say *al-daffa khair min al-laffa*, "the board for washing the dead is better than winding a turban". But the conservative classes vigorously attack the *bid'a* implied in this and declare that contempt for the turban is heresy and unbelief. Associated with this we often find abandonment of the old Muslim style of hair-dressing with clean upper lip and a beard on the chin. These two things are essential features of emancipation and are regarded by many as signs of the Day of Judgment (*aṣḱarāt al-sā'a*). This modern development is attacked in a number of special treatises on the turban mentioned below, notably the last one by Kattānī, and according to them, any one who succeeds in restoring the turban to a country, acquires the merit of reviving a good tradition (*iḥyā' al-sunna*). The modern development however can hardly be checked, and in Turkey a hundred years ago the turban was officially replaced by the fez, which in its turn had to give way in 1925 to the modern European hat (*şapka*) (cf. *Oriente Moderno*, v. 630 sq.), just as in modern Persia the turban has been driven out by the *kuṭāh*.

The turban could also be used for many purposes other than that for which it was primarily intended. We give a few examples: in Sa'dī, *Büstān*, p. 156, a man in the desert giving a dog dying of thirst water uses his cap (*kuṭāh*) to get water out of the well and his turban-cloth (*destār* or *maisar*) as a rope. The turban was often used as a pocket, also as a rope to tie up criminals, or to tie firmly in the saddle or to strangle. In 1623 the rebel Turkish 'ulamā' chose the

turban of Shaikh Aḱ Shams al-Dīn as their standard (*G. O. R.*, iv. 590). In Mamlūk coats of arms *ʿiṣāba* means the cross or long bar, in European heraldry a turban is the sign of a Crusader (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer*, p. 272). Some mussels of the genera *turbo* and *clanculus* are called turban: Persian turban = *turbo cidarus*; Pharaoh's turban = *clanculus Pharaonis*; Turkish turban = *balanus tintinnabulum* (Grande Encyclopédie), and Turkish loans used to be known as "turban stock", and "turban lotteries" the shares of the Banque Ottomane, which were of very uncertain value.

As a survey of the many names for the turban and its parts we give below an alphabetical list with short notes. The merit of first making a classification possible is due to Dozy, who in his *Dictionnaire des Vêtements* and in his *Supplément* has collected ample material, which should generally be consulted. There are also the more recent works by Karabacek, Brunot and Kattānī.

ʿAdhāba is the end of the turban-cloth which usually hangs behind from the turban "between the shoulders". When this form of turban first came into use cannot be ascertained exactly; it is of course said to have been worn by the Prophet and by the angels at Badr and according to Ibn Taimiya, Muḥammad had a dream in this connection in which God pointed to the place between the shoulders; but many orthodox people regard this dream as anthropomorphism. The leaving of one end hanging down is recommended and a turban without tails and *taḥnik* is said to be *bid'a*. On the position and length of the tail there are differences of opinion; the most usual is four fingers long between the shoulders. The Sūfis wear the tail on the left because the heart is on that side; wearing the tail behind the right ear was a privilege of the Ḥafṣid sultāns; the legists of the Imāmiya are said to have left two tails hanging down, one before and one behind, and the so-called Baghdād turban had two tails. *ʿdh-b VIII* means: "to wind the turban leaving a tail hanging".

Aḱāl, a cord of brown camel hair, which the 'Aneze wear instead of a turban cloth wound two or three times round their head-dress, which is called *kūfiya*.

ʿAmāna, turban, another form of *ʿimāma*. According to the dictionaries, the pronunciation with *a* is wrong but according to Brunot, p. 121, this is the pronunciation in Algiers. It is there an unwound turban, and is also given as a present to the wali of the woman one wishes to marry.

ʿArāḱiya, perspiration-cap, a little cap of some light material which is worn below the turban-cap, to collect the perspiration, and which often peeps out below it. The Turks say *şarık ʿarāḱiyesiz*. The name *ma'raḱa* is also found; some write *ʿarāḱiye* and would connect the word with the 'Irāk (Brunot, p. 120; Kattānī, p. 33). In everyday language the word is said to mean ordinary cap (*ḱalansuwa*) and in earlier times in Syria it was a sugarcone-shaped cap adorned with pearls worn by women.

ʿAṣb[a] = *ʿiṣāba*, bandeau. Buḱḱārī (*Libās*, bāb 16) says that the Prophet once wore a black *ʿiṣāba*. Among the Mamlūks, *ʿaṣba* was the double camel-humplike erection on the *ṭurṭūr* worn by men and women (Karabacek, p. 71), and in modern times it is a square black silk kerchief worn by women (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, p. 50 sq.).

ʿAzāba (another form of *ʿiṣāba*?) seems to be

a headdress with pearls and gold worn in Morocco and Egypt.

Baiḍa is properly an iron helmet but, according to Kattānī, p. 3, may also mean a turban.

Bughṭāk or *Bughṭāk* or *Bukhiṭāk* from *Bughlu-tāk* etc. may mean turban and especially the high head-dress worn by Mongol princesses and ladies of rank, adorned with gold and pearls.

Burnus, *barnūs* was in earlier times not a cloak but a high cap and in this sense it is used in *Bukhārī*, *Libās*, bāb 13. Of later writers, for example, *Ḳalkashandī*, v. 204 still uses it in this sense: the Sultān of Morocco wears a high white burnus. The corresponding verb is *tabarnasa*.

Burṭul [la], a high cap, with the pronunciation *barṭala* a low skull-cap; in modern language it means the *tādī* of a bishop. The Persian has *per-tele* from it.

Dannīya (perhaps from *danīna*), the "pot-hat" of the *kaḍīs* called 'urf in Turkish.

Destār (Pers.), turban-cloth; *destār bendān*, the "turban-wearers", are learned men, dervishes etc.

Dhu'aba, the tail = *adhāba*. This word seems to occur usually in Egyptian writers. In the dress of the Fāṭimid caliph and officials an end of the turban cloth is left hanging down with or without a *taḥnīk* (cf. Ibn al-Ṣairafī, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Bahgat, introduction). According to *Ḳalkashandī*, iv. 43, the Ṣūfī *Shāikh*s have a small *dhu'aba* at the left ear. According to Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 226, scholars and *ḥaḍīs* wear a *shāsh* with ends hanging down between the shoulders.

Dulbend (Pers.) is perhaps the original of our word turban; cf. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, p. 442; *G. O. R.*, iii. 17. *Dulbend-dārān* are the turban-wearers, Turkish *dulbend aghasī*, the keeper of the sultān's turbans.

Farūḍīya, a square kerchief worn by women who make a kind of *rabṭa* with this and the *ṭāḥīya* and *ṭarbūsh*. Two or three pieces of cloth used to be used, which formed a kind of small turban but quite distinct from that worn by men. The turban proper is distinctly a man's head-dress but the women have occasionally had similar fashions. The vigour with which theologians attack women who wear turbans or otherwise ape men's dress, quoting ḥadīths to support their strictures, shows only too clearly the existence of such practices (cf. Kattānī, p. 42, 112 sq.).

Fez [q. v.], the red cap originally belonging to Fās in Morocco, which was replaced in Turkey in 1925 by the European hat (*shapka*), while it is still commonly in use for example in Egypt.

Fidām, turban, also a mouth-veil worn by the Parsīs and a kind of muzzle for camels and oxen.

Findān seems to have been a head-dress worn by women in Cairo and Syria, gilt below and decked with pieces of silver.

Ghīfāra in early times was a kind of *ṭāḥīya* for women, a red cloth with which they protected their veil from the oil on the hair. In Muslim Spain it was the name of a similar cap for men, who usually wore not turbans but *ghafā'ir* of red or green wool, and Jews a yellow one. It would therefore perhaps correspond to the cap often called *shāshīya* in the Maghrib which was worn under the turban.

Gulūta (Pers. pronunciation of the Arabic *kallawta*), a cap worn by women and children.

Hen'nin (French), a high head-dress worn by women in France and Burgundy, a xvth century

fashion influenced by the east, which still survived in Germany in the xvth century. The form changed and was sometimes shaped like a sugar loaf or dome, sometimes like a roller or a truncated cone; sometimes it had two peaks, like the double henin worn by Queen Isabella of Portugal (*Karabacek*, p. 11, 67 sqq., 84; there it is explained from the Arabic *ḥanīnī* "tinkling") [from the metal pendants on it?] which occurs once in the *Arabian Nights*).

Ḥarfīya is a 'name for the cap of the turban; cf. Brunot, p. 105.

Huntūz is a head-dress worn by women in Morocco, triangular in shape, made of linen, three inches long and broad and a span high, with silk and silver, the whole looking something like a camel's hump; cf. Kattānī, p. 112 sq.

Imāma, the most general Arabic word for the turban cloth and also for the whole turban; other forms are *amāma*, *imma*, plur. *amām* and *imām*. The verb is 'm-m, II, V, VIII, X. Details and variations according to colours, profession, and countries are mentioned above. Among special kinds may be mentioned *imāma Yūsufī* [q. v.], *imāma Sūṣī* from Sūs in Morocco.

Imma is properly the style or form of winding the turban, then the turban itself. Kattānī, p. 4: *ḥasan al-imma* = *ḥasan al-ittimām*.

Isāba, turban-cloth like *aṣba*, in modern times also a head-dress for women, as in the *Arabian Nights*: *aṣā'ib muzarkasha* of women and an *iṣābat al-ḥusn*. The *aṣā'ib sultāniya* under the Aiyūbids and Mamlūks in Egypt (*Ḳalkashandī*, iv. 46; Suyūṭī, ii. 110) were the flags of the Sultān in the public processions (*mawākib*), for the flags envelop the head of the lance like a turban (*Ḳalkashandī*, ii. 128; cf. Kattānī, p. 12 sq., 36).

Kalansurwa [q. v.], a high head-dress.

Ḳalewī or *kal(l)ewī* in old Turkey was a state turban which was worn in Stambul by the Grand Vizier, the High Admiral (*Ḳapudan Pasha*) and the chief eunuch (*ḳızlar aghasī*) and in the provinces by the *paṣhas* of three tails; cf. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 440, 444; do., *G. O. R.*, iii. 17; vii. 268; viii. 191.

Kalfa, plur. *kalfatāt*, a high cap, another form of *kallawta*.

Kallawta, *kalūta*, plur. *kalāwit*, a cap. The word is perhaps connected with the French *calotte*, Pers. *gulūta* and perhaps even with the Latin *calantica*, *calautica*, *calvatica*; in Syriac, *kalwā* is found with the meaning of tiara, mitre. This name was particularly common under the Turkish dynasties of Egypt; under the Aiyūbids, the sultān, the emīrs and the soldiers wore yellow *kalūtāt* without turbans (*amām*) with *dhawā'ib* hanging down behind (*Ḳalkashandī*, iv. 39; Makrīzī, ii. 98). In the reign of Ashraf Ḳhalīl b. Ḳalā'ūn caps embroidered with gold were introduced (*kalūtāt al-zarkash*; Makrīzī, *op. cit.*); according to another source (*Ḳalkashandī*, *op. cit.*), they were red with *amām*; from the time of Ashraf Sha'bān they were worn larger. The emir Yelbughā al-'Omārī introduced a special form, the so-called *kalūtāt yelbughāwīya* which were large, but under Zāhir Barkūk still larger *kalūtāt ḥerkesīya* appeared (Makrīzī, *op. cit.*). In those days a set of robes of honour included a *kalūtāt zarkash* (*Ḳalkashandī*, iv. 52 sq.).

Kalpak [q. v.].

Ḳamṭa, a red cloth, adorned with pearls, which the Egyptian women twisted round their *ṭarbūsh*.

Kawuk [cf. the article *KAUUKLU*].

Keffiye, *kefie*, popular pronunciation of *kūfiya*, *Kelle push*, a small white or red cloth cap, around which the turban can be twisted.

Khurāsānī in old Turkey was the round turban worn by viziers and other officials, who were no longer in active service and therefore did not wear the *mudjeweze* (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 444). According to d'Ohsson, ii. 135, 'Othmān I is said to have worn a cap of a red material, which was called *tādī-i khurāsānī* and was worn by the Tatars and the Čaghatai.

Kinā, plur. *akni'a*, also *miḡna*(a) was a cloth, which men and women wound on the head, like the *'iṣāba* and the *kūfiya*. Sometimes also it seems to mean a woman's veil of silk embroidered with gold, then again to be the same as *ṭailasān* (Kattānī, p. 12, 106). From *al-kinā* came the Spanish *alquina*. Bukhārī has a *Bāb al-Taḡannu*.

Kisā, properly a general word for garment, is a piece of flannel worn by learned men in North Africa, around the body and head. In earlier times every one wore it and called it *ḡaik*, which was the name for a woman's veil (cf. Brunot).

Konfil, a cap worn by women in Algiers and Tunis.

Kub, plur. *akbā*, was in Egypt the name for the innermost cap of the turban, which could be kept on, even when sleeping, while the turban proper was taken off and put on a special turban stand, *kursī al-imāma*; the *kub* thus corresponds in a way to the modern *ṭākiya* and *'araḡiya*. The Egyptian texts of the *Arabian Nights* have *kub* for *ṭākiya*. *Kub* *ḡhatū'i azrak* is a similar cap of blue Chinese silk. According to Maḡrizī, ii. 105, there was a market called *sūk al-akbā'iyyin* in Cairo. *Kubba'a* = Chald. *ḡōb'ā*, Syr. *ḡūb'ā*, Hebr. *ḡōba'* is also said to have been a kind of cap or turban, but it also means the capital of a column.

Kūfiya, popularly *keffiye*, plur. *kawāfi*, is in Arabic probably a loanword from the Italian (*s)cuffia*, Lat. vith century *cofea*, Span. (*es*)*cofia*, Port. *coifa*, Fr. *coiffe*, Engl. *coif*, to which the Turkish *usḡuf(īya)* is also said to be traced. It is a rectangular piece of cloth worn by the Bedouins and their women in Egypt, Arabia, and the 'Irāk on their heads, of linen or silk in various colours, almost a yard square. The cloth is folded diagonally, the ends hang down or are tied below the chin and above it the Bedouins sometimes, and townsmen usually, wind a turban. This form, which was already known in Egypt in the Mamlūk period and is mentioned in the *Arabian Nights*, has in modern times come into prominence again as part of dress of the Wahhābīs.

Kūdī is a head-dress worn by women, along with an *'iṣāba*. The word is perhaps a corruption of *seraḡhūdī*, *seraḡūdī*, which is said to mean a Tatar cap.

Kūka, a Persian word, is applied in Turkish to the plumed head-dress worn by the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia and by the Aghas of the Janissaries (cf. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 444).

Kulāh is the general Persian word for the cap, which replaced the turban in Persia. In old Turkey it meant more particularly the sugar-loaf-shaped head-dress of the cooks, confectioners and woodcutters of the Serail, and also a white felt head-dress worn by the Janissaries = *keče* and one of red cloth worn by the *bustandjis* = *baretta*. *Surḡh*

kulāhān is the Persian name for the *Shi'i* Persians corresponding to the Turkish *ḡizlbaş*; cf. Babinger, *Islam*, xi. 81¹.

Kulōta (cf. *kallawta*) means in Persian a veil worn by women or a child's cap = *gulōta*.

Kumma, *kimma*, plur. *kumām* is a little tight-fitting cap; cf. Abu 'l-Fidā, iv. 232, 5; Kattānī, p. 40 sq.

Kursiya, *karziya*, *kursiya*. The word seems to be a loanword in Arabic and Berber and to come from the Persian; it is found mainly in the Maghrib and Spain and was there applied to a man's head-dress of white wool or strips of wool which the Berbers wound round their heads like a turban cloth. But now it seems to mean a cloak; cf. Brunot.

Lāṭi'a (supply *ḡalansuwa*) means a small tight-fitting (*lāṣiḡa*) cap, but is probably not a proper name for it; cf. Kattānī, p. 37, 40, 43.

Libba, *lubbāda*, a small cap of brown or white felt (*libā*) which the common people in Egypt wear under the *ṭarbūṣh*. The very poor wear it alone, without *ṭarbūṣh* and turban.

Lithām, a mouth-veil for men [q. v.].

Mandil, *mindil*, a loanword from the Latin *mantile*, is applied to cloths generally, but may also mean the turban, especially in Turkish and Persian. It is found in this sense also in Arabic authors, like Tha'ālībī and Maḡrizī, but they probably get it from the Persian.

Maizar means in Persia the turban, probably derived from *mi'zar*, which however means a veil.

Ma'raḡa, a parallel form for *'araḡiya*, perspiration-cap.

Miḡfar, also pronounced *miḡfar*, the helmet, is a network of iron worn to protect the head in battle under the cap (*ḡalansuwa*): the Prophet is said to have worn one at the entry into Mecca. Soldiers wore a turban around the helmet, not only when fighting, but also in times of peace (Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber*, p. 59). Thus the Turkish sultān Murād IV, who was continually in the field, used to wind his turban cloth around his helmet (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 443). Hence the phrase "to slacken the turban" = to live in peace and security (Kattānī, p. 4) while "the turban on the neck" (*fi 'unḡihi mindil* or *'imāma*) is a sign of submission.

Miḡna'a is the same as *ḡina'*, a head-cloth but the former is usually smaller. The *miḡna'a* of women is also called *ḡhifāra*.

Mikwar(a), *mikwāra* is a word for turban and *mukawwir* thus came to mean the same as *muta'ammim*, i. e. theologian, man of learning, and in Muslim Spain, the officials and jurists, because these alone wore the turban there.

Mishmadh, *mishwadh*, *mishwādh*, *mishwash* are rarer words for turban.

Mudjawwaza, Arabic, but apparently only found in Turkish, a barrel- or cylindrical-shaped cap, which was worn with the turban cloth from the time of Soliman's dress edict, as the proper court and state head-dress. Soliman is said to have been the first sultān to wear it himself (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 442; Pečewī, i. 4: *M. surḡh*); the *mudjawwaza* was previously the military cap, the red top of which peeped out from the turban cloth. The conqueror (*Fātiḡ*) Meḡammed II is said to have worn his turban over a spiral *tādī*, like the *mudjawwaza* of scholars, and the turban of his son Bāyazid II, like his father's, resembled the type worn by learned men (Karabacek, p. 15;

Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 17; vii. 268; viii. 191).

Muḥla, a large turban worn by learned men of unvarying shape, but also the head-dress of Copt priests with a long narrow band.

Nuṣṣ ra's = "half the head", is a small helmet or cap worn by seamen in the Maghrib; the name is also found in Egypt. In Morocco the *ṭarbūsh* is also called "*niṣf al-ra's*" because it covers half the head, tightly fitting; cf. Brunot.

Periṣkāni, the "untidy turban", was the name of the turban worn by the common people in the reign of Soliman; *G. O. R.*, iii. 17.

Pertele, Pers. pronunciation of *burtulla*.

Rabṭa of women consists of the *ṭāḳiya*, *ṭarbūsh* and *farūdiyya*; together they make a kind of woman's turban, but it is very different from that worn by men.

Ruṣṣa is a small turban for young people in Morocco (cf. Brunot).

Sādī is a green or black *ṭailasān*; cf. Kattāni, p. 106.

Salīmī, a special variety of the kind of turban called *Yūsufī*, called after Sulṭān Selim I, who is said to have preferred it, as did Selim II also; *G. O. R.*, iii. 17; vii. 268.

Sharbūsh, *sharbush* pl. *sharābīsh*, *sharābīsh*, probably from the Persian *serpūsh*, but the latter is a woman's head-dress. In Syriac we find *sarfūshā* in Bar Hebraeus. The *sharbūsh* was the head-dress of the emirs under the Mamlūks in Egypt; according to Maḳrīzī, ii. 99, it resembled the *tādī*, was three-cornered, worn without a turban, and one formed part of a set of robes of honour. It had a markedly military character and the *shar-būsh* of the emirs is contrasted to the turban of the jurists (Maḳrīzī-Bloch, p. 335). In Cairo in those days, there was a special market for sellers of *sharbūsh*, in which however in Maḳrīzī's time only robes of honour were sold, and in Damascus there was a madrasa called *al-Madrasa al-Mālikīya al-Sharābīshīya*. Under the Circassian Mamlūks, the *sharbūsh* fell into disuse (and was replaced by the *kalūtāt ṣerkesiya*?).

Şarīk also *şarḡlī*, a bandage, is the usual Turkish name for the turban. *Şarīklī* = turban-wearer e. g. *şarīklī hodja* = cleric with the turban, *şarīkdjī* = turban-maker; *şarīkdjī baḡlī*, the sulṭān's turban-keeper. The first gild regulation of the turban-makers dates from Soliman's time, when their shops were first opened, and regulations about the wearing of turbans were drawn up (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 443).

Shadd [q. v.], the turban-cloth, then the whole turban, a name used particularly in North Africa and Egypt. The Egyptian texts of the *Arabian Nights* have *shadd* for *imāma*. Sometimes *shadd* was particularly the white and blue striped turban of the Copts, while that of the Muslims was called *shāsh*; the *shadd ba'tabakki* was particularly well-known. The *shadd tādī al-khalīfa* at the court of the Fātimids was the office of the turban-winder to the Fātimid caliph; Ḳalkāshandī, iii. 484.

Shāl. The word has passed into the languages of Europe, "shawl" etc., and means the turban-cloth or whole turban, especially in Egypt, sometimes also kerchiefs worn by women e. g. in Arabia and North Africa.

Shapka is the Turkish word for the modern European hat, which was introduced into Turkey by law in 1925. Only clerics already wearing turbans (*şarīklī hodja*) were allowed to retain

their turbans. A number of publications appeared at the time on the hat question (*shapka mes'elesi*).

Shāsh, from which we get the English word "sash", meant the turban-cloth in Egypt, Syria, Arabia and Persia. Under the Aiyūbids the *qādis* and learned men wore turbans with large *shāshāt*, some let a tail (*dhwa'aba*) hang down between the shoulders or wore the neck-veil in addition (*ṭailasān*; Ḳalkāshandī, iv. 42; cf. Maḳrīzī, ii. 98 and Suyūṭī, ii. 226). The *shāsh* however also meant a cap (= *shāshiya*) and formed part of a set of robes of honour; e. g. Ḳalkāshandī, iv. 52 sq.: *shāsh rafī*, *mawṣūl bihi ṭarafān min ḥarīr abyāḍ*. From 780 we also find the *shāsh* as part of a woman's dress; it is the cloth embroidered with gold and pearls, thrown over the double *ṭurtūr*; cf. Karabacek, p. 67 sqq.

Shāshiya in Egypt was a cap, around which the turban-cloth was wound; it was of silk and might be trimmed with pearls and gold. On the other hand, however, it was the name given to the paper cap, put upon criminals, and also to iron helmetlike caps. To put on the *shāshiya* = to adopt Islām. In modern Morocco, it is a black cap for young people in the form of the *ṭarbūsh*, also a head-dress in the form of a sugar-loaf, which the Derkāwa dervishes wear, in Algiers a woman's cap (Brunot), in the oasis of Siwa it is pronounced *shasha*. *Shāshiya* seems originally to have been the turban-cloth made of *shāsh* muslin; cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, xxii. 161.

Shemle was in Turkey in the reign of Soliman a carelessly wound turban-cloth, worn by the common people (*G. O. R.*, iii. 17). In North Africa it is a cloth, still sometimes wound over the turban (*imāma*); cf. Brunot.

Shimrīr = Span. *sombrero* is the name given in Morocco to the European hat, sometimes also called *ṭartūr*; cf. Brunot.

Sidāra is a skull-cap like the *ṭāḳiya* worn under the *mikna'a* and *iṣāba*.

Sikka, the name for the Turkish dervish cap; cf. Jacob, *Bektāshīye*, p. 40.

Sudūs, *sadūs* is a green *ṭailasān* worn by women, especially in winter time as a protection from cold.

Tādī [q. v.], "Crown", also turban.

Tahnīk (*al-imāma*) is a special adjustment, in which the turban-cloth is brought under the chin as a protection against heat and cold or its two ends tied under the chin. This form is found particularly in the Maghrib and those who use it defend it intolerantly and describe all other forms of the turban as innovation (*bid'a*), as the dress of the devil or of the Copts, or as a survival of the turbans of the followers of Lūṭ (Kattāni, p. 70). The opposite of *tahnīk* is *ikṭi'āf* or *i'tidjār* (even letting the ends hang down is also wrong in contrast to it) while other rare synonyms for the *tahnīk* are *talahhī* or *iliḥā*. From the Maghrib, the Fātimids seem to have brought the *tahnīk* to Egypt, and the *ustādḥūn muḥannakūn* were the chief emirs (eunuchs) at the Fātimid court who held the highest offices in the personal service of the Fātimid caliph (Ḳalkāshandī, iii. 484; Ibn al-Ṣairifī, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Bahgat, Introduction). Farther east also the *tahnīk* was occasionally found; for example even al-Ṣulī is said to have recommended it. But it is not *sunna* with the Shāfi'īs, while, for example, Ibn Ka'ayim recommends it.

Ṭailasān [q. v.], neck-veil of the *qādis*.

Ṭāḡ, a green *ṭailasān*, a name of very rare occurrence.

Ṭāḡiya, plur. *ṭawāḡi*, is originally a Persian word and in Persia was the turban or a high cap. French *toque* and Spanish *toca* are perhaps connected with it. The name seems to be first found in Mamlūk Egypt in the xvth century, when it was a round cap with flat top in various colours, worn without the turban-cloth. Under Nāṣir Faraj it was extended in height from $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ ells and swollen out like a cupola (perhaps under the influence of old Egyptian models) and called the Circassian *ṭāḡiya*. Egyptian women are said to have imitated this for erotic or other reasons and this form then made its way to the east. The *ṭāḡiya* was stiffened with paper and in a Fātimid cap, similar in shape, of the xth century have been found fragments of papyrus with writing upon them. These headdresses were quilted and had a rippled appearance. Other forms were evolved from them, such as the bottles, barrels, cones and the so-called unicorns (Maḡrizī, ii. 104; Karabacek, p. 73; cf. *turtūr*). In modern times *ṭāḡiya* is used as a synonym for *ʿaraḡiya*; cf. Brunot; Kattānī, p. 98.

Ṭals, parallel form for *ṭailasān*.

Ṭarbūsh, probably, like *sharbūsh*, going back to the Persian *serpūsh*, only found in Arabic from the xvth century, was a tight-fitting cap, in Egypt usually of red wool, with a tassel of black or blue silk. Around this cap, men of rank wore the turban-cloth and under it the small *ṭāḡiya* or *ʿaraḡiya*. In Syria and in the ʿIrāk the *ṭarbūsh* has sometimes a peak, which hangs behind or at the side and is kept in position by a piece of cloth. In Egypt this cap used to be called *shāshiya* (in Morocco we still find both terms in use side by side), in Spain *ghifara*. *Ṭrābsḡi* is a name given in Morocco to a young man, who does not yet wear the turban (Brunot). The *ṭarbūsh* there is always imported from Europe; the *shāshiya* on the other hand is made in the country itself.

Ṭarḡa = *ṭailasān*.

Tasākhīn is also a kind of *ṭailasān*.

Turtūr, *ṭartūr* (a), *ṭantūra*, *ṭantūra*, in Arabic a loanword of unknown origin (the Latin *turrita*, tower-shaped, has been compared), a high cap round which the turban can be wound. *Ṭartūra* seems to be found as early as a papyrus of the viith century A. D. (Karabacek, p. 67), and in the fourth century A. H. it was a popular head-dress in Kairawān (Karabacek, p. 68). The *turtūr* at a later date seems to have been a head-dress of the Bedouins (they swore by it, *wa-haḡḡi turtūr*; there is a saying, "he fell at the first blow like the *turtūr* of a Bedouin") and to have gone out of fashion with the denizens of the towns. A *turtūr* of paper used to be put on the heads of criminals and prisoners captured from the enemy, and it was worn also by the "prince of the New Year" (*nawrūs*) at a popular festival in Cairo, which was prohibited in the reign of Barḡūk. The pointed *turtūr* was in the xvth century, with or without the turban, the head-dress of the common people in Egypt and the countries adjoining it (Karabacek, p. 68); at a later date dervishes in Egypt wore sugar-loaf-shaped *turtūr* with trimmings (Lane, *Manners* etc.); in Turkey it was worn by the volunteer corps of the Delis, in Algiers by the Dey's *ḡawshes*, in Morocco by the negro soldiery. The name is found wherever

Arabic is spoken and *turtūr* in Arabic seems to correspond to *tādī* in Turkish and Persian. About 780 A. H. the double *turtūr* with two peaks like a camel's hump, and the *shāsh* above them, appears as a lady's fashion in Egypt and was taken to Europe (Karabacek, p. 71), and in modern times we find among the Druse and Maronite women of the Lebanon a *turtūr* plated with gold or covered with horn like the horn of a unicorn. In Fās, Algiers and Tunis also, the name is given to certain forms of women's head-dress (cf. Brunot, p. 119; Karabacek, p. 80).

Uḡrūf, *ukhrūf*, a high cap common in the Maḡhrib, which could be made either quite simply or of valuable material.

ʿUrf was in old Turkey a large globe-or pad-shaped turban worn by learned men, corresponding to the Arabic *danniya* and the Persian *kulāhi-kādī*. Sultān Meḡmmed II was fond of wearing the *ʿurf* embroidered with gold; cf. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 444; do. *G. O. R.*, vii. 268; viii. 191.

Urṣūṣa, *arsusa*, *rusa* is said to be a melon-shaped hat.

Usḡūf also *uskūfiya*, from the Italian *scuffia* = Arabic *kūfiya*, was a peaked cap embroidered with gold, which the officers of the Janissaries and some officials of the Serail like the Baltadjis wore, also called *ḡūḡa*. Sulaimān Pasha, son of Orḡhan, is said to have invented it; he is said to have introduced it out of affection for Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and even to have worn it. It came into general use in the reign of Murād I and became a kind of ruler's crown; cf. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 444 sq.; do. *G. O. R.* iii. 17.

Yūsufī, *imāme-i Yūsufī* is an old name for the Turkish turban; it is said to have been originally invented by Joseph and to be called after him. Selīm I and II wore these *Yūsufī*, which were then called *Selīmīs* after them; cf. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 442 sq.; do. *G. O. R.*, iii. 17.

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d. 1035 (1626); 11. A. b. M. b. A. al-Makkari, *Azhār al-Kumāma fī Akhbār al-Imāma*, d. 1041 (1632), cf. *G.A.L.*, ii. 296; 12. Abu 'l-Faḍl M. b. A. "Ibn al-Imām", *Tuhfat al-Umma bi-Ahkām al-Imma*, d. 1062 (1652), Ḥādjdī Khalifa, N^o. 2551; 13. Shihāb al-Dīn A. b. M. al-Khāfādji al-Efendi (Shāriḥ al-Shifā', d. *Thimāma fī Shifāt al-Imāma*, d. 1069 (1659), cf. *G.A.L.*, ii. 285; 14. al-Saiyid M. b. Mawlāya Dja'far al-Kattāni, *al-Dīwāna li-Ma'rīfat Ahkām Sunnat al-Imāma*, modern, printed Damascus 1342 [s. the art. KATTĀNĪ].

N^o. 14 is the most detailed monograph on the turban and has been much used for the above article. Of other writings he mentions N^o. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, but has himself only seen and used N^o. 8. In addition to N^o. 14 we have used N^o. 2 for some points.

Of European literature in addition to the works of Dozy, Karabacek and Brunot cited above we may mention a few general works on costume: Rosenberg, *Geschichte des Kostüms*, 5 vols, plates with brief descriptions, pl. 297 on the turban; J. v. Falke, *Kostümgeschichte der Kulturvölker*; Alb. Kretschmer, *Die Trachten der Völker*; *Katalog der Lipperheideschen Kostümbibliothek*. — 16 forms of turban are illustrated by Fesquet, 44 different ones by Niebuhr, and no less than 286 are given by Michael Thalman, *Elenchus librorum or. mss.*, Vienna 1702, vi. 29 sq. on Cod. turc., vii., Bologna (according to *E.L.*, ii. 751); cf. Victor Rosen, *Remarques sur les mss. orientaux de la Collection Marsigli à Bologne* (*Atti della Real Acc. dei Lincei*, 281, 1883—1884), p. 182. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

TURBAT-I ḤAIDARĪ. [See ZĀWA.]

TURBAT-I SHAIKH-I DJĀM, a place in the north-east of Persia (province of Khurāsān), not far from the Afghān frontier; its position is approximately 61° East Long. and 35° N. Lat. It is a stage on the Mashhad-Herāt road (the distance from Turbat-i Shaikh-i Djām to Mashhad is about 96 miles, roughly half the distance between Mashhad and Herāt) and lies on a tributary of the Harīrūd. In the first half of the sixteenth century the number of houses was given at about 200 (Conolly, about 1830); towards the end of the century (1894) Yate put the number at about 250. The last named traveller observed that the place was called Djām by the inhabitants; the inhabitants themselves are called Djāmī. In 1894 there were about 4,000 families, all agriculturists; they used to have a chief of their own; when Yate visited the little town, however, the Djāmī were under the direct authority of the district governor. Turbat-i Shaikh-i Djām has also a primitive citadel built of clay; east of the village is the tomb of the saint to which the village owes its name. He was the mystic Shaikh Aḥmad-i Djāmī (d. 536 = 1142; cf. the article AḤMAD DJĀMĪ). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris, iii. 75 sqq.), he was called Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad and the place belonged to his descendants, quite free from the authority of the state. What Ibn Baṭṭūṭa further tells about the Shaikh is obviously local tradition without any great historical value. The tomb was visited by Timūr and at a later date by Humayūn.

The mediaeval name of Turbat-i Shaikh-i Djām was Būzdjān (also Pūčkān; Yāqūt, iii. 890 sq., gives a further variant: Fuzz or Fazz, while some scholars have the nisba al-Fazzī; the nisba,

al-Būz djānī, of course, is also found). It was the capital of the district of Djām (also written Zām) in the N.E. of Kūhistan. According to Yāqūt, Būzdjān lies 4 days' journey from Nisābūr and 6 from Herāt, while al-Iṣṭakhri (p. 282) gives four days' journey as the distance from Būzdjān to Būshandj. The town, on which no fewer than 180 villages were dependent, lay in a fertile and well-watered neighbourhood. According to Ibn Rusta (p. 181), Djām belonged to the 19 *rasāṭiq* dependent on Nisābūr. Al-Muḥaddasi (at least according to the text quoted in de Goeje, p. 319, note e) says that the name Būzdjān is only applied to the town (*qaṣr*) proper, not to the whole district which included the villages depending on it [cf. the article SHAHR]. We have the less doubt about this notice as the not very clear passage, p. 321, note b, again seems to identify al-*qaṣr* with al-*madīna*.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 356 sq.; E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 35 sqq.; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 264 sq., 278, 286 sq.; C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire... de la Perse*, p. 121, 149 sq. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

TURFAN, usually written Turfan, locally pronounced *Turfan*, a town in Chinese Turkistān. The oasis, fertile although suffering from a scarcity of water, between the depression of Lukūn, which lies below the sea-level, and the ranges of the Thian-shan, has been of importance from ancient times not only for trade between China and the west but also politically; the settlements mentioned in ancient times and the early middle ages were however not on the site of the modern Turfan but west and east of it. In the second century B. C. the principality of Kū-shi was here; in the year 60 B. C. it was destroyed by the Chinese and eight small principalities took its place, including anterior Kū-shi in the region of Turfan; the capital of this was the little town called Kiaoho by the Chinese, the site of which is marked by the ruins about 4 miles west of Turfan called Yarkhoto by Klementz (*Nachrichten über die von der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. zu St. Petersburg im Jahre 1898 ausgerüstete Expedition nach Turfan*, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 24 sqq.). Considerable importance was later attained by the Chinese settlement Kao-chang, called in Turki first Khoḥo (Maḥmūd Kashghari, i. 103: Kūdjū), later Karā-Khodja, now the ruins of Idikūt-shahri, 20—25 miles east of Turfan. Immediately south of the modern Turfan lie the ruins called Old Turfan by Klementz (*op. cit.*, p. 28); according to S. Franke (*Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift aus Idikūtshahri bei Turfan, Anhang zu Abh. Preuss. Akad.*, 1907, p. 36) these ruins "must date from ancient times and have been an unimportant place"; but they occupy a rather larger area (3 square kilometres) than Idikūt-shahri.

Turfan is not mentioned in the Mongol period and not on the Chinese map of 1331 (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, vol. ii.). The only suggestion that there was perhaps a town of Turfan in ancient times also, is found in a Saka document found in Tun-Huang and published by Sten Konow (*Oslo Etnografiske Museums Skrifter: Publications of the India Institute*, iii. 3, Oslo 1929, p. 137 and 148) where a town called Tturpamni is mentioned. The first Chinese (in the Ming-shi) reference to Turfan (Chinese T'u-lu-fan) is in the year 1377; some foreign em-

bassies on the way to China were robbed at Turfan and a Chinese army was sent against the king of Turfan as a reprisal (*Med. Res.*, ii. 193). To a somewhat later date belongs the first Muslim account of Turfan; according to the *Ta'rikh-i Rashidī*, *Khīẓr Khodja*, Khān of Moghulistān (c. 1389–1399), undertook a campaign against “*Qarā Khodja* and Turfan, two very important towns on the frontiers of China”; the inhabitants were forced to adopt Islām and the two towns were henceforth regarded as within the territory of Islām (*Dār al-Islām*) (*Ta'rikh-i Rashidī*, transl. Ross, p. 52). When the celebrated embassy of the Timūrid *Shāhrukh* [q. v.] passed through the country in 823 (1420) the inhabitants were, however, for the most part still idolators; there was a large temple of idols there and a great statue of Buddha Śakyamuni (*Shākemūni*) and many other idols, some old, some of recent erection (*N. E.*, xiv., p. 310 and the original text of *Hāfiz-i Abrū* [q. v.] in Barthold, *al-Muẓaffariya*, p. 27). The present inhabitants of Turfan (*Turfanlīk*) know that Uighurs used to live there, but these Uighurs are now considered to have been Muslims; all Buddhist relics are ascribed to the Kalmucks (Klementz, *op. cit.*, p. 20) or to king *Dākyānūs* [see *AṢḤĀB AL-KAḤF*].

Turfan suffered in those days from want of water even more than it does now. In the reign of *Wais-Khān* (1418–1428) agriculture was conducted in a very primitive and laborious fashion; the *Khān* had a deep well dug and out of this he himself and his slaves drew water for their fields in earthen vessels (*kūza*) (*Ta'rikh-i Rashidī*, p. 67). Conditions seem to have improved later; towards the end of the xviiith century the land of *Čalışh* (the modern *Karāshahr*) obtained its corn from Turfan (*Zap.*, xv., 251; quoted by M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i. 302). The present underground irrigation channels are said not to have been made till the xviiith century (Sir A. Stein, in *Geogr. Journ.*, 1916, Sept., p. 47).

Under the princes claiming descent from *Čaghatāi Khān* in the modern Chinese Turkistān (xvth–xviiith century) Turfan is frequently mentioned as the residence of various *Khāns*; at a later date it was, like the rest of the country, subjected first to the Kalmucks, then after the destruction of the Kalmuck empire in 1758 to the Chinese. In 1765 the town of *Uč* (west of *Ak-su*, q. v.), which had rebelled against the Chinese, was destroyed and its population completely wiped out; in order to restore the town, inhabitants were imported from other towns, especially from Turfan. *Uč* was henceforth known as *Uč-Turfan* or *Ush-Turfan*; to distinguish the two, Turfan proper was called Old Turfan (*Köhne Turfan*). In the time of *Ya'qūb Beg* (1866–1877) Turfan was the frontier town of his dominions in the east; in 1876 it was visited by a famine and in 1877 occupied by the Chinese without resistance. Turfan now belongs to the territory of the “king” (*wang*) of *Lukčun*. The first European to visit Turfan was Dr. A. Regel (see below) in 1879. The modern fort of Turfan is said by Regel to have been built by *Ya'qūb Beg*; east of it is the Chinese fort, which, according to Grum-Gržimailo (*Opisanie puteshestviya v Zapadnii Kitai*, i., St. Petersburg 1856, p. 275), was not built till 1886; but it is already mentioned by Regel, lay the “ruins of the Turfan of the last centuries “with” numerous fine tomb-mosques and a

beautiful minaret”. The minaret and the medrese, to which it belongs, have been several times illustrated (Klementz, *op. cit.*, p. 49; O. Donner, *Resa i Zentralasien* 1898, Helsingfors 1901, p. 120; A. v. le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan*, Leipzig 1926, pl. 2). The minaret was not, as has been asserted, a Christian belfry, but was only built in 1760 by a *wang* of *Lukčun*. These ruins are probably identical with the Old Turfan of Klementz, which in this case would belong to a later date than Franke (see above) and Grünwedel (“a terribly ruined old town of the Uighur period”) have assumed; Klementz also (*op. cit.*, p. 28) seeks “to identify the Tu-lu-fan of the Ming geographers with the present Old Turfan, which lies S. E. of the modern Chinese Turfan”. The ruins of most of the buildings of the old town seem to have been destroyed between 1879 and 1898, but, as Oldenburg established in 1909, more has survived than one would suppose from Klementz's description. The modern town is of some importance as a commercial centre; the highest estimate of the number of inhabitants is about 20,000.

Bibliography: (in addition to the references in the article): A. Regel, *Turfan*, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, xxvi., 1880, p. 205 sqq.; Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford 1928, p. 566 sqq. where further references are given; G. Grum-Gržimailo, *Opisanie puteshestviya v Zapadnii Kitai*, i., St. Petersburg 1896, chap. xii–xvi.; A. Grünwedel, *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902–1903*, Munich 1905 (*Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, Kl. i., vol. xxiv., ser. i.), p. 4; S. Oldenburg, *Russkaya Turkestanskaya Ekspeditsiya 1909–1910*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 25.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TURGAI, the name of a river system and of a small town in the steppes of Central Asia. The main river Turgai is formed of the *Karūn-saldī* Turgai, which receives the *Tastī* Turgai, and the *Kara Turgai*, and flows into Lake *Durukā*; north of it runs the *Sarī* Turgai, which is called *Ulkun-tamdī* in its upper course and receives from the west the *Muīldī*-Turgai and the *Sarī-bui* Turgai. The *Sarī* Turgai flows into Lake *Sarī-Kopa*. In Turkish *turghai* or *torghai* means “little bird” (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii. 1184, 1457); *Qarā Turghai* is a name of the starling. The fortifications of Orenburg are called *Torghai Kala*.

The modern town of Turgai on the river of the same name was built in 1845 by Major *Tomilin* as a fortress and one of the centres of Russian power among the *Kirgiz* [q. v.] under the name of the Orenburg fortress (*Orenburgskoie Ukreplenie*). In 1865 the territory of the Orenburg *Kirgiz* was divided into two provinces (*oblasti*), the *Ural* and the *Turgai*. When the *Turgai* province in 1868 was divided into districts (*uезд*), the fortress was made the capital of the district and called *Turgai*. As there was no suitable centre in the province itself, the *Turgai* province was administered from Orenburg. The governor lived there and in it was published from 1881 the official gazette, *Turgaiskiya Oblastnaya Vedomosti*. Among the four capitals of district in this province, the town of *Turgai* only takes the third place and has never been important; the number of inhabitants according to the census of 1897 was only 896, to that of 1911, 1,657. The southern part of the province with the town of *Turgai* is less suitable for agriculture and Russian

colonisation than the north, on account of the scarcity of fertile areas, although in the sixties about 1,300 hectares were cultivated on the river Turgai alone. From Turgai, trade routes lead northwards to Orsk and Kustanai, and southwards to Irgiz and Perowsk (now called Kizil-Orda).

Before Russian rule the present Turgai territory was inhabited only by nomads and hardly mentioned in political history. An exception is Nasawi's account (ed. Houdas, p. 9 sqq.) of the campaign of the *Kh̲w̲ārizm-shāh* [q. v.] Muḥammad in the year 612 (1215—1216) against the Kipčak and his encounter with the Mongols; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc. = *G. M. S.*, N. S. v., p. 370 sqq.; J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Berlin 1914, p. 128 sqq. where on p. 133 a later date (midsummer 1219) is assumed.

Turgai now belongs to the autonomous republic of Kaḡazakistān. Instead of the earlier division into provinces and districts, the land is now divided into administrative areas (*okrug*); the town of Turgai now belongs to the area Aktynbinsk, the most southerly part of the former Turgai province to the area of Kizil-Orda.

Bibliography: *Rossiya*, xviii.; *Kirgizskiy Krai*, Petersburg 1903, esp. p. 341 sq. and map; articles by Ya. Polferov and A. Kaufman, in *Enciklop. Slovar'*, Brokgaus-Efron, xxiv. (1902); *Aziatskaya Rossiya*, i., Petersburg 1914, p. 347 and 351. — On modern conditions I have been informed by word of mouth.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TURKISTĀN or **TURKESTAN**, a Persian word meaning the "land of the Turks". To the Persians of course only the southern frontier of the land of the Turks, the frontier against Iran, was of importance and this frontier naturally depended on political conditions. On their very first appearance in Central Asia in the sixth century A. D., the Turks reached the Oxus (cf. *ĀMŪ-DARYĀ*). In the time of the Sāsānians therefore the land of the Turks began immediately north of the Oxus; according to the story given in Ṭabari (i. 435 sq.) the Oxus was settled by an arrow-shot of Irāsh as the frontier between the Turks and the "territory (*amal*) of the Persians". According to the Armenian Sebēos (seventh century A. D.) the Vehrot, i. e. the Oxus, rises in the land of Tūr'astan (*Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebēos*, transl. by Fr. Macler, Paris, 1904, p. 49; J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 48); in another passage in the same work (p. 43; Marquart, p. 73) T'ur'astan is associated with Delhasan i. e. Dehistān (in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, north of the Atrék [q. v.]).

By the victories of the Arabs, the Turks were driven far back to the north; for the Arab geographers of the third (ninth) and fourth (tenth) centuries, Turkestan therefore began, not immediately north of the Oxus, but only north of the area of Arab culture known as "the lands beyond the river" Mā warā' al-Nahr [q. v.]. Turkistān, the land of the Turks, was then regarded as the regions north and east of Mā warā' al-Nahr. [The town of Kāsān in Farghāna [q. v.] north of the Sfr-Daryā [q. v.] was "where the land of Turkistān begins" (Yāqūt, iv. 227). The towns of Djand and Shahr-kand on the lower course of the same river were in Turkistān (*op. cit.*, ii. 127; iii. 344); in Turkistān lay the town of Khotan (*op. cit.*, ii. 403). From this use of the name it has been held (especially

by M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle 1908, p. 1) that the name "Turkestan" was first applied by the Russian conquerors of Central Asia quite arbitrarily to the land of Mā warā' al-Nahr. As a matter of fact, the name Turkistān had long regained its earlier significance as a result of the Turkish conquests, perhaps less in literature than in everyday usage. To the people of Persia and Afghānistān the "Turks in Turkistān" were their immediate neighbours on the north; thus in a lullaby taken down in Shirāz in 1886 we are told "Two Turks came from Turkistān, brought me to Hindustān" (V. Žukovskiy, *Obrazci persidskago narodnago tvorčestva*, St. Petersburg, 1902, p. 169 sq.). Through the Özbek conquests of the xvth century a new Turkistān arose south of the Āmū-Daryā. The corresponding province of Afghānistān still bears the name of Turkistān; as the southern frontiers of this Turkestan some travellers (R. Burslem, *A Peep in Toorkistan*, London, 1846, p. 57 sq.) give the pass of Aḡ Rabat north of Bāmiyān [q. v.]; others (J. Wood, *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus*, new edition, London 1872, p. 130) the pass of Hadjīkak, a little farther south, where the watershed between the basins of the Helmand [q. v.] and the Āmū Daryā is; farther west, in the region between the Murghāb and the Āb-i Maimana, the frontier of Turkistān is given as the range of Band (or Tirband)-i Turkistān. The name Turkistān was introduced into the scientific terminology of the xixth century, not by the Russians but by the English, probably under the influence of the Persian and Afghān usage.

In literature, especially in travellers' records, a distinction has usually been made between Russian, Chinese and Afghān Turkestan, although the word Turkestan (or Turkistān) had an administrative significance only in Russia and Afghānistān. Sometimes instead of these we find the terms West and East Turkestan. The governor-generalship of Turkestan was founded in 1867 by the Russians with Tashkent [q. v.] as its capital. The frontiers of this governor-generalship were sometimes contracted, sometimes extended. From 1882 to 1898 the province of Semiryečye, at one time included in Turkestan, belonged to the governor-generalship of the Steppes with Omsk as its capital. In 1898 Semiryečye and the Transcaspian province (Turcomania) were incorporated in Turkestan.

In 1886 Prof. I. Mushketow attempted to give the name "Turkestan" a definite geographical significance, independent of administrative conditions. Under the influence of A. Petzhold's book *Umschau im Russischen Turkestan nebst einer allgemeinen Schilderung des Turkestanischen Beckens*, Leipzig 1877, he proposed to give the name Turkestan or the Turkestan basin to the lands between the central mountains of Central Asia and the basin of the Caspian Sea, the Iranian plateau and the sea of ice; Mushketow had no doubt that the frontier between Russia and England in the not distant future would be established on the Hindū-Kush [q. v.]. He proposed to replace the term "Chinese Turkestan" by the Chinese Han-hai (interpreted by European scholars since Richthofen as the "dry sea"). Mushketow deals only with geographical facts and hypotheses, without regarding the etymological significance of the words or any ethnographical considerations.

Mainly on ethnographical grounds the word Turkestan has gradually dropped out of use

in Soviet Russia. After the revolution, a "Turkestan republic" lasted a few years with the old capital Tashkent. In comparison with the earlier governor-generalship the area of this republic was much smaller; in the north isolated parts were attached to the Kirgiz republic [cf. KIRGIZ]. After the principle of nationality had been finally carried through in 1924, the common name of the land had to give way to terms formed of the names of the various peoples like Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. Only a few, mainly economic questions, are still settled in Tashkent for all the lands in question; for Turkestan in such cases the expression Central Asia (*Srednyaya Aziya*) is used.

Turkestan was also the name in use under the Ōzbegs for a town on the middle course of the Sīr Daryā. From the accounts of the Arab geographers it may be assumed that in the fourth (tenth) century the town of Shāwghar (in Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 485: Shāvaghār) must have stood there: unfortunately no trace of it has been found. In the xivth century and probably as early as the xith, the later Turkestan was called Yasi and is mentioned as late as the history of Timūr (*Zafar-Nāma*, Ind. ed., ii. 9) as a village (*ḡarya*). The importance of the town increased from the cult — first known in the Mongol period — of the saint Aḥmad Yesewī [q. v.], regarded as the converter of the Turks to Islām (on his period see also Barthold, in *Der Islam*, xiv. 112), and especially after the splendid tomb had been erected there by Timūr. The saint was regarded as the patron of the land of the Turks and was called Ḥaḍrat-i Turkistān, which probably explains the new name of the town. At the time of the Russian conquest the circumference of the town was about 2 miles, the population about 5,000 and in 1908 it had risen to 15,000.

Bibliography: In addition to the reference in the text: Mushketow, *Turkestan*, St. Petersburg 1886, 2nd ed. 1915; W. Barthold, *Stand und Aufgaben der Geschichtsforschung in Turkestan* (*Die Geisteswissenschaften*, i. 1913–1914, p. 1075 sqq.); do., *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 1928 (*G.M.S.*, new ser. v.); do., *Istoriya kulturnoi žizni Turkestana* Leningrad 1927; W. Masalskij, *Turkestanskij kraj*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 600 sqq.; A. Dobrosmislow, *Goroda Sīr-Dar'inskoi oblasti*, Tashkent 1912. — On the tomb see especially M. Masson, in *Izv. Sredne Az. Geograf. Obshtë.*, xix. (1929) p. 39 sqq.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TÜRKMĀN-ĀI (better T-āyī), a village in the district of Garmārūd in the province of Ādharbāidjān. Türkman-āi, "the river of the Turkomans", is really the name of the stream on which the village stands; it comes down from the Čicāki pass (between Türkman-āi and Sarāb). It is one of the northern tributaries of the river of Miyāna (Shāhār-āyī) which flows into the Kīzīl-üzān (cf. the article SAFID-RÜD). The village of Türkman-āi marks a stage on the great Tabriz-Zandjān-Ḳazwīn-Tihrān-Ḳhurāsān road. The distances are Tabriz-Türkman-āi c. 60 miles; Türkman-āi-Zandjān c. 80 miles. Hamdullāh in the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, *G.M.S.*, xxiii. 183, puts these distances at 16 and 25 farsakhs respectively. He calls the village Türkman-kāndi; the word *kand* = village, only used in Ādharbāidjān and unknown elsewhere in Persia, is certainly of eastern Iranian origin (cf. Sogdian, *kanth*, town; cf. Barthold,

Istoriya Kultur. Žizni Turkestana, Leningrad 1927, p. 38); the word must have been brought into Ādharbāidjān by Turkish invaders. Hamdullāh also says that at one time the village was a town, the Iranian name of which, Dih Kharrān (several variants), he gives.

Clavijo, ed. Sreznewski (St. Petersburg 1881, p. 172 and 354), calls Türkman-āi *Tucelar* and *Tunglar* (evidently a corruption of Türk-lār) and says that it is inhabited by Turkomans.

Türkman-āi is known in history from the treaty signed there between Russia and Persia on Feb. 10/22, 1828. This diplomatic document consists of two parts. 1. By virtue of the political treaty, which was to take the place of the treaty of 1813, Russia annexed the *khānates* of Eriwān and Nakhčewān and received from Persia a contribution of 5,000,000 *tūmāns* = 20,000,000 roubles, but this was later reduced. 2. A special agreement fixed at 5% *ad valorem* the customs duties between the two countries and regulated the personal status of Russian subjects; in criminal cases they were to be tried by Russian courts, civil cases concerning both nationalities were dealt with by Russo-Persian tribunals with the participation of the Russian consular representatives etc. This particular agreement of 1828 is the historical origin of the Persian capitulations. By the most favoured nation clause, all the states of Europe in time secured similar rights. On its accession to power in 1917 the Soviet government renounced *sua sponte* all the old political and judicial privileges in Persia and this renunciation was sealed by the Persian-Soviet treaty of Feb. 28, 1921. Since 1918 Persia has shown a desire to abrogate capitulations generally, but not till May 10, 1927 did she address a circular note to this effect to the powers, several of whom, from May 10, 1928, have made new treaties on a basis of equality.

The frontiers of 1828 between Russia and Persia (Little Ararat-Caspian Sea) still remained unchanged even after 1921.

Bibliography: Türkman-āi is mentioned by all the travellers who have gone from Tabriz-Ḳazwīn, cf. Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage*, Paris 1854–1860, iii. 83–84 (the village has 200 houses) and the atlas pl. lvi. (room where the treaty was signed); Brugsch, *Reise*, Leipzig 1862–1864, i. 181; Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage*, ii. 85; H. Schindler, *Reisen, Zeitschr. Gesell. Erdk.*, 1883, p. 333 (100 houses, altitude 5,285 feet).

The text of the treaty of 1828 in F. Martens, *Nouveau recueil des traités*, vii/2, 1830, p. 564–572; Šanīf al-Dawla, *Mir'at al-buldān* i. 410–418; Vuzefovič, *Dogovor? Rossii s vostokom*, St. Petersburg 1869, p. 214–227; Hertslet, *Treaties concluded between Great Britain and Persia*, etc., London 1891. Analysis of the treaty in Greenfield, *Die Verfassung des pers. Staates*, Berlin 1904; K. Vollers, *Das Orientalische Münzkabinett der Universität Jena im Jahre 1906*, Dresden 1906, p. 7. (V. MINORSKY)

TURKOMANS, a Turkish people in Central Asia. The name has been used since the fifth (xth) century, first in the Persian plural form Türkmanān, by the Persian historians Gardīzi [q. v.] (cf. also now the printed edition by Muḥ. Nazim, *E. G. Browne Mem.*, vol. 1, Berlin 1928) and Abu 'l-Faḍl Baiḥaḳī [q. v.] in the same sense as the Turkish Oghuz, Arab. Ghuzz [q. v.]. The Oghuz of course used to live in Mongolia, where they are mentioned as early as the Orkhon

inscriptions of the eighth century. These Oghuz are, so far as we know, only called Turks, not Turkomans; the Turkomans are mentioned only in the west, first (in the transcription T'ô-kü-Möng) in the Chinese Encyclopaedia of the viith century A. D., *T'ung-t'ien*, chap. 193 (F. Hirth in *S. B. Bayr. Akad.*, ii. 1899, p. 263 sq.). According to *T'ung-t'ien* T'ô-kü-möng was another name for the land of Suk-tak i. e. the land of the Alans (see ALLĀN and SUGHDĀK) which in the beginning of our era stretched as far east as the lower course of the Sīr Daryā [q. v.], which in the fourth (tenth) century was the main centre of the Oghuz.

In the Arabic geographical literature the Turkomans (al-Turkmān or al-Turkmāniyūn) are only mentioned by al-Mukaddasi (or al-Maḳdisī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 274 sq.) in the description of a number of towns N.W. and N.E. of Arbidjab or Sairām, the situation of which cannot be exactly defined. By the fifth (xith) century the origin of the word Turkoman had already been forgotten; the popular (Persian) etymology *Türk mānand* "like Turks" is found as early as Maḥmūd Kāshghari (iii. 307). From his time onwards we often find "Turks and Turkomans" opposed to one another. The language and particularly the type of the Turkomans was influenced by their migration to the west so that only a "similarity" was allowed to exist between them and the rest of the Turks. The Turkomans living in Central Asia at the present day are particularly easy to recognise by their long heads (dolichocephalic); this formation of skull is partly produced by artificial deformation in the cradle, but is also explained by intermixture with Iranian nomadic peoples of Central Asia. Maḥmūd Kāshghari (i. 80 and 393) calls the Ǵarluḳ [q. v.] Turkomans as well as the Oghuz.

On the wide dissemination of Turkomans in western Asia as a result of the political events of the fifth (xith) century, see GHUZZ and SELDĠŪKS. As a result of the political importance of the Seldġuk dynasty, we possess fuller notices of their people, the Turkomans, than of the all other Turkish peoples of the middle ages. Rashīd al-Dīn (text in *Trudġ Vost. otd. Arkh. Obsġġ*, vii. 32 sqq.) for example gives the names of the individual "Ghuz tribes". In a linguistically older form (e. g. Salghur for Salur, Yazghġr for Yazġr) we find these names in Maḥmūd Kāshghari (i. 56 sqq.). Of the 24 names given by Rashīd al-Dīn, 21 agree with the list in Maḥmūd Kāshghari. Three names (Yayġrlġ, Ǵarġk and Ǵarġn) are found only in Rashīd al-Dīn and one (Ǵarukluḡ or Ǵarukluḡ) only in Maḥmūd. The total number of tribes according to Rashīd al-Dīn was 24 (the same number occurs in many Turkish and Turkoman legends), according to Maḥmūd 22; but the latter also knows (iii. 307) that the original number was 24; two tribes are said to have separated in the pre-Islāmic period from the rest and formed the people of the Khaladj [q. v.].

The name Oghuz was not ousted by that of Turkomans till the Mongol period; in the vith (xith) century the word Ghuz is found even in official documents (text in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 28 sq.). On the place of abode of the separate tribes nothing is said either by Rashīd al-Dīn or by Maḥmūd Kāshghari. In the historical references (e. g. *Zap.*, ix. 303; Nesewī, ed. Houdas, p. 39; *G. M. S.*, xvi. 120 and 122, where Tāḳ should be read for Yāḳ) the Yazghġr or Yazġr are the

earliest (end of the vith = xith and beginning of the viith = xiith century) to be associated with a definite region — east of Balkhān [q. v.] where the fortress of Tāḳ, later the town of Durġn, now a ruined site near the railway station of Boharden, once stood. According to Ḥamd Allāh Ǵazwīnī (*G. M. S.*, xxiii/i. 159 supra: there and in the transl. ii. 155, wrongly Bazar) there was much corn there; the Yazġr seem therefore to have taken to agriculture. At a later date the Yazġr are called Karatashġ or Karadashġ; it was only towards the end of the xviiith and beginning of the xixth century that they were driven out of Akhāl (see AKHĀL TEKKE) by the tribe of Tekke.

Among the Turkomans who migrated into western Asia the ethnic Turkoman gradually disappeared and has survived only in a few districts. Ibn Baṭṭūta [q. v.] still calls even the Ottomans Turkomans (*Voyages*, ii. 321). In the ninth (xvth) century Khālil al-Zāhiri (*G. A. L.*, ii. 135) gives a list of the Turkoman tribes living in the empire of the Mamlūks [q. v.] from Ghazza [q. v.] to Diyār Bakr [q. v.] (*P. E. L. O. V.*, vii. s. v. xvi. 105). Of the tribes mentioned there only that of Dulḡādir (see DHU 'L-ǴADR), attained any political importance. The only really important Turkoman states in western Asia were the kingdoms of the dynasties of the Ǵara-Koyunlu [q. v.] and the Aḳ-Ǵoyunlu [q. v.]. The still celebrated Turkoman carpets are first mentioned in the west (Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud, p. 379, from Ibn Sa'īd). The carpets were made by women, mainly by girls.

The Turkomans were among the few Turkish peoples of Central Asia, who retained their old ethnic even after the Mongol period. But very few of the old tribal names survived; the names of the most important and largest tribes of the present day (the Tekke, Göklen, Yomut, Ersari, Sarġk etc.) are not mentioned before the Mongol period. As with other nomads or semi-nomads, new formations were produced by the activity of single individuals; thus a clan of the Sarġk still calls itself Bairač, after a leader who fell in 1651 (year of the hare) (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, p. 324 sq.). The most information about the Turkomans in the xvth and xvith centuries is given by Abu 'l-Ghāzī [q. v.] in his larger work and also in his history of the Turkomans, *Shadġnra-i Tarākima* (not mentioned in the *Encyclopaedia*), which so far is only accessible in a Russian translation (Arkhabad 1897).

As the Turkomans were unable to form a state of their own, they dwelt in various kingdoms (Persia, Khwārizm, Bukhārā, and in the xviiith century Afḡhānistān also). As a matter of fact, the Turkomans usually succeeded in practice in maintaining their independence against these kingdoms; they frequently inflicted disastrous defeats on armies sent against them. The separate tribes were also frequently at war with one another. In the sixth century the Tekke tribe especially distinguished itself by its victories over other Turkoman tribes. It was only in poetic literature that the Turkoman people felt itself united: they all regarded Makhtūm Kulī of the tribe of Göklen, who flourished in the second half of the xviiith and first half of the xixth century, as their common national poet (his father Dawlat Mamad was writing in 1167 [1753–1754]). (*Zap.*, xvii. 146). Towards the end of the xviiith century a section of the Turkomans migrated from Mangġshlak [q. v.] and went north-

wards from the Caspian Sea into Russian territory, where they still dwell in the basin of the Kurna and of the Manġ: the number of these Turkomans in 1912 was 15,534, less than in 1906 (15,990). Even for these Turkomans, completely separated from their kinsmen, Makhtūm Qulī was still the national poet.

The Russian conquests in Central Asia, especially the occupation of Krasnowodsk (1869) and the campaign against Kġiwa (1873) made inevitable the subjection of the Turkomans, and was concluded by the storming of Gök-tepe [q. v.] in 1881 and the "voluntary" surrender of Merw in 1884 and of the lands south of it in 1885. The treaties determining the frontier in the following years settled the present distribution of the Turkoman lands in Russia, Persia and Afghānistān. Russian Turkomania was at first administered as a separate (Transcaspian) district, but in 1898 it was incorporated in the gubernorgeneralship of Turkestan [q. v.]. After the Revolution and the settlement of the problem of nationalities Turkomania was organised in 1924 as a Socialist Soviet Republic. According to the census of 1926—1927 the population of this republic was 1,030,641, of whom 719,792 were Turkomans; in the towns and larger villages there were 136,982, of whom only 8,790 were Turkomans. On the number of Turkomans in Persia and Afghānistān we have of course no accurate statistics. According to Aristow's estimates (1896) the figure was only 80,000, 50,000 in Afghānistān and 20,000 in Persia.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

TURKOMAN LITERATURE.

The literature of the Transcaspian Turkomans until quite recent times was confined to a popular unwritten literature consisting mainly of poems by 'āshġk's. This backward condition of the written literature is due to the fact that these Turkomans have never formed a state and that they have retained a nomadic mode of life and never adopted the settled habits of town life. Although there is a great resemblance between the popular literature of the Turkomans (consisting of proverbs, riddles, tales, songs, lullabies, etc.) and that of the Oghuz living farther west, i. e. the Turks of Persia, the Caucasus and Anatolia, we find among the Turkomans very many more traces of the pre-Islāmic period.

The written literature of the Turkomans consists of lyric poems and epics, poetry of a religious and didactic nature as well as popular romances, which were recited among the Turkomans by *bāqshġ* [q. v.], i. e. wandering musicians. In form and subject, these poems differ very little from those popularised in Ādharbāidġān and in Anatolia by the 'āshġk's. They are written in the syllabic metre and in the quatrains called *ghoshġhi* [cf. *QOSHMA*]. Among the Turkomans this word is used in the general sense of poem. The popular anonymous romances deal with the same subjects as those of Ādharbāidġān and Anatolia, like the *Fisher and his Companion* (*Saiyād ile Hemrāh*), 'Āshġk Gharib, *Kör Oghlu*, *Tāhir and Zuhra*, *Yūsuf and Ahmad*, motives which belong originally to the Oghuz. We may also note the close relation between the popular music of the Turkomans and Ādheri music. These links between the different Oghuz Turk groups may be explained partly as a continuation of their common ancient culture and partly as a result of mutual influences of later date. Thus there are obvious connections between the famous romance *Yūsuf and Ahmad* (which has also been adopted by the Özbegs) and the book of *Dede Korkut* which is a remnant of the ancient Oghuz epic. In addition the intercourse of the Turkomans with the centres of Turkish culture in Khurāsān, Khwārizm and Turkestan have caused the Turkish literature of Central Asia to influence Turkoman literature. Among the Turkomans the Oghuz-Ādheri poets like Nesimī and Fuzūli and the poems of the great Ćaghatāi poet 'Alī Shġr Newā'i are also studied and the memory of the last, as well as of his patron Sultān Ĥusain Baġara is still alive among the people. The influence of Aġmed Yesewī and of his pupils is visible in the work of the best known Turkoman poet, Makhdūm Qulī (cf. *Ilk Müteşavvirîşler*, p. 199).

We have as yet very little information about the early works of the Turkoman literature composed in the what is now Turkmenistan. Abu 'l-Ġhāzī in his *Shadġara-i tarākima* mentions a poetical work called *Mu'in al-Murid* which, according to him, had been popular among the Turkomans down to his own time. But this work, written in 1313, although containing some references to nomad life, in reality originates among the Turks of Khwārizm and has no connection with the Turkomans. Next comes the *methnewī*: *Ravnaġ al-Islām*, attributed by tradition to Shaikh Sharaf of Khwārizm, but Zekī Welidī has shown that the work was composed in 889 (1484) by a poet named Wafā'i. This book is still studied among the Turkomans; it is written in the 'arūġ metre but has no literary value. Perhaps this Wefā'i was one of the poets in the entourage of the Turkoman princes of Khurāsān of the time of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī. We know however that as late as the Timūrid period, poems in the Turkoman-Ćaghatāi style were recited in Khurāsān, and from the *Tedġkire* of Sām Mirzā [q. v.] and from the *Tedġkire* in Ćaghatāi of Šadiġi, called *Madġma' al-Khawāşş*, we know the poems of several Turkoman poets belonging to the xvth century (for the *Madġma' al-Khawāşş* see: W. Pertsch, *Die türk. HSS. zu Gotta*, N^o 169). These poems however were intended for town-dwellers and were not known among the nomads. A work which was known to the Turkomans is the *Shadġara-i tarākima* of Abu 'l-Ġhāzī (not mentioned in the article

ABU 'L-GHĀZĪ). This book was published in 1897 by Tumanski at 'Ashkābād (a sixth manuscript was recently discovered by Samoilovitch; cf. *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U. R. S. S.*, 1927, No. 2, p. 39—42). Although this work contains some borrowings from the historical books of the Oghuz, it also includes ancient popular traditions of the Turkomans. As the language of the known manuscripts has been much altered by copyists, it has not the value it might have had as a specimen of the old Turkoman dialect.

The literary traditions of the Turkomans of the present day and the other sources available only help us for the xviiith and xixth centuries. Samoilovitch, the best authority, has been able to collect the names of about 20 poets belonging to Turkoman tribes. Their poems celebrate the battles and rivalries between the different tribes and are read, without exception, by all the Turkomans. The tribe of the Göklen, probably because it adopted a settled life before the others, produced most poets in the xviiith and xixth centuries: in the first place the greatest poet Makhdūm Kūli, his father Dewlet Muḥammad Molla Āzādī, then his son-in-law and pupil Dhalīlī, and lastly Saiyidī, the poet of the Ersārī, who sought refuge among the Göklen. Dewlet Muḥammad Molla Āzādī in 1167 (1753) composed a *methnewī* entitled *Wa'z-i Āzādī* in the 'arūd metre, a moralising poem showing the influence of Čaghataī literature. The same poet also wrote poems in the style of the 'ashīks. Among the poets of the xviiith century may also be mentioned Ma'rūfī and Sheidāyī. Another poet, a product like Āzādī of the *medrese*, of the xixth century is 'Abd al-Sattār Kādī of the tribe of the Teke, whose *Diengnāme* was published by Samoilovitch in 1914. This *methnewī*, written in the metre ~---/ ~---/ ~---/, is a historical poem describing an episode of a struggle between the Sunnī Teke and the Shī'ī Persians. The work is not, however, a pure specimen of the popular language of the Turkomans.

Makhdūm Kūli received his education in the *medrese* of Shīr 'Alī Khān in Khwārizm but his real life has been much obscured by legends. His popularity has been so great that the works of many other poets have also been attributed to him, even although the *mukhallas* of these poets are given at the end of the poems. Among the Turkomans of Khīwa and even among the Ōzbegs, the expression "to read Makhdūm Kūli" means "to read didactic poems in Turkoman". We do not know which of the 279 poems attributed to him are really his. Among them we find pieces of a religious and didactic nature as well as warlike poems inspired by the struggle with the Persians. These poems are our most important source for our knowledge of the Turkoman conception of life. The *ghoshghi* of Dhalīlī and Saiyidī also reflect this popular wisdom and are written in the 'arūd metre and in the form of *mukhammas*, *musaddas* etc.

Since the Russian revolution of 1905, there have been signs of a revival among the Turkomans but it is only since 1917 that the movement has been a steady one. The centre of this renewed intellectual activity is 'Ashkābād. School-books, periodicals and newspapers are published in the Turkoman dialect and an in-

stitute for Turkoman culture has been founded. Ethnography, music and popular literature are being studied and the foundations laid for a marxist literature just as in the other lands belonging to the Union of Soviets. Although the products of this new literature are not yet of much literary value, several important works have been published, like the collected works of Saiyidī and Dhalīlī and the *Sāyād ile Hemrah Hikāyesi* (by scholars like Geldiyeff and Kulmehmedoff). These researches by learned Turkomans assisted by Russian orientalisks will probably in the near future throw much light on unknown periods of this literature.

Bibliography: The earliest account of Turkoman poets and of Makhdūm Kūli is found in A. Chodzko, *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia*, 1842. After him Berezin published several Turkoman poems in his *Chrestomathie*. H. Vámbéry in his *Travels*, London 1864 gives some information about Makhdūm Kūli; in 1879 the same author published in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiii. 31 fragments of his poems. This article, however, as well as that of Ostroumof, publ. in 1907, contains many errors. The most important researches have been those of Samoilovitch in the following articles: 1. *Turkmenskij poet-bosjak Kōr Mulla i jego pesnja o Russkikh* (*Khivaja Starina*, serija XVI, St. Petersburg 1907, p. 215—23); 2. *Pojezdka v Turkestan v 1906—1907 g.* (*Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkh. Obsč.*, xviii., p. xviii.—xix.); 3. *Po povodu izdaniya N. P. Ostroumova "Svetot Islama"* (*Zap.*, xviii. 158—166); 4. *Materialy po Srednoaziatsko-turetskoj literature* (*Zap.*, xix. 1—30); 5. *Ukazatel k pesnyam Makhtum-Kuli* (*Zap.*, xix.); 6. *Učebnik Turkmenskago narečiya* (*Zap.*, xviii.); 7. *K statye "Ukazatel k pesnyam Makhtum-Kuli"* (*Zap.*, xix., p. 125); 8. *Abdus-Sattar Gazy, Kniga razskazov o bitvakh tekintsev Turkmenskaya istoričeskaya poema XIX veka*, St. Petersburg 1924.

H. Vámbéry, *Yusuf und Ahmed*, Budapest 1911; this story has also been printed at Kazan in 1904; some sections have already been published by Vámbéry in *Čagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1867, p. 95—114. On the *Mu'in al-Murid* cf.: Zekī Walidī, *Khwārizmde yazılmiş eski türkçe Etherler*, in *Türkiyât Medimū'ası*, ii. 315—45. The various manuscripts of the *Rawnaq al-Islām* have been described by Samoilovitch (a new manuscript of the xixth century is in my private library); the work was printed for the first time at Kazan in 1850; in 1905 it was again published at Tashkent by Ostroumof. The *Diwān* of Makhdūm Kūli publ. at Constantinople in 1340 by Sheikh Muḥsin Fāni contains more mistakes than Vámbéry's edition. For a critical bibliography of the publication relating to Makhdūm Kūli see: Zekī Walidī, *Türkiyât Medimū'ası*, ii. 465—474; Kul-Mehmedof, *Seydi ghoshghilari*, 'Ashkābād 1926; do., *Dhalīlī ghoshghilari*, 'Ashkābād 1926; do., *Sāyād ile Hemrah*, 'Ashkābād 1927. The last and most complete publication on Turkoman literature is the article by Samoilovitch, *Olerki po istorii turkmenskoy literatury*, in the periodical *Turkmeniya*, vol. i., 1929, publ. by the Academy of Sciences of the Union of Soviets.

(KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FU'AD)

TURKS.

A. (GENERAL)

- I. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY (W. BARTHOLD)
 II. LANGUAGES (A. SAMOILOVITCH)
 III. ÇAGHATAI LITERATURE (W. BARTHOLD)

B. (THE OTTOMAN TURKS)

- I. LANGUAGE (J. H. KRAMERS)
 II. DIALECTS (T. KOWALSKI)
 III. LITERATURE (KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FU'AD)
 IV. HISTORY (J. H. KRAMERS)

A. — I. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

The word Turk (Chin. Tu-küe, Greek *Τούρκοι*) first appears as the name of a nomad people in the sixth century A. D. In this century a powerful nomad empire was founded by the Turks, which stretched from Mongolia and the northern frontier of China to the Black Sea. The founder of the empire, called Tu-men by the Chinese (in the Turkish inscriptions: Bu-mfn) died in 552; his brother İstāmi (Chin. She-tie-mi, Greek *Διζάβουλος*, *Διλιζιβουλος* and *Σιλιζιβουλος*; in al-Ṭabarī, i. 895 and 896: Sindjibū Khākān) by whom the conquests in the west were made, seems to have lived till 576. The two brothers seem to have been quite independent of each other. The Turkish empires in question were distinguished by the Chinese as the empires of the Northern Turks and of the Western Turks. In 581 under the influence of the Chinese dynasty of Sui, which had now risen to power, a final breach was made between the two kingdoms. In the next century both had to submit to the nominal suzerainty of the T'ang dynasty (618—907), the Northern Turks about 630, the Western in 659. In 682, after 50 years of foreign rule, the Northern Turks succeeded in regaining their independence and former power. To this new empire, which lasted till 744, belong the "Orkhon inscriptions" (called after the river Orkhon in Mongolia), the oldest monument of the Turkish language. From time to time, especially in 699 and 711, these rulers succeeded in bringing the Western Turks under their rule but could not subdue them permanently. Of the Western Turkish tribes the Türgesh were the most distinguished, whose chiefs in the last years of the viiith century assumed the powers of Khāns. The kingdom of the Türgesh was ended by the Arabs under Naṣr b. Saiyār in 121 (739) (Ṭabarī, ii. 1593 sqq., 1613, 1689 sqq.).

Various views have been expressed regarding the relations of these, the oldest Turks, to their predecessors, the nomad peoples in the east and west. The attempt has been made to prove that in earlier centuries also there were Turkish languages, of course under other names, and to explain from the Turkish isolated words that have survived from the pre-Christian period. In the west it has been often assumed that the ancient nomad people par excellence, the Scythians, or at least a section of them, were related to the Turks. In Curtius vii. 7, 1, in the history of Alexander the Great, Carthasis, a brother of the king of the Scythians who dwelt beyond the Yaxartes [cf. *ſſr-DARYĀ*], is mentioned. Th. Nöldede pointed out to A. Gutschmid that this might be the Turkish *Kar-*

dash "his brother" so that we have here "perhaps the first reference in history to a Turkish people" (A. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden*, Tübingen 1888, p. 2, note 1). Nöldeke himself, as he observes in his preface to Gutschmid's work, "no longer wished seriously to support this suggestion casually thrown out by him".

To an even earlier period belong the references in Herodotos, iv. 23 to the people of the Agripaeans or Argimpaeans and to the sap of a tree called *ῥοχϋ* which was drunk mixed with milk. The word *ῥοχϋ* (according to Müllenhof, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, iii. 15: Turk. *adı* or *acı* "bitter"; Tomaschek, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxvii. 60 equates it with a hypothetical *argh* in the meaning of "food"; cf. also F. Braun, *Raziskaniya v oblasti gotoslavianskikh otnosheniy*, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 88) has been sometimes held to be the oldest Turkish word that has come down to us. The Turks are described by the Chinese as descendants of the Hiung-nu (Huns). In the *Tsien-han-shu* in the account of a treaty concluded in 47 B. C. between the Emperor of China and the ruler of the Huns, a Hun word (in Chinese transcription *king-lu*, old sound *king-luk*) is mentioned as meaning "ceremonial sword of the Huns". This word is connected by Fr. Hirth (*Bulletin de l'Acad. etc.*, 1900 p. 222) with the Telet *kingirak* "a two-edged knife" (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 709) and the eastern Turkestan *kingrak* "a broad knife" (R. Shaw, *A Sketch of the Turk Language*, ii. 163). In still older Chinese sources, the same Hun word is mentioned in the account of an event of the year 1022 B. C., which makes Hirth consider it "the oldest Turkish word on record" (*The Ancient History of China*, New York 1911, p. 67). K. Shiratori (*Bulletin de l'Acad. etc.*, 1902, xvii., N^o. 2, p. 1 sqq.) has made an attempt to explain a large number of Hun words preserved in Chinese sources from the Turkish; but at a later date the same scholar (*J. A.*, ccii., 1923, p. 71 sq.) attempted to show that the language of the Huns was a Mongol language with an admixture of Tunguz elements.

As eastern neighbours of the Huns the Sien-pi are mentioned in Chinese sources, by whom the Huns were driven out of Mongolia towards the end of the first century A. D.; at a later date several dynasties were founded by the Huns and also by the Sien-pi in China; among the Sien-pi dynasties, that of the Northern Wei (386—534) was of special note. The Sien-pi are usually regarded as a Tunguz people (e.g. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 155, note 5); but, as P. Pelliot announced at a lecture given in St. Petersburg in autumn 1925, a Sien-pi glossary has survived in Chinese, from which it is evident that the Sien-pi were a Turkish-speaking people. So far as I know, nothing has so far appeared in print about this glossary; and so long as a source like this is not accessible to us, the question of the origin of the peoples concerned cannot of course be decided. If it should be definitely proved that the Huns were Mongols, and the Sien-pi Turks, it would follow that in these days, unlike later times, the Turks lived to the east of the Mongols. How the name of the people, which survives only in Chinese transcription, was really pronounced,

we do not know. E. Blochet (*G.M.S.*, xii. 201) connects Sien-pi with Sibir. In Byzantine and Armenian sources we find a people called Sabirs mentioned for the first time in 463 and the last in 558 (cf. J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, index), but of migrations of the Sien-pi to the west nothing is known.

N. Poppe has recently dealt with the question of the origin and early history of the Turks from another standpoint, the linguistic. An Altaic primitive language (*Ursprache*) is presupposed, to which the primitive Turkish, the primitive Mongol and the primitive Tunguz go back. The primitive Turkish was on the same level of development as the language of the Orkhon inscriptions; "the phonetic system of the Orkhon Turkish is completely in keeping with our ideas of the primitive Turkish phonetic system" (*Ungarische Jahrbücher*, vi. 98).

The writer of course does not assert that all modern Turkish languages are descended from the language of the Orkhon inscriptions; this would be impossible, if only because the inscriptions themselves mention several tribes of Turks; it was only an "archaic dialect". "The period of primitive Turkish" must be placed "at the latest in the centuries just before the Christian era" (*op. cit.*). In general the Turkish languages are on a higher level than the Mongol ones; even "the modern Mongol of any district one likes to choose" in the Mongol world "is much more archaic than the oldest Turkish languages known to us". "The Mongol of literature, not however the living dialects", is phonetically "almost at the same stage of development as the Altaic primitive language" (*op. cit.*, p. 117).

Special attention is devoted by the author (*op. cit.*; cf. also *Bulletin de l'Acad.* etc., 1924, p. 289 sqq.; *Asia Major*, i. 775 sqq.; *Kövösi Czoma-Archiv*, ii. 65 sqq.; *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, vii. 151 sqq.) to the relation of the "Čuwassisch" (his form) to the other Turkish languages. Čuwass does not go back to the primitive Turkish language but the latter and the oldest form of Čuwass both go back to a "Čuwass-Turkish primitive language" and these with the primitive Mongol go back to an "Altaic primitive language". The division in the Čuwass-Turkish original language is with caution brought into connection with the migrations of Hun tribes to the west. The Čuwass are descendants of the Western Huns; the Čuwass-Turkish primitive language was then the language of the Huns. The change characteristic of the Turkish language (unlike the Čuwass) of $r > z$ and $l > sh$ did not take place as Ramstedt thought (*J. S. F. Ou.*, xxxviii./1, 31) between the fourth and sixth century, but much earlier, perhaps about the beginning of the Christian era.

V. Thomsen (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 122) supposes the word "Turk" means "strength, power" (cf. also F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii. 97: *ärk türk*, "might and power"); it is said to have been "at first probably the name of a single tribe or more probably rather of a ruling family". In the inscriptions, the word *türk* seems to have a political rather than an ethnographical significance; the expression "my Turks, my people" (in Thomsen, i., E. 18; ii., E. 16; ii., S. 10) points in this direction. Alongside of the Turks, the Oghuz or Tokuz ("nine"; from the number of their separate tribes or families) Oghuz are frequently mentioned, sometimes as

enemies of the Turks and their rulers, sometimes as the Khān's own people, esp. i., N. 4; ii., E. 30, where the Khān calls the Tokuz Oghuz his "own people" and regards their rising against his rule as the dissolution of all order in heaven and earth. The Khān and his followers had probably belonged originally to the people of the Oghuz; the Oghuz hostile to the Khān dwelt to the north of his residence, which was near the mountains of Ötüken (on this word see now also B. Vladimircov, in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad.* etc., 1929, p. 133 sq.), according to Thomsen (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 123) "probably a part of the present range of Hangai near the river-system of the Orkhon in northern Mongolia". The people of the Uighur are also mentioned in northern Mongolia, on the Selenga river, although only in one passage (ii., E. 37). The Oghuz enemies of the Turks had about 680 a Kağan of their own, a vassal of the Chinese emperor; in the eighth century he is no longer mentioned. The leader of the Uighur bore the more modest title of an *eltäbir* (e. g. ii., E. 38); in the inscriptions the expressions *kağanlıgh budun* "people under a Kağan" (e. g. i., E. 9; ii., E. 9) and *eltäbirligh budun* "people under an eltäbir" (e. g. ii., E. 38) are contrasted. In addition to the Turkish Kağan in the east (according to the Chinese view in the north), there was also a Turkish Kağan, the Kağan of the Türgish (or Türgesh) in the west. From Arabic (Tabarī, ii. 1593, where the town of Nawāket is mentioned; on its situation: *B. G.A.*, vi., text, p. 29 and 206) and Chinese sources we know that his royal residence was on the river Ču [q. v.]. His people is called *on oq* "ten arrows" town the number of their tribes. There was a third Turkish Kağan, the Kağan of the Kirgiz [q. v.] on the Yenisei; the Khān of the inscriptions claims to have himself given the ruler of the Kirgiz the title of a Kağan (i., E. 20; ii., E. 17). The opinion that to become a Khān (Kağan) the title had to be received from another Khān is also found in Muslim sources ('Awfī in Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skago nashestviya*, i. 96).

"East of the western Turks and into their territory between the Altai and the upper course of the Irtysh" (so Thomsen, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii., 172) lived the Karluq, a people of undoubted Turkish origin. In 766 the lands of the Western Turks passed into their possession; their ruler at that time, like the ruler of the Oghuz on the Syr-Darya, bore the Turkish (originally Tokhari: cf. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 204; W. Bang, in *Ung. Jahrb.*, vi. 102, note 3) title of *yabghu*, which is mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions as the title of a prince. The only Turkish people at that time already leading a settled life (at least in the east) was the Basmīl in Bishbalıq [q. v.]; their ruler had the title of *ıduq-kut* "holy majesty" (ii., E. 25). The prince of the Uighur in the same region had the same title in the xiiith century, when its origin had already been forgotten (hence the attempts to explain it in Rashīd al-Dīn and Abu 'l-Ḥāzī; cf. the passages given in Radloff, *Kudatku Bilik*, part i., p. xxvii. and xxxix.). A. Grünwedel seems to have heard the pronunciation *ıdikut* in this very region; hence the name of the ruins of İdikutshari at Turfan (A. Grünwedel, *Berichte über archäologische Arbeiten in İdikutshari und Umgebung*, Munich 1905). Thomsen (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 171) describes the Basmīl as only "a tribe related to the Turks". That they were not a pure Turkish

people seems to be clear from the name. Aristow (*Zamietki ob etničeskom sostavie tyurkskikh plemen*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 91 sq.) has pointed out that according to Ducange (*Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*) the children of a French father and a Greek mother were called Basmoule or Gasmoule in Byzantium. Even in the xth century, in Maḥmūd Kāshghari (i. 30), the Basmīl are mentioned among the peoples, who have a (non-Turkish), language of their own although they also know Turkish.

The other peoples mentioned in the inscriptions were probably not Turks, notably the Tatars, although Turkish numerals like *otuz* (30) and *toquz* (9) are prefixed to their names. As Thomsen (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxviii. 174) rightly points out, they were "undoubtedly the Mongols".

From the Oghuz ("Turks") rule over Mongolia passed about 745 to the Uighurs, whose ruler henceforth assumed the title of Ḳaḡhan. His dynasty ruled till 840. Of this period also we possess inscriptions, including one published by Ramstedt (*J. S. F. Ou.*, xxx. 3), of the Ḳaḡhan who reigned from 746 to 759. The view, also shared by Thomsen (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxviii. 128 sq.), that the Uighur belonged to the confederation of the Oghuz and that there is only a slight difference of dialect between the forms Oghuz and Uighur is not confirmed by this inscription; the Uighur appear as a separate confederation, distinct from the Oghuz; the Ḳaḡhan calls himself ruler over the On (10) Uighur and Toquz Oghuz, although according to Chinese sources, the Uighur also numbered nine tribes. Some of the Oghuz appear to have remained, in Mongolia under the rule of the Uighur, and others to have migrated west and south. Among the latter was the tribe of *Čöl* (in Chinese transcription Ču-yue, in Chinese translation *Sha-t'ō* = "sand-desert") which belonged originally to the Western Turks. In the viith century, the *Sha-t'ō* lived on Lake Barkul (properly Barskul) where they were exposed to the attacks of the Tibetans, and at a later date (since 712) somewhat further west at Bishballıḳ. After 808 they were driven from there also by the Tibetans and had to go over on to Chinese territory. In the history of China, they are best known in connection with the suppression of the rebellion of Huang-Čao (877-883); in Muslim history this is ascribed to the people of Toghuzghuz [q. v.]. In the tenth century, three shortlived dynasties were founded in the province of Ho-nan by the *Sha-t'ō* Turks (the Later T'ang 923-936, the Later Tsin 936-947 and the Later-Han 947-951).

In the Chinese inscription of Ḳarabalgasun, composed by the Uighur Ḳaḡhan who died in 821, the adoption of Manichaeism by the Uighur is recorded. The Uighur had become acquainted with Manichaeism in a campaign against China in 762 in the town of Lo-Yang (near Ho-nan), and four Manichaean missionaries were taken from there back to their land (Mongolia). "The land with barbaric customs and the smell of blood" was to be "changed into a land where men lived on vegetables, the land where men slew one another, to a land where they exhorted to the good" (*J. A.*, xi. 1, 194). Buddhism and Syrian (especially Nestorian) Christianity at this time developed a zealous missionary activity in China and among the Turks. The expeditions to Chinese Turkestan have found many Turkish fragments which testify to this activity; but the inscription of Ḳarabalgasun

seems to be the only record that has survived about the conversion of a Turkish ruler to one of these religions. The Soghdiāns [cf. SOGHDI] in particular seem to have spread Manichaeism in China and among the Turks; besides the Chinese inscription, there is a short one formerly thought to be Uighur, now recognised as Soghdiān by F. W. K. Müller (*Ein iranisches Sprachdenkmal aus der nördlichen Mongolei*, in *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1909). According to R. Gauthiot (*Essai de Grammaire sogdienne, Première partie, Phonétique*, Paris 1914-1923, xiii.), the language of this inscription is "somme toute, la tradition la plus vieille et la plus constante du sogdien". From the Soghdiān script developed the Uighur which later, probably in the same ixth century, was to drive out of use completely the oldest Turkish alphabet, that of the Orkhon inscriptions. The Uighur alphabet was adopted by the Mongols in the xiiith century; in the period of the Mongol empire, the Uighur alphabet was used in all countries from Mongolia to South Russia and Persia.

About 840 the Kirgiz put an end to the Uighur empire. Two new kingdoms were founded about the middle of the ninth century by the Uighurs driven out of Mongolia, one in Kan-čou [see KANSU, better Kan-djou], the other in Bishballıḳ and Ḳarā-Ḳhodja. Manichaeans are mentioned in both in the tenth century as well as in Ḳhotan (*J. A.*, xi. 1, 265 sqq.).

The ruler of Bishballıḳ and Ḳarā-Ḳhodja undertook the defence of his co-religionists against the Chinese Emperor (Maṣ'ūdi, *Murūdī*, i. 300 sq.) and the ruler of the Sāmānids (*Fihrist*, p. 337). In Bishballıḳ and Ḳarā-Ḳhodja, Manichaeism had probably already spread under the predecessors of the Uighur, the Toquz-Oghuz. Tamīm b. Bakr al-Muṭawwa'i, who is quoted by Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam*, i. 840, supra) and was certainly utilized by Ibn Ḳhurdadhbih also (*B. G. A.*, vi., text, p. 30 sq.), seems to have visited not the Uighur but the Toghuzghuz proper (Toquz-Oghuz).

At that time Manichaeans predominated, especially in the Ḳhāḳān's (*Ḳaḡhan*) capital; in the country west of the capital there were Manichaeans also but the Zoroastrians were more numerous there. Whether, as Chavannes and Pelliot (*J. A.*, xi. 1, 269) suppose, the turkicisation of what is now Chinese Turkestan was for the most part ("en grande partie") first carried through by the Uighur, is doubtful. This process may already have made considerable progress under the predecessors of the Uighur. Kāshghar and all the lands east of it are from the very beginning regarded by the Arabs as purely Turkish areas.

Of the two Uighur kingdoms, one (in Kan-čou) was conquered by the Tanguts in 1028 and the second was still in existence in the Mongol period. In the year 924 the proposal was made to the Uighur in Kan-čou by the founder of the kingdom of the Kitai [cf. ḲARA-KHITAI] Apaoki, who had shortly before driven the Kirgiz out of Mongolia, that they should return to their original homes on the Orkhon, but the Uighur had already settled down to the conditions of their new home and did not wish to become nomads again (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, i. 214; J. Marquart, *Ġuwainī's Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uighuren*, *S. B. Pr. Ak.*, 1912).

The victory of the Kitai over the Kirgiz really marks the end of Turkish and the beginning of

Mongol rule in Mongolia. The Kirgiz were the last Turkish people to live in Mongolia and the only one whose memory has survived there to the present day. All the pre-Mongol tombs in Mongolia, including the Uighur, are called "Kirgiz tombs" (*khirgiz ür*). The hills of Ötügen mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions as Turkish country *ur' ēxōghū* were according to Maḥmūd Kāshghari (*Diwān Luḡāt al-Turk*, i. 123) in the Tatar steppes.

Most references to the Turkish peoples are from this time found in Muslim sources. For the older period also the information in the Turkish inscriptions and in the Chinese annals is often supplemented by the western sources. From Byzantine sources we learn that Turks in 576 conquered the Tauric Bosphorus, in 581 they were before the walls of Chersonesus, but their rule over the Tauric Peninsula was not of long duration; by about 590 Byzantine rule had been restored there (A. Vasil'yev, in *Izv. Akad. Mater. Kul'turi*, v. 185 sq.).

There are also Byzantine sources from 568 (Byzantine embassy under Zemarchos to the Turks) to 598 (letters of the Turkish Kaḡhan to the Emperor Maurice; cf. the latest study of these sources in E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Touk-tsi [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 233 sqq.).

Of the Byzantine envoys only the first, Zemarchos, crossed the Volga and visited the residence of the Kaḡhan of the Western Turks which, as Chavannes has shown, at this time was in the Aḡ Tagh ("White Mountains") north of the town of Kuča. There were often negotiations for joint campaigns against the Sāsānids, but no lasting alliance was made; in a few years the Turks were at war with the Byzantines as well as with the Persians. After the conquest of the Alans [cf. ALLĀN] by the Turks the kingdom of the Sāsānids became bounded by the land of the Turks not only in Central Asia but also west of the Caspian Sea. It was probably against these Turks that the walls of Derbend [q. v.] were built. The tradition of the Turkish nomad empire was continued by the Khazars, who became a great power in the seventh century [see BULGHĀR and KHAZAR], just as at a later date the Golden Horde carried on the traditions of Čingiz-Khān's [q. v.] empire. The language of the conquerors of the sixth century has left no more traces in Eastern Europe than the Mongol has in the lands of the Golden Horde. The language of the Bulghār and Khazar belonged to the above mentioned older stratum of Turkish now represented only by the Čuwass and the Turkish elements in Magyar; Turkish proper was brought to Europe only towards the end of the ninth century A. D. by the Pečenegs.

In the lands east of the Caspian Sea also, defences were erected by the Sāsānids against their Turkish neighbours. A wall of brick was built to defend the province of Djurdjān [q. v.] but it was not able to prevent the victorious invasion of the Turks (Balādhuri, p. 336; *B. G. A.*, vi., text, p. 261 sq.); the remains of this wall on the right bank of the river Gürgen are called Kizil-Alan at the present day (description e. g. by I. Poslawskiy, in *Protokol Turk Kruška Lyub. Arkh.*, v. 185). The loss of the province of Djurdjān probably explains the erection of another wall of baked bricks on the frontier between Djurdjān and Tabaristān [q. v.] attributed to Khusrav Anūshirwān (*B. G. A.*, vii. 150). During the fighting between the Arabs and

Turks in the year 98 (716—717), the Turks of Djurdjān were led by Šul, the Dihkān of Dihistān (Tabari, ii. 1320). Šul here is certainly a Turkish proper name or title, probably for Turkish *Cur*. In the history of the fighting against the Turks in the Sāsānid period, the word *Šul* appears in one passage in Tabari as the name of a people, and on this J. Marquart (*Erānsahr*, p. 51 and 73) bases his views on the people or tribe *Čöl* [see also above under DJURDJĀN]. But this statement probably does not refer to the Gürgen region, as the Šul are mentioned along with the Alans (Tabari, i. 895). According to a late source (*Kitāb al-Aghāni*, ix. 21), the Turks on the Gürgen had adopted the language and religion of the Persians; they must therefore have already conquered this region under the Sāsānids, probably as early as the sixth century, although in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, the same persons (Šul and his brother Firūz) are mentioned as Turkish conquerors of the land and as fighting against the Arabs.

The fighting in the lands south of the Āmū-Daryā [q. v.] generally went in favour of the Turks; as Marquart (*Erānsahr*, p. 53 and elsewhere) and following him Chavannes (*Documents* etc., p. 252) have shown, the northeastern boundary of the Sāsānid empire at this time was the Murghāb. The Turks and with them their protégés, the last Sāsānids, were less successful later in the same area, during their struggle with the Arabs. In the accounts of this fighting only the "Turks" are mentioned, not separate Turkish peoples; an exception is the mention of the *Djabghū* of the Qarluḡ (the name of this people is written *Kharluḡ* in Arabic and *Khalluḡ* in Persian) in the year 119 = 737 (cf. Tabari, ii. 1612 *infra*); more frequently the same prince is called "Djabghū of Tukhāristān" [q. v.]. A portion of the Qarluḡ had therefore by this date reached the lands south of the Āmū-Daryā, where they have survived to the present day (now regarded as an isolated family of the Özbegs). There were also Arab embassies sent on peaceful missions to the Turks: e. g. the caliph Hishām (105—125 = 724—743) is said to have asked the "king of the Turks" to adopt Islām. Unfortunately in the only record we have of this mission (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 839; the source of Yāqūt is Ibn al-Faḡih; cf. *Bulletin de l'Acad.* etc., 1924, p. 241) we are not told where this king's capital was.

We get more detailed accounts of the separate Turkish peoples and their habits only from the Arab geographers of the third (ninth) and especially the fourth (tenth) century. In this geographical literature the word "Turk" is used only as the name of a group of peoples and branch of languages, not as in the Orkhon inscriptions and the Chinese Annals of a single people or kingdom. Five peoples in particular are mentioned (*B. G. A.*, i. 9) who spoke one language and could understand one another: the Toghuzghuz [q. v.], the Khirthiz (Kirgiz, q. v.), the Kimāk [cf. KIMĀK], the Ghuzz [q. v.], i. e. the Oghuz, and the Kharluḡ, i. e. the Qarluḡ [q. v.]. As at the present day, the lands on the Upper Yenisei were even then the extreme limits in the northeast of the land inhabited by Turks; they also marked the limits of the world as known to the Arabs; according to the Arab view, the lands of the Kirgiz, then the extreme northeasterly of Turkish peoples, stretched to the Ocean. The Oghuz and Qarluḡ were the immediate neighbours

of the Muslim lands in Central Asia. The land of the Oghuz adjoined the Muslim lands of Djurdjān in the west as far as Fārāb [q. v.] and Asbidjāb (the modern Sairām near Čimkent [q. v.]); in the east, still farther to the east, lived the Ƙarluġ. To go to China one had to travel through the lands of the Ƙarluġ and the Toghuzghuz: over 30 days from the eastern frontier of Farghāna [q. v.] through the land of the Ƙarluġ to the frontier of the land of the Toghuzghuz, thence about two months through the land of the Toghuzghuz and through China to the shore of the Ocean (*B.G.A.*, ii. 11; other descriptions vary). Two other names of peoples are mentioned by Ibn Ƙurdādhbih (*B.G.A.*, vi., p. 28 sq.); not far from the winter quarters of the Ƙarluġ east of Ʀarāz (at the modern Awliyā-Attā, q. v.) were the winter quarters of the Ƙhalādġ (q. v., where only the southern branch of this people are dealt with; for the Ƙhalādġ who migrated to Persia, see SĀWA); between the rivers Talas and Čū, nearer to the latter, was the town of the "Ƙhākān of the Türgesh". Further notices are given in the Persian sources in the *Hudūd al-Ālam* and in Gardīzī [q. v.]. The Türgesh according to these were divided into the Tukhsi (so vocalised in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī) and the Az; the Tukhsi lived on the Čū [q. v.]; the town of Sūyāb was in their territory. East of them on the Issk-Kul [q. v.] lived the Čigil (the pronunciation is established by a story giving a popular etymology in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, i. 330). South of the river Narīn [see SĪR-DARYĀ] lived the Yaghmā, a branch of the Toghuzghuz; their king was a descendant of the royal family of this people. The town of Kāshghar was in their territory. According to Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (i. 85), the Yaghmā and the Tukhsi lived on the river Ili [q. v.], as did a part of the Čigil. The term Tukhsi-Čigil (i. 354) is also found. The Čigil were divided into three parts: in addition to the Čigil on the Ili there were Čigil in villages near Kāshghar and in a little town or stronghold called Čigil near Ʀarāz; this latter was near the land of the Oghuz and was frequently besieged by them. The Oghuz therefore called all the Turks from the Āmū-Daryā to China Čigil. In this sense the word Čigil is sometimes used by Kāshgharī himself; it is recorded that the word *Yarlīgh* "edict", which implies a certain degree of culture, was unknown in the language of the Čigil and of the Oghuz (iii. 31). The Yaghmā were also called Ƙarā Yaghmā ("black Y."); there was also a village of this name near Ʀarāz (iii. 25 sq.). The name Turkoman first occurs in the geographical literature in Muḥaddasī in two passages (*B.G.A.*, iii. 274 sq.) with a not quite certain significance.

On the SĪr-Daryā below Sawrān, that is in the land of the Oghuz, are mentioned the towns of Balādġ and Barūkat "frontier forts against the Turkomans", who had by that time already adopted Islām "out of fear". In another passage, in this region between the Talas and the Čū, i. e. in the land of the Ƙarluġ, is mentioned a king of the Turkomans, from whom the lord of Asbidjāb regularly received gifts. Kāshgharī also says that not only the Oghuz (i. 27 and 56; iii. 304) but also the Ƙarluġ (i. 393) were called Turkomans; the well known popular etymology in Rashīd al-Dīn (*Trud? Vost. Old. Arkh. Obshĉ.*, vii. 26, *infra*: *Türk mænend* "resembling the Turks") is found as early as Kāshgharī (iii. 307). As F.

Hirth (*S. B. Bayr. Akad.*, 1899, ii. 263 sqq.) has told us, the word Turkoman, in Chinese transcription Tō-kü-mōng, appears much earlier, in the eighth century A.D., in the T'ung-tien Encyclopaedia; there also it refers to the west, to the land of the Alans. It is possible that the Oghuz or Turkomans (as early as the eleventh century we find the names used promiscuously) are descended from nomad Iranians who had become turkicised and this explains their peculiar craniology (dolichocephalic).

Whether non-Turkish, perhaps Mongol, peoples wandered westwards with the Turks has still to be investigated. As one of the seven tribes of the Kimāk are mentioned the Tatars (Gardīzī in Barthold, *Ottet* etc., p. 82), also called a tribe of the Toghuzghuz (*op. cit.*, p. 34). A full account of the Turkish peoples, their lands, their language and dialects including also the not purely Turkish elements, is first given by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, but he does not seem to be always reliable, even apart from the fact that the name Turk, as frequently elsewhere in Muslim literature, is sometimes given to non-Turkish peoples of Eastern Asia.

According to one passage (i. 27 sq.) there were twenty Turkish peoples, who fell into two groups, a northern and a southern one, each of ten, as follows, from east to west as the author tells us. The ten peoples of the northern group were the Bedjenek, Ƙifdġāk, Oghuz, Yamāk, Bashghrut, Basmīl, Ƙāy, Yabākū, Tatār, Ƙırķız; the ten peoples of the southern group were the Dġikil, Tukhsi, Yaghmā, Ighrāk, Djaruk, Dġumul, Uighur, Tankut, Ƙhitāi, Tafghāč. This order for the northern group obviously cannot be the right one. As in Ištakhri (see above) the Ƙırķız (the Kirgiz on the Yenisei) are moved to the extreme northeast, although according to another passage (i. 123), the Tatārs lived in Utūkan (Ötüken on the Orkhon), i. e. much farther east. The Yamāk (Yemek, originally a tribe of the Kimāk [q. v.], not mentioned by Kāshgharī) lived on the Irīsh (i. 273). The Bashghrut (the Bashkirs, see BASPIKIR) obviously could never have lived so far to the east (to what was already known of them, it may be added that Ibn Faḍlān [q. v.] in 922 [309—310] met the first Bashkirs to the south of the Emba, much farther south than any other mention of them; see *Bull. de l'Acad.* etc., 1924, p. 246). Of the northern peoples the Ƙāy, Yabākū, Tatār and Basmīl had their own languages, although they could also speak good Turkish (on the Ƙāy cf. J. Marquart, in *Osttürk. Dialektstudien*, p. 53, where there is an erroneous association with the name of the Oghuz family Ƙāyī, in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī: Ƙayigh; cf. thereon Köprülü Zāde, in *Türkîyat Madîmûsası*, i. 187 sqq.). The Yabākū lived on the great river Yamār (iii. 21), on the situation of which the author does not seem to have had any very clear idea; it was probably the Ob (still called by the Tatars Omar or Umor). The Yamār was crossed in the vth (xth) century (the author had spoken with participants in the campaign) by a Muslim army under Arslān Tegin in the war against the Yabākū under Bukā Budradġ and their allies the Basmīl (on the war see especially iii. 173 sq.; on various episodes other passages; on the crossing ii. 5; cf. C. Brockelmann, in *Hirth Anniversary Volume*, p. 11 sq.).

Of the ten peoples Dġikil, Tukhsi, Yaghmā, Ighrāk, Djaruk, Dġumul (in other passages like i. 382: Dġumal), Uighnr, Tankut, Ƙhitāi, i. e. Šin,

Tawghādj, i. e. Māsin) of the southern group the Djumul were one of the non-Turkish speaking peoples, who nevertheless knew Turkish quite well. We are told even of the Uighurs that they had another language, in addition to their "pure Turkish", in which they communicated with one another. The Tankut (Tangut), like the inhabitants of Khotan and Tubut (Tibet), were people with a foreign language, who had settled in the land of the Turks. Khotan had its own language and alphabet; they did not speak good Turkish there. In Šin and Māšin the inhabitants had a language of their own but the people in the towns could also speak Turkish well. Their letters to the Turks were written in the Turkish alphabet. A wide meaning is given to the word Šin in one passage (i. 378); there were three Šins, the upper or Tawghādj (Māšin), the central or Khitai (Šin), and the lower or Barkhān; this was also the name of a fortress on a high hill near Kāshghar; there were rich gold-mines there.

Of these peoples the Djaruḡ (probably to be pronounced Čaruḡ) lived in the town of Bardjuḡ (Barčuk), the modern Maral-başı (i. 318; on the site of Barčuk cf. especially Valikhanow, *Sočineniya*, p. 85 sq.). This enables us to define roughly the habitation of the not originally Turkish Djumul (east of Barčuk and west of the Uighur). During the fighting on the Yamār, the Djumul were the allies of the Yabākū and had therefore presumably not yet adopted Islām. In the land of the Uighur there were five towns, among them Bishbalīk and Kūdju, i. e. Ҷооо or Kārā-Khodja near Turfan. The Uighur were Buddhists and worshippers of *Burkhān* (idols). The only evidence that there was also Christianity among the Turks is the translation of the word *badjāk* (*bačak*) known also from Manichaean texts (e.g. *Chuastuanift*, App. to *Abh. Preuss. Ak.*, 1910, p. 39) by "Christian fast" (i. 345).

In other passages Mahmūd Kāshghari mentions other Turkish tribes, who are not included in the list of the twenty Turkish peoples; e. g. the Adhkish (i. 89), known from the geographical literature also (e. g. *B. G. A.*, vi. 31) and the Kudjat (i. 298) settled in Khwārizm and known also to Baihaḡi (ed. Morley, p. 91). Of the peoples of Eastern Europe, in addition to those already mentioned, the Bulghār and Suwār are called Turks; the Khazar are not mentioned; they had probably ceased by then to have a separate political existence. In contrast to Ištakhri (*B. G. A.*, i. 222 and 225) who says the Khazar and Bulghār had a common language distinct from Turkish, Kāshghari includes the dialects of the Bulghārs, Suwārs and Pečenegs in one group.

The dialects of the Kirgiz, Kipčak, Oghuz, Tukhsī, Yaghmā, Čigil, Ighrāk and Čaruḡ were pure Turkish. The dialects of the Yemek and Bashkirs were closely allied to this language. The language of the nomads from the Itil to the Yamār were generally purer than the language of the (originally probably not Turkish) settled peoples, such as the Arghū from Sairām to Balāsāghūn (in the towns there Soghdian had survived alongside of Turkish) and the Kendjāk (Kendjek) in the villages near Kāshghar. Various phonetic peculiarities of the different dialects are discussed, including several which are still of significance in Turkish, like the interchange of *y* and *dy*, *k* and *kh* etc. In the vocabulary Oghuz (Turkoman) had already the form still characteristic of the south Turkish

dialects. Turkoman was already so different from the other Turkish languages in vocabulary that Turkoman and Turk were contrasted like Oghuz and Čigil (i. 3; ii. 253 *infra*).

Although in the first centuries of the Hidjra campaigns were undertaken into Turkish territory, in addition to the defensive fighting against Turkish raiders, the successes of the Muslim arms had little influence on the conversion of the Turks. The principle laid down by the Prophet for the Abyssinians was applied to the Turks: "Leave them in peace so long as they leave you in peace" (see Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 270; ii. 127; in the first passage translated: "Leave the Turks alone as they have left thee"; in another sense and in somewhat different form the ḡadīth is quoted in *B. G. A.*, v. 316; vi. 262; Yākūt, *Muḡjam*, i. 838 *infra*). Islām was adopted by the Turks in the ivth (xth) century of their own free will. In 291 (904) the last great inroad of heathen Turks into the frontier lands of Islām, the Sāmānid kingdom, was driven back (Ṭabarī, iii. 2249); in 382 (992) Muslim Turks entered Bukhārā victoriously for the first time. Of even greater importance was the conquest of Asia Minor by the Muslim Saldjuḡs in the fifth (eleventh) century. Other sayings about the Turks are now ascribed to the Prophet. He is said to have remarked: "Learn the language of the Turks, for they are destined to long rule" (Kāshghari, i. 3). Allāh said to the Prophet: "I have a host which I have called 'Turk' and settled in the east; if any people shall arouse my wrath, I shall give them into the power of this host" (*op. cit.*, p. 294). On the story of the adoption of Islām by a numerous (200,000 tents) Turkish people see KĀSHGHAR, where also is the suggestion that this story is connected with the rise of the dynasty of the İlek-khāns [q. v.] or the "race of Afrāsiyāb". No source tells us from what people this dynasty came; they and their people are always simply called "Turks". In Kāshghari also these rulers are simply called "Khākān kings" (*al-mulūk al-khākāniya*, i. 30 *infra*, or simply *khākāniya*, e. g. i. 347 *supra*). Khotan was conquered in the early decades of the fifth (eleventh) century by the Muslim rulers of Kāshghar but nothing is known of the exact date or any details of the campaign. According to Kāshghari, an emir named Djenkshī was the cause of the conquest of Khotan (iii. 279). This shows that there was a story then known of the conquest which has not come down to us. In Kāshghari's time, the frontier towns of Islām in the modern Chinese Turkestan were Kusen or Kučā (i. 336) and east of it "between Kučā and Uighur" on the hill-fortress of Bügür (i. 301) in the north, Čerčen (in Kāshghari, i. 364: Djurdjān) in the south. At a later date the Turks living farther west were converted to Islām. According to Ibn al-Aṡṡir (ix. 355 sq.), a Turkish people which had its winter home near Balāsāghūn and its summer pastures in the vicinity of the land of the Bulghārs i. e. probably in the Ural, adopted Islām in Šafar 435 (Sept.-Oct. 1043). Their name is not given; in spite of the great area covered by them, they were less numerous than the Turks in Central Asia converted in 960. According to Ibn al-Aṡṡir, they had only 10,000 tents, according to Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Mukhtaṡar*, ed. Reiske-Adler, iii. 120) only 5,000.

Some alterations in the ethnographic conditions of the Turks were produced by the advance of

the Kıpçak [q. v.] from the Ir̄tish to the southwest as far as the Sīr-Daryā and in another direction towards Eastern Europe. Just as the migrations of the Oghuz explain the formation of the present group of South Turks, so probably the migrations of the Kıpçak explain the formation of the group of Western Turks. On the Sīr-Daryā in the viith (xiith) century we find the Kıpçak mentioned along with the Kāngli, and the distinction between the two is left very vague (cf. also J. Marquart, *Osttürk. Dialektstud.*, p. 78 and 172). In the time of Maḥmūd Kāshghari there was not yet a people called Kāngli; the word Kāngli is there quoted (iii. 280) only as the "name of a great man among the Kıpçak". In the second half of the sixth (twelfth) century the Kıpçak had not yet adopted Islām, even when living close to the Muslim lands on the Sīr-Daryā; in a document in which the arrival of a prince of the Kıpçak in Djaṇd [see SĪR-DARYĀ] is recorded, the wish is expressed that God may convert him to Islām (*razzaqahu Allāh 'izz al-Islām*: cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 79).

Most information about the Kıpçak in Eastern Europe and about their predecessors, the Pečenegs and Oghuz (Greek Οὔζοι, probably the Russian Torki; the Russian annals also mention the Berendei, probably the Oghuz family of Bayundur; cf. Maḥmūd Kāshghari, i. 56), is found in the Greek and Russian sources. From the middle of the xiith century in the Russian annals all Turkish peoples of Eastern Europe with the exception of the Kıpçak (Polowci) are included under the name Černi Klobuki ("black caps") (cf. on this: D. Rasowskij, in *Seminarum Kondakovianum*, Prag 1927, i. 95 sq.). Whether, as might be thought from the identity of the names, the Kara-kaḥpaḥ are descended from the Černi Klobuki cannot yet be decided. It would also be in favour of the western origin of the Kara-kaḥpaḥ (first mentioned in the xviith century) that, unlike the people of Central Asia, they lived mainly by cattle-rearing. Although Islām had already conducted "successful propaganda" among the Pečenegs (J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 73), it made little progress among the Turks of Eastern Europe before the Mongol period.

In Central Asia, the spread of Islām was not checked by the foundation of the empire of the non-Muslim Kara Khitai [q. v.] nor by the persecution of Islām in the beginning of the viith (xiiith) century. At the time of the foundation of the empire of the Kara Khitai (soon after 1130), the principality of the Khān of Balāsāghūn was still the most northerly Muslim country in this region; when the empire broke up there were Muslim kingdoms north of the Ili also, namely that of the Karluḥ [q. v.] in Kayālgh, and that founded by a member of the same stock in Almālgh near the modern Kulджа [q. v.]. In the time of the Chinese traveller Č'ang Č'un (1221), the town of Č'ang-ba-la, i. e. the Uighur capital Djanbalḥ already mentioned by Kāshghari (i. 103), was the frontier town of the non-Muslim lands to the west (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 67 sq.); according to the Armenian Hethum (journey in 1254), "Djambalekh" was immediately east of "Khutapai", the Khutukbai of the modern maps, immediately east of Manas (*op. cit.*, i. 169). The region of the modern Manas was therefore the limit of the spread of Islām in Central Asia at this date.

In contrast to the lands of the modern Chinese Turkestan which had long been under Turkish

influence, the turkicisation of Mā warā' al-Nahr and Khwārizm only seems to have made appreciable progress after the Mongol conquest; this is suggested by the appearance of geographical names of Turkish origin like Karā Köl on the lower course of the Zarafshān (Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, p. 17) and Karā Sū (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāsiri*, transl. Raverty, p. 474) or Sū Karā (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 122) in Khwārizm. Turkish culture was brought to Asia Minor and Ādharbāidjān by the Saldjūks. The Turks were probably settled here at first to guard the frontier and to fight against the Byzantines and the growing power of the Georgian kingdom [cf. GEORGIA]. Nothing is known of the gradual progress of Turkish culture in these countries now completely Turkish (in Southern Persia the Turks have for the most part remained nomads, by the ninth (xvth) century the process had been completed. Saladin brought bodies of Turkish troops to Egypt whence some of them found their way to North Africa and Spain; on the Turks in Spain see especially 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, ed. Dozy, p. 210. These soldiers were of no importance for the spread of Turkish culture.

The foundation of the Mongol empire was of much greater significance for the Turks than for the Mongols themselves. In spite of all attempts by later writers to prove the contrary, the view of Abel-Rémusat (*Recherches sur les langues tartares*, p. 240) must be upheld that the area inhabited by the Mongols had the same western frontiers at the time of the rise of Čingiz Khān as it has to-day (with the exception of the much later migrations of the Kalmūcks [q. v.]). Of the descendants of the Mongols who came westwards in the time of Čingiz Khān and his successors only the Moghol in Afghānistān, whose dialect has been investigated by R. Ramstedt (*Mogholia*, in *J. S. Ou.*, xxiii. [1905], 4), have retained their Mongol speech to the present day. Their habits have not yet been exactly defined. Dr. Emil Trinkler (*Afghanistan*, Gotha, 1928 = *Peterm. Mitt.*, supplement 196, p. 53 sq.) in spite of all his enquiries found no Mongol speaking people in Afghānistān. Most of the Mongols have been merged in the Turks and thus strengthened the latter numerically and especially politically. Of special importance in the political history of the Turks, since their conversion to Islām in the xivth century, was the kingdom of the Golden Horde. By the end of this century, this kingdom had become completely turkicised; its documents were written in Turkish, and Čuwass, which had earlier been spoken on the Volga, had given way to a pure Turkish language. After the break up of this empire, three new "Tatar" kingdoms were formed in Kazān [q. v.], Astrakhān and in the peninsula of Krīm [q. v.], which only came under Islām and Turkish influences in the Mongol period. A new "Tatar" kingdom also arose on the Ir̄tish [q. v.] in Siberia, at the modern Tobolsk; this land now became instead of Bulghār the outpost of Islām in the north. The word Tatar, originally applied to the Mongols, now became the name of a Turkish people and, especially in the Crimea, was used by themselves. In Russia the word "Tatar" was given a very wide meaning, although not quite so extensive as in China and in European Sinology (cf. the preface to Abel-Rémusat, *Recherches sur les langues tartares*). Down to the second half of the xixth century (W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*,

vol. i., Contents, has still the same usage), all not-Ottoman Turks were called Tatars by Russian scholars and under their influence by Europeans generally; thus arose the term "Turco-Tatar", which has not yet entirely disappeared. In the lands of the Golden Horde arose the peoples of the Özbek and Noghai, called after princes of the house of Djuči [q.v.]. The Özbek migrated in the xvth century to Mā warā' al-Nahr, where in the xvth century they put an end to the power of the Čaghatai and founded the kingdoms of Bukhārā and Khīwa [q.v.], to which towards the end of the xviii century a third Özbek kingdom was added, that of the Khāns of Khoḳand. The people called "Noghai" by the Russians are always called Manghit in Oriental sources in the xvth century and later. Under Russian suzerainty, the Manghit or Noghai formed an imperfectly unified nomad state east of the lower course of the Volga; the native Turkish element in Astrakhān still belongs to people of the Noghai. In the xvii century the Noghai were driven out of the lands east of the Volga by the Kalmücs. The term Noghai has now been extended by the Özbeks to the Turkish inhabitants of the Volga area, called by the Russians "Tatar" (now also by themselves). The Qazaḳ [see KIRGIZ] had separated from the Özbek as early as the xvth century; down to the sixteenth century they had their own Khāns, some of whom had considerable forces at their disposal.

The last Turkish kingdom to arise out of the Mongol empire in the east was the kingdom of the Moghol from Kāshghar to the Chinese frontier, which arose after the fall of the kingdom of the Čaghatai [see ČAGHATAI-KHĀN (at the end), and DÜĞHLĀT]. In spite of their name, these Moghol, at least in the xvth century, spoke Turkish. They had adopted Islām only about the middle of the xvth century. Muhammad Khān (1408—1416) is given special credit for the spread of Islām among them; if a Moghol did not wear a turban a nail was driven into his head (*Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, transl. Ross, p. 58). Nevertheless in 823 (1420) Buddhist statues are still mentioned in Turfan, including some "newly made" (*N.E.*, xiv. 310; *al-Muḡaffariya*, p. 27). In the same century the Buddhist culture of the Uighur had to give way to Islām. Uighur as the name of a people gradually fell into disuse, probably with their conversion to Islām, and the name Moghol also began to disappear after the conquest of Eastern Turkestan by the Kalmücs in 1682. The "yellow Uighur" (*Sarīgh Uighur*) also mentioned in the *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* (see index) at Tuen-huang, Su-djōu and Kan-djōu have alone retained their own name and the Buddhist religion down to the present day; they dropped the Uighur script only in the xviii century and adopted the Tibetan in its place (*Bibl. Buddhica*, xvii., preface). In the province of Kan-su, in addition to the Chinese speaking Dumgan, Islām is also professed by the Turkish speaking Salar already mentioned in the *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, p. 404 [see CHINA, KAN-SU and SALUR].

In the west the Turkomans have been most prominent in political history, in addition to the Ottoman (also of a Turkoman stock) or Anatolian Turks [see TURKEY]; the kingdoms of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep (Kara-Ḳoyunlu, q.v.) and of the White Sheep (Ak-Ḳoyunlu, q.v.) were a considerable political power, especially in the xvth century. There were also many Turkoman tribes

in the empire of the Mamlücs [q.v.] from Diyār Bakr [q.v.] to Ghazza [q.v.]; a list of them is given by Khalil al-Zahiri (*Zubdat Kashf al-Mamalik*, ed. Ravaissé, Paris 1894, p. 105). Only the family of Dulḡadir (Turkish pronunciation from Dhu 'l-Ḳadr, q.v.) attained some importance; in the xvth century they founded a little kingdom of their own, as vassals of the Mamlücs.

In Central Asia, the Turkomans were not merged, like so many of the Turkish peoples mentioned in the early Mongol period, into the new formations of the Mongol period, although among the Turkomans there were migrants from the kingdom of the Golden Horde; this is indicated in the xvth century by the name of the tribe Sayin-Khānī (on the epithet Sayin-Khān see BĀTŪ-KHĀN) S. E. of the Caspian Sea (*Turkmeniya*, vol. i., Leningrad 1929, p. 47 sq.). The Turkomans were never able to form a state of their own in Central Asia, but it was only in 1884 that an end was put to their independence by the advance of the Russians from the north and the Afghāns from the south.

In the xvii and xviii centuries, the Turkomans, like other Turkish peoples of Central Asia, notably the Qazaḳ and Kīrghīz, suffered a great deal from the attacks of the Kalmücs, the founders of the last great nomad empire in Central Asia. The Qazaḳ and Kīrghīz were driven out of a part of their lands by the Kalmücs; it was only after the destruction of the Kalmück empire that the conditions that had previously existed there were restored. A section of the Turkomans still live in the gouvernement of Stavropol, into which they had been driven by the Kalmücs towards the end of the xvii century from their earlier habitations on the peninsula of Mangīshlak [q.v.]. At an earlier period, the Turkomans fought unsuccessfully for this peninsula with the Noghai and later with the Qazaḳ. In contrast to the Qazaḳ, the Kīrghīz had not their own khāns, either on the Yenisei or in Semirečye [cf. KIRGHIZ]. The Kīrghīz on the Yenisei, where they lived down to the beginning of the xviii century, have remained quite unaffected by Islām, as have the Turkish peoples living in the Venesei area at the present day, who after the Russian revolution took the name of "Khakas" (in its origin a mistaken reading of the Chinese transcription for Kīrghīz). The mountain peoples in the Altai on the upper Ob are also non-Muslim Turks. The Altai people (*Altai Kīzi*) were called "mountain Kalmücs" by the Russians, but after the Russian revolution took the name of "Oirat", which properly belongs to the Kalmücs; their land is now the "autonomous Oirat territory". Completely distinct, even in language, from the other Turks are the Yakuts (who call themselves Saka or Sakha, probably connected with the ethnic Sagai in the Yenisei area) who were driven out of the Yenisei territory, probably not before the xiii century, into the valley of the Lena. The language of the Yakuts shows, in vocabulary and grammatical structure many divergences from Turkish, although this language, unlike Čuwass, is directly descended from the primitive Turkish language.

In the first half of the xvth century, all the lands from the Balkan Peninsula and north shore of the Black Sea to the Chinese frontier were under the rule of Muslim Turks. The economic life of almost all these countries at this period

showed a considerable setback compared with earlier periods; nomadic life had developed at the expense of agriculture and especially of the towns; the future of these lands had also been undermined by the fact that world trade had taken other routes. The Turks were neither economically or intellectually fit to cope with the rising power of Russia. Through the conquest of the Volga territory by the Russians (Kazān 1552, Astrakhān 1554), the connection between the Turks of Central Asia and their relatives in the west was broken; it was restored by another route but only for a short period during the rule of the Turks on the western shore of the Caspian Sea (1578—1603). As early as the xviiith century, Russia had laid down the principle that all the lands of Northern Asia should be divided between Russia and China; but this process of settlement was only completed by the Treaty of St. Petersburg of Feb. 12—24, 1881.

Islām as a religion [cf. e.g. BARABA] and Turkish as a language have made new progress under Russian rule; in the Caucasus, as well as in Central Asia, Turkish as a *lingua franca* is much more widely disseminated than before; the level of civilization has also been raised by the influence of European culture introduced by Russia. After the Revolution of 1917, and especially after the principle of nationality had been put into practice in 1924, republics were formed in Soviet Russia among the Turkish peoples also on a national basis under their own government and following their own lines of development. The Özbek and the Turkoman Republics form separate parts of the Union of Socialist Soviet republics (U.S.S.R.), and the Ādherbāidjān Republic is a part of the Transcaucasian alliance. Seven autonomous republics (the Krīm-Tatar, Čuwass, Bashkir, Tatar, Kazak, Kirgiz and Yakut republics) are members of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (R.S. F.S.R.), as are four autonomous territories (the Karačai, Balkar-Kabardin, Karakalpak and Oirat region) with preponderatingly Turkish populations.

With the carrying through of the principle of nationality the names of certain peoples have received meanings which they did not possess before. At one time, many Turks in Central Asia, especially the town-dwellers, were content to describe themselves as Turkish-speaking Muslims and inhabitants of a particular town; the question with what Turkish people they should be numbered was a matter of indifference; names which originally did not refer to nationality, like the word Sart [q.v.], were also used. This word has now been driven out of use, and the term Özbek is now used in a much wider meaning than formerly; those who used to call themselves Sart are now called Özbeks. Names have also been invented (on the word Khakas see above): the Taranči [q.v.], who belong to Kāshghari, and the Kāshgharlik now call themselves Uighur, a name which does not belong to them historically. Uighurs never came so far west. Most of the Turkish peoples in Soviet Russia have joined the movement to introduce the Roman alphabet; the Čuwass, Khakas and Oirat refuse to join it and adhere to the Russian alphabet.

An attempt to estimate the total number of Turks was made by N. Aristow, *Zametki ob etničeskom sostave tyurkskikh plemen i narodnostei i svyedeniya o ikh čislennosti*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 170. According to Aristow, in 1885 there were about 26,000,000 Turks, but even he thought the

figure should be higher. At the present day, the number of Turks living in Soviet Russia alone is about 16,000,000; the total therefore is probably over 30,000,000. Much higher figures have been given by Turkish publicists and statesmen: Ahmed Agnev, 70—80,000,000 (A. Samoylovič, in *M. I.*, 1912, p. 490); Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pāshā, 100,000,000.

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II. THE TURKISH LANGUAGES.

1. The Classification of the Turkish Languages and their geographical Distribution.

The Turkish languages are divided according to their general phonetic character into two main unequal groups: the R-languages (*tākhār* = nine) and the Z-languages (*toḡuz* = nine). Among the old languages, Bulghār or one of its dialects belonged to the first group; among modern languages, the Čuwash alone; but we find sporadic cases of *r* corresponding to *z* in all the Turkish languages. To the second group, the Z-group, belong all the other Turkish languages, ancient and modern, including Yakut. The question of the ethnic and linguistic origin of the predominating nationality in the nomad union of the Huns as well as those of other ancient peoples of Central Asia and eastern Europe (Siangpi, Avars, Khazars) is still uncertain or insufficiently elucidated. The languages of the Z-group were formerly dispersed over the territory corresponding to modern Mongolia, southern Siberia and the steppes of the Altai and later gradually occupied all the modern habitats of the Turkish peoples, from the Sea of Okhotsk to the Mediterranean, except the Čuwash region.

The Z-group is again divided into two groups: the D-languages (*adaḡ* or *adaḡ* = foot) and the Y-languages (*ayaḡ* = foot). This division is attested as early as the xith century by Maḥmūd Kāshghari, but is much older. To the D-division belonged the following ancient languages: the Kırkız, Turkish in the strict sense and Uighur. This group is at the present day represented by a limited number of languages and dialects in Eastern Siberia, Mongolia and China proper and is divided into three sections: the T-section or Yakut (*ataḡ* = foot), the D-section or the Tannu-tuwin dialect, or Soyote or Uriankhay, and the Karaghas dialect, related to the latter (*adaḡ* = foot), and the Z-section composed of the Kamasine, Koybal, Saghay, Kačine, Beltir, Kızıl, Čulm-küerik, Šor and Sarıgh-Uighur (*azaḡ* = foot). The dialects of the Z-section of the D-division which at the present day are found in the northeast part of the Turkish world, existed, according to Maḥmūd Kāshghari, in Eastern Europe in the xith century. The philologists of the middle ages writing in Arabic included Bulghar in the Z-section. A trace of one of the Z-dialects is still to be found in eastern Europe in the name of the Sea of Azov (*azaḡ* = the "foot", i. e. estuary of the Don).

According to Maḥmūd Kāshghari, the Kıpčak

and Oghuz languages, spoken in the west of Central Asia and in Eastern Europe, belonged in the xth century to the Y-division of the second great group of Turkish languages (*ayak* = foot). At the present day this Y-division is the largest, for it is found over large areas in Asia and Europe, from western Siberia and the Altai to the Mediterranean (excluding the Čuwash). Mahmūd Kāshgharī in the xth century noted a criterion for the establishment of two sections in this Y-division: *kałghan* and *kałan* (remained). The latter section includes the Oghuz of the xth century and their modern descendants, pure or mixed: the Turkomans, the Ādharbāidjāns and the other Turks of Persia, Anatolia and the Balkans, the Gagauz of Bessarabia and the Tatars of the Southern Crimea, i. e. the S. W. part of the Turkish world. The Oghuz section of the Turkish language is distinguished by this criterion, *kałan* not only from the first section of the Y-division (*kałghan*) but also from all the other Turkish languages except Čuwash. The first section — *kałghan* of the Y-division — is much larger than the second, and the peoples of all the central part of the Turkish world from Tobolsk to Baghčiserai and from Kasimow (q. v., in the province of Riazan) to Turfan speak its dialects. The *kałghan* section can be further divided. It includes two sub-sections: *tawlı* and *taghlık* (highlander). The criterion *lı* connects the *tawlı* sub-section with the *kałan* section (in both *sarlı* = yellow, in place of *sarlıgh* of the northeastern division and the *sarlık* of the *taghlık* sub-section) and with the Čuwash, whereas the criterion *taw* connects it with the Čuwash (*tu*) and Yakut (*lää*). Korsch considered the correspondence of *aw* and *agh* to be very old and thought that the Turkish languages were originally divisible into two groups, the northern (*aw*) and the southern (*agh*). But this correspondence has not yet been attested by any ancient document.

The dialects of the *tawlı* sub-section are represented in the N.W. part of the Turkish world by the Teleut-Altai-Teleng group and the Kumandī and Lebed dialects in Altai, by the Kırghız [q. v.], Kazak and Karaikalpak [q. v.] dialects, by some of the purest Özbek dialects, by the dialects of the Tatars of Tobol-Tumene and of Kazan, of the Mishars, Bashkirs, Noghais (of Astrakhan [q. v.], of Stavropol, etc.), of the Kumyks of Daghestan [q. v.], of the Balkars and Karachays of the Northern Caucasus, of the Tatars of the Crimean steppes, of the Karaites (except those that have been osmanised) and the Kırmeçaks (the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea). The dialects that form a transition between the *tawlı* sub-section of the Y-division to the D, are represented in Siberia by the Čulm, Aba, Černi (yřsh) which have *y* instead of *d*, but *agh* in place of *aw* and *ıgh* in place of *ı* (*ayak*, *taghlıgh*).

The *taghlık* sub-section of the *kałghan* section of the Y-division, which we have just mentioned, is represented in the southeastern part of the Turkish world by the dialects of the settled populations of Western and Eastern (Chinese) and in part of Afghān Turkestan, by the Chinese dialects (except the Khiwan and those of the *tawlı* type), the Taranči and those of the Turks of the oases of Kāshghar [q. v.], Khotan [q. v.], Aksu, Turfan [q. v.] etc. This sub-section sometimes called, not very happily, Čaghatai shows a mixture of the northwest *tawlı* sub-section with the northeast D-

division. The Özbek and Sart (of the turkicised Iranians; cf. SART) dialects of the former Khānate of Khiwa (Khwārizm, q. v.) form a transition between the dialects of the southwest and northwest; their criteria are *kałghan*, *taghlı*.

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2. General Sketch of the Turkish Languages.

The syntax of the Turkish languages is based on the following principle: the governing parts of a grammatical statement or of a group of statements follow the parts governed. This is why the principal part of a statement — the attribute — is usually placed at the end, the completed parts follow the complement, the qualified parts are placed after their qualification, the principal statements follow incidental ones. In keeping with this principle, the auxiliary morphological elements, which can historically be traced back to governing roots, follow the stems of the words to which they refer and cannot precede them. The auxiliary morphological elements represent a series of links starting from the post-positions which remain phonetically unchanged, to the formative and modificative suffixes, which unite with the preceding word to form a unit as regards accent and vowel harmony, which we shall discuss later.

It is thought that the accent in Turkish languages originally fell on the first syllable, as is still the case in the Mongol languages. In modern Turkish languages, the principal accent usually falls on the last syllable but even now the first syllable still, particularly one with a broad vowel (*a*, *e*, *o*, *ö*), retains a trace of the old accent in the form of a secondary accent, stronger in some and weaker in other dialects. By the existence at one time of an accent on the first syllable we can explain the fact of progressive vowel harmony which is of two kinds. First, by the law of assimilation, the posterior vowels (*a*, *ı*, *o* and *u*) are followed only by posterior vowels and the anterior vowels (*e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü*) always by anterior; this assimilation was also extended to consonants, especially to *k*, *g*, *l*: *kał* stop!, *kałghan*, stopped; *kel*, come!, *kelgen*, come (p. p.). In some dialects we see more or less weakening in this fundamental vowel harmony as a result of the influence of other languages, particularly Iranian (some Turkoman and Ādharbāidjān dialects, the Turkish of Anatolia, and the iranised Özbek dialects). The harmony of the second kind is much less consistent than the harmony of the first kind: the assimilation between rounded vowels (*o*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*) or unrounded (*a*, *ı*, *e*, *i*). The rounded vowels are ordinarily followed by the narrow rounded vowels (*u*, *ü*) in the nearest and by preference closed syllables, while the broad vowels (*a*, *e*) remain unrounded. The non-rounded vowels are followed usually by non-rounded broad or narrow vowels: *bil*: know!, *bil + dım*: I knew; *öl*: die, *öl + dım*: I died; *beřh*: five, *beřh + ten*: of five; *köl*: lake, *köl + den*: of lake.

It is only in some dialects (e.g. the Kara-*Ķirghiz*) that the vowel harmony of the second class is extended to all the broad vowels, while in others (e.g. in *Ķirghiz-Ķazak*) to the anterior broad vowels (*e, ö*) only: *köl* = lake, *köl + dör* = the lakes (in both dialects) but *köl* = hand, *köl + dar* (*Ķirghiz-Ķazak*) and *köl + dor* (*Kara-Ķirghiz*). Harmony of this kind has attained its greatest development with regard to the narrow vowels in the Turkish of Stambul, in which, however, it does not affect the broad vowels.

In the Turkish language there are nine fundamental vowels: *a, ä* (open), *e* (closed), *o, ö, ı, i, u, ü*. There used to be long vowels, which did not attract sufficient attention except in Yakut and Turkoman. In some languages (e.g. the Kazan-Tatar) the number of vowels is over nine and the series has undergone modifications (*o > u, ö > ü, e > i, i > ı*). The Turkish consonant system has not yet been sufficiently studied either, and sufficient attention has not been paid to the existence, in addition to mute and sonant consonants, of middle consonants (e.g. in Turkoman and *Ādharbāidjāni*). The progressive assimilation of the sonant vowels with mutes and vice-versa is widespread: *yaz + dı*, he has written; *tut + tı*, he has seized; *köz + dā*, in the eye; *baş + ta*, on the head.

There are other kinds of progressive assimilation of consonants. Cases of progressive dissimilation are features of certain dialects only (e.g. *Ķazak, Ķirghiz, Altai*): *ata + tar*, the fathers; *köl + dör*, the lakes. A very distinctive feature of the Yakut language is the regressive assimilation of consonants: *at + ım*, my horse; *at + ın*, thy horse; but *ap + par*, to my horse; *ak + kattan*, from thy horse.

In the majority of the dialects the only initial sonant consonants are *b, m* and exceptionally *n* and *d*; the sonants *d, w, g* are found initially in Turkoman, *Ādharbāidjāni* and in Anatolian Turkish and were found in the Oghuz of the xth century. Words cannot begin with the consonants *r, l, ı, z* (the latter, except in loanwords, is only found initially in a few onomatopoeic words) nor with two consonants. Two consonants at the end of a word are only admissible in cases where the first of them is *r, l* or *s*. This is why we find supplementary vowels in loanwords: *ärädjüb < rädjüb* (Arab.), *istüp < steppe* (Russ.), *fikir < fikr* (Arab.).

Morphological formations or modifications are, as we have already said, produced by the addition of one or more formative or modificative suffixes to the verbal or nominal roots and to stems, which, even without this accretion, have a certain definite meaning: the verbal stem, the 2nd pers. sg. with imperative meaning (*tap* = find!), and the nominal stem — that of the nominative, genitive, accusative and some other cases of the sing. or plur. (*atma*, apple, of apple, the apples). Cases of formation by analogy are also found: *bir* = one, *bir + är* = by one, and by analogy: *iki* = two, *iki + rär* = by two (*Ķaghatāi*); or *besh* = five, *besh + är* = by five, and by analogy: *altı* = six, *altı + şar* = by six.

There are two fundamental grammatical categories: the noun and the verb. Nouns are divided into pronouns, numerals, and nouns in general; there are no special morphological features for the adjective. Nor can one make a sharp distinction between nouns and adjectives, e.g. *temir* = iron and of iron, *taş* = stone and of stone, *su* =

water and pertaining to water. The adjective forms with the noun it qualifies a grammatical whole; thus the suffixes of the plural and of the declension are added only to a qualified noun while the adjective is undeclined. The verbal forms are divided into: 1. finite verbs, very limited in number, 2. verbal nouns having the meaning of nouns of action or of agency and 3. verbal adverbs (gerundives). The adverbs of nominal or verbal origin are very few in number and like the postpositions and interjections form a secondary grammatical category, in addition to the noun and verb.

The possessive suffixes in the nouns correspond to the possessive pronouns of the Indo-European languages: *at + ım* = my horse, *at + ın* = thy horse, *at + ı* = his horse, *ata + m* = my father, *ata + ın* = thy father, *ata + ı* = his father, *at + ımız* = our horse, *at + ınız* = your horse, *ata + mız* = our father, *ata + ınız* = your father. The same suffixes in certain verbal forms are used as personal endings: *kel + gü + m*, I shall come, *kel + gü + ın* = thou wilt come, *kel + gü + si* = he will come (*Ķaghatāi*); *kel + di + m* = I came, *kel + di + ın* = thou didst come, *kel + di* (*kel + d + i*?) = he came.

The predicative (enclitic) demi-suffixes, derived from personal pronouns and, in certain dialects, having been influenced by the possessive suffixes, correspond in the nouns to the substantive verbs of the Indo-European languages while the verbs take the most used personal endings: sg. 1st pers. *ben, men, bin, min, in, im*; 2nd pers. *sen, sin, siñ*; pl. 1st pers. *biz, uz, iz, mız*; 2nd pers. *siz, siñiz*. Examples: *ädgü-ben* (*bin, men, min*) > *äyi-yim* I am good; *yazar-ben* (*bin, men, min*) > *yazar-ın* (*ım*) I write. In the old language the demonstrative pronoun *ot* was used in the third person of the substantive verb: *ädgü + ot*, he is good; in the modern languages — the predicative demi-suffix *dır* (*dı*), from the verbal form *turur* = he is erect.

The suffix of the plural *lar* is used with nouns as well as with verbs: *at + lar* (*at + tar*) — the horses, *at + ıl + tar* — they have thrown.

The personal verbal forms are formed as follows: in the imperative from the pure verbal stem; in the other cases from the stems of one or other mood or tense. In addition to the possessive and predicative suffixes, special suffixes are also used as personal endings, e.g. *su, zun, sun, sunı* for the 3rd person of the imperative, *k, k*, for the first pers. of the plural of the preterite and conditional in the modern dialects (*kel + di + k*, we have come, *kel + se + k* if we had come). The latter suffix (*k, k*) is used in the *Ādharbāidjāni* dialects, in some Anatolian dialects and in the *Gökleng* dialect of Turkoman, instead of the predicative enclitic of the first pers. plur. of nouns and verbs.

In the majority of the modern Turkish languages there are five cases in declension with special terminations: genitive (*iñ, niñ, nin, ni, in*), accusative (*i, ni, old ig*), dative (*ka, a, yaz, ghar, gharı*), locative (*da*), ablative (*dan, dañ, dın*), but in the old languages and in some modern ones there were also affixes for the directive, instrumental and other cases.

Grammatical gender does not exist; there are only two numbers.

The differences in phonetics and vocabulary are more marked in the Turkish languages than those of morphology. *Čuwash* and Yakut occupy

a position apart; all the other Turkish languages may be regarded as dialects and variants of a single language.

The Turkish languages show considerable conservatism in the whole extent of their known history (from the viiith century). The comparative historical study of the Turkish languages is still in its initial stages (the works of Radloff, Grønbeck, Thomsen, Melioranski, Bang, Brockelmann, Deny). As a result of the researches of Ramstedt, Gombocz, Németh and Poppe, it may be regarded as more or less proved that the Turkish languages are related to the Mongol and Čuwash is closely allied to both. A new light has been thrown on the past history of the Turkish by N. Marr, who has examined Čuwash from the point of view of the Japhetic theory and places the Turkish languages in a group not any larger than that proposed by the earlier theories of the Turanists.

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3. Literary Scripts and Languages.

The oldest dated monuments of Turkish writing date from the eighth century. These are the inscriptions on the steles erected in honour of princes of the Turkish dynasty of the sixth—eighth centuries, Kül-Tegin and Bilge-Khān, found in 1889 by Iadrincev in the valley of the Orkhon in Mongolia. Other inscriptions in the same script, large and small, are known in Mongolia, Siberia and Western Turkestan. The Siberian monuments were discovered in 1721 by Messerschmidt in the valley of the Yenisei. Manuscripts in the same hand, approximately of the ninth century, have recently been found in excavations in Chinese Turkestan. This script, deciphered in 1893 by the eminent Danish linguist V. Thomsen, was given by him the name of Turkish runes. Others

have called it the Orkhon alphabet. The name "Kök-Türkisch" proposed by W. Bang for the Orkhon inscriptions has been rejected by Thomsen, Radloff and others. The Turkish runes are derived from the Aramaic alphabet through the intermediary of the Old Soghdian alphabet; but some of them have an independent origin and are ideographic in character, e. g. *o* (*k*) = arrow, (*a*) *j* = moon, (*ä*) *b* = house. Some documents in Turkish runes may be dated to the seventh or even the sixth century A. D.

The language of the Turkish runes, whether on stone or in manuscripts, is distinguished by a certain archaism in its phonetics (the sounds *č*, *j*), in morphology (by the directive and instrumental cases, genitive in *-ñ*, ablative in *-da*, verbal forms in *-sar*, *-ghma*) and in vocabulary (*kañ* = father, *ög* = mother).

The Uighür alphabet, which came into general use in the viiith—ixth centuries among the Turkish people of the Uighürs, is derived from one of the northern Semitic alphabets, also through the intermediary of the Soghdian; it has been wrongly suggested that it is derived from the Estranghelo. The Uighür literary language belongs to the same group as the Turkish of the Mongolic monuments but with certain dialectic differences (genitive in *-ññ*, ablative in *-dñn*). The Uighür xylographic and manuscript literature, found by the English, Russian, French, German and Japanese expeditions, is very vast. In addition to the Uighür alphabet, the ancient Turks of Chinese Turkestan used Turkish runes, Manichaean, Syriac and Brahmi alphabets. Among the Turks of China, who did not adopt Islām, the Uighür alphabet remained in use down to the beginning of the xviiith century. After the conversion to Islām of the Turks of Central Asia followed by the adoption of the Arabic alphabet (tenth—eleventh centuries), the Uighür alphabet remained in use as the court script. It was used in the xiiith—xvth centuries among the Golden Horde and among the Timūrids for the Kiptāk and Čaghatai languages (Yarlīk, works in prose and verse). At the beginning of the xvth century, there were still at Stambul experts in writing Uighür ('Abd al-Razzāk Bakshī). In Western Europe, Klaproth, Rémusat and Jaubert began to read the Uighür script in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Founded on the literary Uighür of the pre-Islāmic period, there developed in the lands of the Ilel-Khāns [q. v.] or Karakhānids, converts to Islām, the Turkish literary language of Central Asia of the Muslim period written in the Arabic alphabet. It may be supposed that Arabic was the script of the original of the oldest document of this language known to us, the *Kudatghu-bilig* ("the science of giving happiness"), a didactic poem of the eleventh century, composed by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādhib [q. v.] at Balasāghūn and Kāshghar. The language of this work, which has come down to us in two later copies in Arabic and one in Uighür script made at Herāt in the xvth century, cannot be considered as pure Uighür. M. Köprülü-zāde regards the language of the *Kudatghu-bilig* as Karluk but it would be safer to call it Karakhānid.

Data are lacking to enable us to decide if there was a literature in the Bulghār language in the Bulghār kingdom on the Kama where Islām was established in the tenth century. In any case Bul-

ghār elements are found in the sepulchral inscriptions of the xivth century in the Volga region. The development of the literary Turkish of Central Asia went on without interruption from the eleventh century but its centre changed from time to time.

We may date to the xiiith century the didactic work in quatrains by Edib Ahmed entitled *'Aibet ul-Hakā'ik*, the language of which is closely related to that of the *Kutadghu-bilig*, without being identical with it. The absence of early manuscripts prevents us giving a definite name to the language of the *Hikmet* of Ahmed Issewi (xiith century), the founder of Turkish mysticism, whom M. Köprülüade takes to have been a Karluk also. Literary activity in the different parts of the Djücid kingdom or "Deshükipeāk", in Khwārizm which included the mouth of the Sfr-Daryā [q. v.], in the capital Sarāi [q. v.] and in the Crimea, had attained a considerable development by the beginning of the xvth century. A uniform literary language did not come into use in the Djücid state; in all the literary materials of this epoch which we possess, the elements of the literary language of the Karakhānid period are combined with those of local dialects still living, Kıpçak and Oghuz (Turkoman). The copy of the romance in verse of the xivth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the *Khosraw u-Shirin* of the poet Kuṭb, an imitation of the corresponding work of Nizāmī, dedicated to Tenibek and his wife of the White Horde, is in a language very close to that of the *Kutadghu-bilig* but showing also Kıpçak (*sala* = village etc.) and Oghuz elements. Khwārizmī's poem *Maḥabbet-nāme*, written in the xvth century on the Sfr-Daryā and preserved in two copies of the xvth and xviith centuries in the British Museum, reveals far more Kıpçak and Oghuz than Karakhānid linguistic elements.

In the xiiith century in the Turkish Muslim world the different literary languages were not yet clearly separated from one another. The formation of the Mongol empire which embraced almost the whole Turkish world of the period created for a time an atmosphere favourable to the development of a uniform literary language for a considerable part of the Muslim Turkish peoples. In its beginning literary activity in Turkish in the lands of the Saldjūks of Asia Minor was no doubt to some degree bound up with that of Central Asia and Eastern Europe. It would be very difficult to determine exactly where the romance in quatrains of the xiiith century by a certain 'Alī entitled *Kiṣṣa-i Yūsuf* was written; its language has much in common with the literature of the xvth century of the Golden Horde, in which the Oghuz-Turkomans shared, and it later became very popular in the region of the Volga. Differing from Brockelmann, who connects the *Kiṣṣa-i Yūsuf* with the literary products of Anatolia, Merdjāni, a Kazan scholar, thinks it is Bulghār. The language of the prose work of the xvth century with passages in verse called *Kiṣṣa ul-Enbiyā'*, written by Rabā'i Oghuz, is closely related to the Karakhānid language. It would not be correct to call its language Čaghatai. The Syriac Christian Turkish inscriptions on the tombs of Semirlecie of the xiiith–xivth centuries are in a language closely resembling the Karakhānid (*ud* = bull, *yond* = horse, *yertüntü* = this world, *ata* = father, *ana* = mother).

We may date in the xivth and xvth centuries the beginning of the development — starting from

the Central Asiatic Turkish literature which we may suppose to have been the only literature of the period — of the different literary languages of different parts of the Muslim Turkish world. The greatest development was that of the Ottoman Turkish and Čaghatai Turkish literary languages. The first goes back to Central Asiatic Turkish literature through the Anatolian Turkish literature of the Saldjūk period. Čaghatai Turkish represents the third, longest (xvth–xxth centuries), and most brilliant phase of the development of Central Asiatic Turkish literature and takes its rise directly out of the second phase, the Djücid. The Čaghatai language developed in the lands of the Timūrids, which consisted of the domain of the second son of Čingiz-Khān, Čaghatai [q. v.]. The Kıpçak and Turkoman elements of the preceding phase of development of the literary Turkish of Central Asia were replaced in Čaghatai by living elements from the predominant Turkish dialects of the Čaghatai country. The emperor Bābur says that the language of the most distinguished figure in Čaghatai literature, Mir 'Alī Shīr Newāi, is identical with that of the dialect of the town of Andijān. The Čaghatai poetical language was distinguished from that of prose by its morphology and its vocabulary.

Until lately some scholars have used the term Čaghatai cf. [ČAGHATAI LITERATURE] wrongly by applying it to the language of the literary monuments of the xiiith century as well as to the living Turkish dialects of Western and Eastern Turkestan. A renaissance in Čaghatai literature, prose and poetry, was observable in the xixth and early xxth century in the khānates of Khokhand and Khiwa. At the present day in Özbekistān Čaghatai is giving way to the Özbek literary language, the fourth phase of the development of Turkish Central Asiatic literature, the sphere of which has been considerably restricted by the coming into use in the xxth century of new literary languages by the peoples of Central Asia. Even in the xviiith century, the historian Abu 'l-Ghāzī Khān wrote in Khiwa in Özbek and not in Čaghatai, contrary to the tradition of the time.

The Turkomans of Central Asia, who took part in the foundation of the literary language of Khwārizm in the time of the empire of Djüci, had in the centuries following their own literary language, especially for poetry, which after the xvth century came under Čaghatai influence and did not develop further. In our own day there is growing up in Turkmenistān a new literary language based purely on living Turkoman dialects (particularly Tekke and Yomut).

Ādharbāidjāni (*Āzeri*) developed among the Turks of Persia from the same stock as the language of the Saldjūks of Anatolia; after a flourishing period in the xvth century under the patronage of the early Šafawids [q. v.], it continued in existence in the following centuries, without being able to make progress against the influence on the one hand of Persian culture and on the other of Ottoman Turkish. The rehabilitation of Ādharbāidjāni, which is closely related to the spoken dialect, began in the middle of the xixth century in Transcaucasia (Mirzā Fath 'Alī Akhundow). It became strongly influenced by Ottoman Turkish at the beginning of the xxth century and the result has been two rival currents which still exist at the present day.

In spite of the division of the Golden Horde into different khānates in the xvth century, the

Crimea retained a literary language based on *Qıpçaq* and known to the Ottomans as Crimean or *Desht* (steppe), but the influence of Ottoman culture, felt especially in the historical literature and belles-lettres, interfered with its further development. The official language of the *Khān*'s chancelleries in the Crimea retained down to the xviiith century the *Djüçid* tradition to a great degree. At the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the xxth century Mirzā Gasprinskii tried to establish a Pan-Turkish literary language in the Crimea, based on a simplified Ottoman and closely resembling the living dialect of the south of the Crimea. Gasprinskii's paper, the *Tarǵumân*, circulated as far as *Kāshghar*. In the Crimea at the present day as in *Ādharbāidjān* the struggle between two rival influences, Ottoman and local, still goes on in the literary language, and the situation is complicated by the fact that the living dialects of the Crimea belong to two different groups, southwest and northwest.

The *Djüçid* literary language was also inherited by the *khānate* of *Kazan* where it was influenced by *Çaghatai* and old Ottoman and in the sixteenth century by modern Ottoman. In the second half of the sixteenth century, since *Qayūm Naşiri*, there began among the Tatars of *Kazan* a movement to link up the literary language with the local dialect. The movement, in spite of the opposition of followers of Gasprinskii, has attained complete success. A barrier has now also been set up against infiltration of Russian influence into the Tatar literary language, which used to be very marked in certain authors, not only in vocabulary but also in syntax. The Tatar of *Kazan* is used not only among the Tatars but also among the *Mishars* and the *Noghais* of *Astrakhān*; before the foundation of the *Bashkīr* republic, it was also used by the *Bashkīrs* and *Tepters* [cf. *TEPTVAR*]. The *Bashkīrs* at the present moment are creating for themselves a literary language of their own, but without completely avoiding the struggle between various tendencies of which the most powerful is one which takes a middle course and refuses to base the literary language on dialects having too pronounced peculiarities in phonetics and vocabulary. The *Kazan-Tatar* literary language is the most developed and most stabilised, next to the Turkish of *Anatolia*, and like it enjoys a popularity which reaches far beyond the boundaries of the *Volga* region.

Literary Turkish languages began to increase in number especially after the Russian Revolution of 1905 and still more after that of October 1917, with the awakening of national sentiment and the consciousness among the different nations of the Turkish world of possessing a culture of their own. The literary (*Qırghız*-*Qazaq*) language, young, but rich and flexible, developed considerably at the beginning of the xxth century. It is comparatively free from Arabic and Persian borrowings and, in close touch with the popular dialect, uses the Arabic alphabet ingeniously reformed by *Baytursun*. With the foundation of the *Qırghız* republic, the (*Qara*-*Qırghız*) have undertaken to create a literary language of their own, distinct from (*Qırghız*-*Qazaq*).

In the northern Caucasus is being formed the *Qaraçai-Balkarian* literary language, the development of which is hampered by the scanty population and the proximity of more developed languages, Crimean and *Ādharbāidjāni*. The latter

shows its influence still more in *Daghestān*, where it is on the point of being recognised officially and is offering serious competition to the young local literary language, the *Qumık*, which began to develop in the sixteenth century by ousting Arabic, which was the language in every day use in *Daghestān*.

As to the alphabet, two forces are at present at work against one another in the Turkish Muslim world. One advocates the Arabic alphabet reformed to fit the Turkish phonetic system and has succeeded in giving new Arabic alphabets to the *Kazan-Tatar*, (*Qırghız*-*Qazaq*), (*Qara*-*Qırghız*), *Özbek*, *Turkoman* and *Crimean* languages. The other is in favour of a Latin alphabet with additional letters for all the Turkish languages; it has been well received in Turkey itself, has gained a decisive victory in *Ādharbāidjān*, where the movement started in the middle of the sixteenth century, and it is still making progress among the other Turkish peoples. The new Turkish uniform alphabet based on the Latin was formally adopted in 1927 by the Turkish Muslim peoples of the Soviet Republics.

The oldest Turkish writing found in the Runic alphabet had Semitic features and in many cases did not indicate the vowels (*kghn* = *kaghan*, *yghz* = *yaghiz*, *klnmsh* = *kilnimish*), the sound *a* being indicated in the first syllable only when it was long (*t* = *at*, horse; *at* = *āt*, name). In the *Uighūr* alphabet, the vowels were marked more frequently than in the Runic and more precisely than in the Arabic alphabet used later: to distinguish the sounds *ö*, *ü* from the *o* and *u*, to the latter was added the letter *i*: *soiz* = *söz*. Under the influence of the Arabic alphabet, this practice was dropped from the *Uighūr* writing of the Muslim period. The notation of consonants in the older *Uighūr* writing was more precise than in the later alphabet, which used the letters *t* and *d* indiscriminately and introduced other simplifications, which led *Radloff* to defend the erroneous *Uighūr* consonant system, later corrected by *Thomsen*. *Uighūr* orthography as regards vowels, with the exception of the special notations for *ö* and *ü*, was adopted in Central Asia at the time of the adoption of the Arabic alphabet and henceforth a distinction was made between *Çaghatai* and Ottoman orthographies. In Asia Minor under the immediate influence of Arabic orthography a special Turkish orthography became established which was very characteristic of the old Ottoman writing (no indication of vowels, use of Arabic *haraket's* etc.). In later centuries, some of these Arabic orthographical peculiarities were, it is true, abandoned but to the present day Ottoman orthography is distinguished from *Çaghatai* by a considerable restriction in the indication of vowels (Ott. *kl* = *Çagh. kil*; Ott. *br* = *Çagh. bir*) and the use of the Arabic characters *ş* and *ğ* to mark the sounds *s* and *t* in words of Turkish origin, in combination with posterior vowels (*su* = water = *Çagh. su*; *tağh* = mountain = *Çagh. tağh*). The old *Kazan-Tatar* orthography was based on that of Central Asia but in some cases also it showed the influence of old Ottoman.

The movement for the reform of orthography in the form of the adoption of a phonetic script began to make itself felt in the Turkish Muslim world from the end of the sixteenth century. It has had most results, not in Turkey but among the Turkish peoples of Russia, and particularly among the (*Qırghız*-*Qazaq*s). The Turcological congress

of 1926 at Baku decided in favour of a mixed orthography — a combination of the phonetic with the etymological —, for the establishment of which steps have now been taken with the help of the reformed Arabic alphabet and the new Turkish Latin alphabet.

The modern non-Muslim Turkish minorities, Çuwass, Yakut, Turks of the Altaï and Yenisei were, until quite recently, to be classed among the illiterate peoples, although the Yakuts preserve the tradition that they possessed an alphabet in olden times and although among the Turks of the Altaï the Mongol alphabet as adapted to the Turkish language is still used, although to a very limited degree. All these peoples received from the Russians in the xviiith and xixth centuries, the Russian alphabet, slightly adapted to their particular requirements. In 1917 the Yakuts replaced the Russian alphabet by a Latin one based on the international phonetic alphabet and prepared by a Yakut student, M. Novgorodov. The Tannu-Tuwins (Ouriankhais or Soyots) who are much under the influence of Mongol culture are at the moment trying to develop a national literary language and to choose themselves an alphabet.

The Greek alphabet used for the Turkish language from the ninth century in the Turk Bulghār kingdom on the Danube was quite recently in use among the turkicised Greeks of Anatolia and Stambul. The turkicised Armenians have adapted the Armenian alphabet to the Turkish language. There are *Ādharbaidjāni* manuscripts written in the Georgian alphabet. The Karaites who speak Turkish have from early times used the Hebrew alphabet.

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logue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum, London 1888.

4. Turkish Borrowings from neighbouring Languages and vice versa.

In the pre-Muḥammadan monuments of the Turkish languages we find words borrowed from Chinese, Soghdian, Sanskrit and the northern Semitic languages. Foreign influences may even be observed in the syntax of these monuments, especially in passages which are translations from other languages. In the modern dialects of Siberia and Mongolia, especially in Yakut, there are a number of Mongol elements which have come in by direct borrowing as well as through intermixture of races. It is by the latter means that the palaeo-Asiatic linguistic elements and other elements not yet elucidated have entered these dialects. The name of the river Yenisei, *Kem*, known from the time of the Orkhon inscriptions, comes from the Kot language where it means "river" as in the modern dialect of the Soyot Turks. Finnish elements are found in the Turkish dialects of the Volga region. At the time of the foundation of the Mongol empire of Činghiz-Khān [q. v.], a certain number of borrowed Mongol words found their way into the majority of the Turkish languages. It was in this way that the old Turkish word *yular* "halter", preserved by the Yakuts, Soyots and the Turks of Anatolia as well in the women's language of the Altaï Turks, was gradually ousted in the xiiith century by the Mongol *noḡta*, which is now used in all the other Turkish languages including Çuwass. The Turkish dialects of the Özbegs, Turkomans, *Ādharbaidjāns* and of the Turkish tribes of Persia show considerable Iranian influence as a result of the intermingling of races and cultures. As a result of the complicated intermixture of the Turks with other races of Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula and of the cultural borrowings, we find in the language of the Turks of Anatolia and the Balkans, Greek, Slav — especially Serb —, Armenian, Kurd, Italian, French and other elements in addition to Arabic and Persian. The intermixture of the Turks with the natives of the Northern and Southern Caucasus has introduced into their dialects elements from the phonetics and the vocabulary of the Caucasian languages. The Turks who entered Syria and Egypt have been very strongly influenced by Arabic, as have the Kumūks of Daghestān, among whom, unlike other Muslim Turks, the names of the days of the week are Arabic and not Persian. In the other parts of the Turkish world, the adoption of Islām brought more Persian than Arabic elements. The Arabic and Persian loanwords in the Turkish literary languages are sometimes over 50%, but they also found their way into the popular dialects of Turkish tribes but little influenced by Islām, like the Ka-zaks and the Kırghiz (*ten* = body, *zan* = soul).

A certain number of Arabic and Persian words have also found their way among the non-Muslim Turks, not only among the Çuwass, but also among the Turks of the Altaï and Yenisei and even through the intermediary of Russian among the Yakuts (*ampar* = *anbār*). The influence of Russian makes itself especially felt in the Turkish dialects of the Volga region and among them in Mishar in particular, but there are Russian loanwords in all the Turkish languages of the U. S. S. R.

The Turkish languages in their turn have from early times influenced the neighbouring languages, beginning with Chinese. There are Turkish words in the Mongol languages, in several Finnish languages (especially Čeremiss and Magyar), in the Iranian languages, in modern Arabic, in Armenian, Georgian, Kurdish, Greek, Albanian, Rumanian, in the Slav languages of the Balkan Peninsula and of Eastern and Western Europe. History records fewer cases of the loss of their language by a Turkish people (the Bulghars in the Balkans, the Kumans in Hungary, the Tatars in Lithuania, the Dungs in China and the Turks in India) than of cases of the turkicisation of other peoples: in Siberia, in Central Asia, in the Caucasus, in Asia Minor, in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe (the Mishars). We find turkicised gipsies in Turkey, Transcaucasia in the Crimea and in Turkestan.

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(A. SAMOYLOVITCH)

III. ČAGHATAI LITERATURE.

Under the influence of the brilliant development of Turkish literature in the Čaghatai kingdom [cf. ČAGHATAI-KHĀN] under the rule of the Timūrids, this eastern Turkish literary language has been given the name "Čaghatai" in the east itself, as well as in European literature. In an anonymous Turkish work (probably written in India, *Brit. Mus.*, Or. 1912; Rieu, *Cat. Turk. MSS.*, p. 268), all Turkish dialects are divided into two languages, Čaghatai and Turkoman. Ibn Muḥannā (Turk. ed., p. 73; Melioranskii, *Arab filolog*, p. xx.) uses the word "Turkistānīsh" in the same sense. The language of the Turks is said to have come from Turkistān just as Arabic came from the Ḥijāz. The "language of the Turks of our (presumably Persian) lands" is also contrasted to Turkistānīsh as well as to Turkoman. In Radloff's *Wörterbuch* (iv. 15), the word Čaghatai is quoted only in the form *Djaghatai* and as an Ottoman word; cf. also *Shaiḫ Sulaiman Bukhārī*, *Lughat-i Čaghatai wa-Turki 'Othmāni*, Istanbul 1297—1300; abbreviated edition with German translation by Dr. S. Kúnos, Budapest 1902 (*Publ. Sect. Orient. de la Soc. Ethn. Hongroise*, i.).

Radloff (*Zap.*, iii. 1 sqq.) presumes a purely eastern origin for the Čaghatai literary language. The Uighūr alphabet and literary language had survived from the pre-Muḥammadan period among the Muslim Turks; through the adoption of many Arabic and Persian words the Uighūr alphabet gradually fell into disuse; we have books written in "pure Uighūr language" but in the Arabic

alphabet, such as the *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* of Rabghūzī written in 710 (1310—1311) (Radloff in the introduction to his edition of the *Kudatku-Bilik*, p. lxxviii. has tried to show that the "Ilek-Khāns" in whose lands the earliest Muslim works in Turkish were written are "without a shadow of doubt to be regarded as Uighūr rulers"). In the period of the Mongols the Uighūr alphabet and language were widely disseminated. Many "pure Uighūr" words and grammatical forms were in this period driven out of use by borrowings from "Central Asian dialects"; but there are still in Čaghatai words and forms of Uighūr origin, which are only used in the literary language. As the Eastern Turks, unlike the southern Turks (Constantinople), had no common literary centre, the Čaghatai literary language has been influenced in different districts by various local dialects.

In contrast to this view it has now been proved (notably by A. Samoylovich in *Mir-Ali-Shir*, Leningrad 1928, p. 1 sqq.) that already in the pre-Mongol period in addition to the oldest Muslim centre of Turkish literary activity, Kāshghar [q. v.], there was a second literary centre in Khwārizm and on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā. This region retained its importance in the Mongol period under the rule of the Khāns of the Golden Horde. The literature of the Čaghatai kingdom seems not to have arisen till later and to have been influenced by the literature of the Golden Horde. Djamāl al-Kurashī, the author of the *Mulḥiqāt al-Šurāḥ* written in Kāshghar, made the acquaintance of the learned *Shaiḫ* al-Islām Husām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥmūd Ḥamid b. 'Āsim al-'Āsimī al-Bārčīnliḡ in 672 (1273—1274) in Bārčend (also called Bārčīn and Bārčīnliḡ) on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā. In addition to theological works in Arabic, the *Shaiḫ* also wrote verses in the three literary languages of Islām (this is probably the first time we have them classed together like this); his Arabic verses were of beautiful form (*faṣīḥa*), his Persian ingenious (*malīḥa*) and his Turkish in keeping with the truth (*ṣaḥīḥa*). To the frequently recurring (as early as the *Kitāb Baghdād* of Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭāfiūr, ed. Keller, p. 158) contrast between the perfect form of Arabic writings and the ingenious ideas of the Persian is now added the truthfulness of Turkish; and indeed the works of the Čaghatai poets by their simpler language and more simple train of thought give an impression of being more true to life than their Persian models (cf. E. Berthels, *Newāi-i 'Atfār*, in *Mir-Ali-Shir*, p. 24 sqq., esp. p. 80).

Among the works written in the kingdom of the Golden Horde, Khwārizmī's *Mahabbat-Nāma* (written in 754 = 1353 on the banks of the Sīr-Daryā) had a direct influence on Čaghatai literature. Besides the *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Add. 7914, Rieu, *Turk. Man.*, p. 284 sq., we also have the *Mahabbat-Nāma* in the Uighūr manuscript written in Rādjāb and Shābān 835 (March-April 1432) in Yazd for the emir *Djalāl al-Dīn*, Or. 8193 (*Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Sciences*, 1924, p. 57 sq.; *J. R. A. S.*, 1928, p. 99 sqq.). The *Ta'ashshuk-Nāma* of the Timūrid prince Sidi Aḥmad written in 839 (1435—1436) (in the same *MS.*, Add. 7914) is modelled on the *Mahabbat-Nāma*.

A few Turkish poets who lived in the Čaghatai kingdom are known of the viiith (xivth) century; Timūr's contemporary, the emir Saif al-Dīn, is said to have written five poems in Turkish and Persian

under the pen-name of Saifī (Dawlat-Shāh, ed. Browne, p. 108). What has survived to us belongs to the ixth (xvth) century, the period of Timūr's immediate successors. Sakkākī was a panegyrist of Ḥalīl Sultān (1405—1409) and Ulughbeg (1409—1449) (Brit. Mus., Or. 2079; Rieu, *Turk. Man.*, p. 284). Ulughbeg is also mentioned by the poet Luṭfī, some of whose poems have been included in the Uighūr MS., Or. 8193 (more fully on Luṭfī: Rieu, *Turk. Man.*, p. 285 and 287; Aḥmad Zakī Walidow, *Džagatayskiy poet Luṭfī i ego diwan*, Kazan 1914). Both poets speak of themselves with great pride. Sakkākī says to Ulughbeg: "It will be many years before such a Turkish poet as I and such a learned prince as thou appear again". Luṭfī says: "The Khān Ulughbeg knows how to appreciate the services of Luṭfī, whose brilliant poems are not inferior to those of Salmān" [q. v.] (text in W. Barthold, *Ulughbek*, St. Petersburg 1918, p. 112 sq.). To the same period belongs the panegyrist of another grandson of Timūr, the prince of Fārs, Iskandar Sultān (till 817 = 1414), Mir Ḥaidar Maḍjdhib (Dawlatshāh, p. 371; Rieu, *Cat. Turk. Man.*, p. 286; A. Pavet de Courteille, in *P. Ec. Long. Or. Viv.*, ser. ii, vol. vi, p. xxii. sqq.). His *Makẖzen al-Asrār* is intended as a reply to the *Makẖzen al-Asrār* of Niẓāmī (*G. Ĵ. Ph.*, ii. 241 sqq.). Parts of it have been published by Pavet de Courteille from a manuscript in Uighūr (now in Berlin). This poet also says that earth and heaven have been filled with the echo of his songs. Two other manuscripts written in Uighūr belong to the first half of the ninth (fifteenth) century: the *Bakhtiyār-Nāma*, MS. of 838 (1435) in Oxford (*G. Ĵ. Ph.*, ii. 324), and the *Mir'ādī-Nāma* with a Turkish translation of the *Tudḥkirat al-Awliyā* of Fariḍ al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār [see 'Aṭṭār], manuscript said to be (the *Hiḍja* year does not agree with the year of the cycle) of 10th Džumādā II, 840 (Dec. 20, 1436) in Paris (*P. Ec. Lang. Or. Viv.*, loc. cit.).

In the second half of the ixth (xvth) century Čaghatai literature reached its zenith in Mir 'Alī Shīr (b. 844 = 1440—1441, d. Sunday, 11th Džumādā II, 906 = Jan. 3, 1501). On the significance of his career and literary interest cf. Belin, *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Ali-Chir-Nevai* (*Ĵ. A.*, xvii., 1861, p. 175—256, 281—357); E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, esp. p. 437 sqq., 505 sqq.; *Mir-Ali-Shir*, Leningrad 1928. Like the other Čaghatai poets, Mir 'Alī Shīr, in his *Diwān* as well as in his numerous other poems, is simply an imitator of Persian poets, but he does not follow his models slavishly; his poems seem to have suited the taste of his time and people perfectly and have enjoyed great popularity down to the present day. Of importance is his last work, finished in Džumādā I, 905 (Dec. 1499) *Muḥakamat al-Lughatain* (Quatremère, *Chrestomathie en turc oriental*, parts 1—2, Paris 1842); the language and culture of the Turks are compared with those of the Persians; the author endeavours to show that the Turkish language is no less suitable than the Persian for poetic efforts and intellectual purposes generally. Mir 'Alī Shīr is frequently described in European works as a minister or vizier; but as a matter of fact he never held any such official position. His influence on affairs of state and his activity as a patron of arts and sciences were the result of his friendship (not

always unclouded) with his prince Sultān Ḥusain (1469—1506). Sultān Ḥusain was himself a poet. His *Diwān* was published in Baku in 1926. A son of this Sultān, prince Shāh Gharīb, whose pen-name was Gharībī (in the *Bābur Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, *G.M.S.*, i. 166, probably wrongly Gharibetī), has left a Persian (not known to Brockelmann) and a Turkish *Diwān* in the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek, No. 15 (Brockelmann, *Katalog*, No. 183 and 277), MS. dated Ramaḍān 940 (March—April 1534). Bābur [q. v.], the founder of the Timūrid Empire in India, was the author of a number of poems but is most celebrated for his *Memoirs* (*Bābur-Nāma* also *Waḳā'if* or *Waḳī'at-i Bāburi*; cf. *Ta'riḫ-i Rashīdī*, transl. Ross, p. 173 sq.); but Persian was almost exclusively used at the Indian court.

The Timūrids were driven out of Central Asia and Eastern Persia by the Özbegs. Under the latter, especially in the early period, when they had not yet completely adapted themselves to Persian culture, a good deal of Turkish was written both in verse and prose; but they stuck to the old "Čaghatai" models without producing anything new or original. Mir 'Alī Shīr remained the model for poets in educated circles, and for the poets of the masses Aḥmed Yesewī [q. v.], in the modernised form in which we now possess his *Diwān*. The historian Abu 'l-Ḥāzī Bahādur Khān [q. v.] probably stands alone, who endeavoured in his work (ed. Desmaisons, p. 37) to avoid Persian and Arabic as well as "Čaghatai Turkish" words and to write so that "even a five-year-old child" could understand him. One of the most popular poets (also used as a school text-book) of the Özbeg period was the mystic Sūfī Allāh Yār (end of the xviith and beginning of the xviiith century). Later in Bukhārā, Turkish literature was almost completely driven out by Persian (partly influenced by the local Tāḍjiki [q. v.]). In Khoḳand [q. v.] and Khīwa [see KH'WĀRIZM] Čaghatai literature experienced a noteworthy revival in the sixteenth century. Cf. especially M. Hartmann, *M. S. O. S. As.*, vii. 87 sqq. (the expression "revival" [*Nachblüte*], p. 79); A. Samoylovič, *Zap.*, xix. 0198 sqq.

The Uighūr alphabet was no longer used among the Özbegs as it still had often been under the Timūrids; but the influence of the Uighūr script can still be seen in the Arabic here (use of vowels instead of the vowel signs prevailing in South Turkish manuscripts). So far little attention has been paid to the question how far Čaghatai literature was influenced by the literature of the oldest Kāshghar period. That, as M. Hartmann thought (*M. S. O. S. As.*, vii. 79), the *Kutadghu-Bilig* (so to be written instead of Radloff's *Kutadku Bilik*) "remained almost neglected in the land itself and was taken to Egypt at an early date", can hardly be held any longer. Samoylovič (*Zap.*, xxi. 038 sqq.) has established the fact that on a jar found in Saraitik on the lower course of the Ural of the xiiith century, quotations are given from the *Kutadghu Bilig*. Even in the *Ta-wāriḫ-i Kh'wārizmshāhiya* finished at the end of Dhu 'l-Kā'da 1280 (May 1864) of Mullā Bābā Džān (the only known manuscript is in Berlin, acquired in 1929, f. 9b), we have the verses which sound exactly like a quotation from the *Kutadghu Bilig* (although not found in it): *wazīr etkisi dūr tamāmī niḡām niḡām olmasa 'adl taḡmas kiḡām* ("all the activity of the vizier should be directed to

order; where there is no order, justice cannot be carried out").

The same Turkish literary language as was written in the land of the Özbegs is written to the present in Chinese Turkestan (Kāshgharia). Here also day Turkish culture has been influenced by Persian; the only work of importance from Kāshgharia, the *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* of Haidar Mirzā [q. v.], is written in Persian; there are at least two Turkish translations of it (by Muḥammad Šādiḳ in the xviiith century; by an anonymous writer in Khotan dated 22nd Djumādā II, 1263 = June 7, 1847). Even under Ismā'il Khān (1670—1682) Mirzā Shāh Maḥmūd Ćurās (*Zap.*, xxii. 313 sqq.) wrote his history in very bad Persian instead of in his own native Turkish. A little later (beginning of the xviiith century) the history in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (*Zap.*, xv. 236 sqq.; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i., Berlin 1899—1905, p. 291 sqq.; in addition to this manuscript, there is now a second, Petrovskiy 9, in the Asiatic Museum) was written in a pure and simple Turkish language. On the most recent historical works from Kāshghar cf. e. g. *Zap.*, xvii. 0188 sqq. (on the *Ta'rikh-i Amaniya* of Mullā Mūsā of Sairām finished on the 11th Shawwāl 1321 [Dec. 17, 1903]).

In the xth century a new Turkish literature has been founded among the Özbegs under European (directly under Russian and Tatar) influences (sometimes called "Modern Ćaghatai literature"); it includes dramatic works among its productions.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): H. Vámbéry, *Ćagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1867; M. Hartmann, *Zentralasiatisches aus Stambul. Mevreb der weise Narr und fromme Ketzer. Ein zentralasiatisches Volksbuch. Ein Heiligenstaat im Islam* (all in "*Der islamische Orient*", vol. i.); do., *Der Ćaghataische Divan Hüwidā's* (M. S. O. S. As., v. 132 sqq.); better M. F. Gavrilov, *Sredneaziatskiy poet i sufiy Khuwaido*, Tashkent 1927; A. Samoylovich, *Literature tureckikh narodov* (in *Literatura Vostoka*, St. Petersburg 1919).

(W. BARTHOLD)

B. — I. OTTOMAN TURKS.

Language and Alphabets.

Ottoman Turkish has since the end of the xvth century been a language of literature and culture the forms of which have become securely established during the four centuries of its existence. Its evolution and the extension of its sphere of influence have been intimately connected with the political and cultural development of the Ottoman empire. It has therefore become one of the principal languages of the Muslim world, being next in importance to Arabic and Persian. After Ottoman culture had begun its orientation to the west in the period of the *Tanzīmāt* [q. v.] in the xixth century and in a greater measure since the end of the Ottoman empire in 1922, this same literary language has assumed the character of a national language which in Turkey is now never called anything but Turkish (*türkçe*). The influence of this language is still to be traced in the languages of those Muslim and Christian peoples who formerly formed part of the Ottoman empire.

Ottoman Turkish is a branch of the southwest or Turkoman group of Turkish languages (cf. Samoylovich, *Nekotorye dopolneniya k klassifikacii*

tureckikh jazykow, Petrograd 1922, p. 5 sq.; this same group is called by Radloff, *Phonetik der nördlichen Türk Sprachen*, Leipzig 1883, p. 280, that of the dialects of the south). These were the dialects originally spoken by the Oghuz Turks. With the other "dialects" of this group, the Adheri and Turkoman, Ottoman shares certain phonetic peculiarities like the dropping of the consonant *g* after another consonant (cf. e. g. *ķalan* compared with *ķalġan* of the other groups) and the form *ol-* instead of *bol-* (with certain survivals in Turkoman) for the root of the verb "to be", and, from the morphological point of view, of a special paradigm for the present of the verb (*ġeliyorum*). In the application of vowel harmony it distinguishes two groups of variable endings, that in which *e* alternates with *a* and that in which we have *i*, *ġ*, *u*, *ü* alternatively with fairly frequent traces of an inflection, which knew only the alternations *u*, *ü* (V. Grönbech, *Forstudier til tyrkisk Lydhistorie*, Copenhagen 1902, p. 18—19). Ottoman is distinguished from Adheri and Turkoman particularly by the change of initial *m* to *b* (*ben* in place of *men*). The conservative character that belongs to the Turkish language in general, due to the fact that the nominal and verbal roots hardly suffer any change, is the reason why the dialects of Ottoman differ very little among themselves [cf. below, iii.].

Turkish, as taught in the many grammars in European languages, is based, from the point of view of dialect, on the pronunciation which prevails in Constantinople, a pronunciation which is often characterised as light and melodious. This is due to the fact that the Constantinople dialect tends to make predominate, especially in the endings, terminations with "light" and unrounded vowels, while we do not have there the pronunciation *ķķ* in place of *ķ*, which prevails in the eastern dialects; it is probably also the great number of Arabic loanwords which has brought about the predominance of the "light" articulation. The language taught in the grammars has rather a conventional character, which is seen notably in the great regularity which they represent as prevailing in the vowel system of the roots (the two series *a*, *ġ*, *o*, *u* and *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü*) and in the rigorous application of the rules of vowel harmony. This regularity is far from being found in practice, although the language of the educated people tends to develop in this direction. The employment of the Arabic alphabet seems to have distracted the attention of the Turkish grammarians themselves from phonetic questions in general; the establishment of an orthography in the Latin alphabet will no doubt reveal gradually what are the tendencies of Turkish pronunciation.

The question of ascertaining which is the standard Ottoman dialect is however somewhat complicated. The opinion predominating in Turkey itself is that the best *türkçe* is that of Constantinople (Ziyā Gök Alp, *Türkçülüyyün Esasları*, Anķara 1339, p. 97). This however is making the question much too simple. The population of Constantinople is composed of many heterogeneous elements and no doubt a large number of Ottoman dialects have contributed towards the evolution of the language of the ancient capital of the empire. The prevalent view has more real foundation if we apply it only to the language of the educated classes. As regards pronunciation M. Bergsträsser thinks he

can say it is more or less uniform among the educated classes of Constantinople (Z. D. M. G., lxxii. 236). There are however still considerable divergencies in the different classes of society, as regards pronunciation and vocabulary; many memories of ancient dialectal differences must have still survived. We owe to Vámbéry the interesting statement that the members of the dynasty of 'Othmān had retained a mode of speech among themselves which differed from ordinary Turkish. We are however not at all well informed regarding the evolution of the language of the educated classes. For pronunciation, we possess of the xvth century a few Turkish texts written down in Latin characters (cf. especially Foy, *M. S. O. S.*, iv. and v.; and Babinger, in *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, p. 43). But these very interesting documents rather reflect a dialectal pronunciation; later documents also like Holdermann's Turkish grammar of 1730 (cf. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, Leipzig 1919, p. 14—15) show considerable divergencies compared with the Turkish of Constantinople of today, especially in the retention of endings with rounded vowels.

As to the vocabulary of the Turkish of the educated classes, we are in a position of still greater uncertainty, due to the fact that the ideal of what is good Turkish has considerably changed in course of time. This ideal down to the middle of the sixteenth century was strongly influenced by the literary language.

This written literary language developed from the first attempts at writing the Turkish spoken by the different Turkish groups who were established in Asia Minor in the xiiith century (cf. below, iv.). It is therefore based on several dialects, which did not differ greatly from one another and still less when written in the Arabic alphabet. This Arabic alphabet even caused the disappearance of a number of peculiarities of the Adheri dialect, which was not without influence in the development of literary Ottoman. The literary language does not, strictly speaking, possess a real classic, which could serve as an ideal model of language and style, as Arabic has in the *Kur'ān* and Persian in a more limited sense in the *Shāh-nāma*. The epithet classical is usually given to the language of the great Ottoman poets of the xvth and xvith centuries but the exaggerated artificiality of this language did not permit it a lasting influence.

The most prominent feature of the ancient literary language is the almost unlimited employment of words and expressions borrowed from literary Arabic and Persian. Like the other Turkish languages, whose speakers became Muslims, Ottoman Turkish shows from the first a number of words borrowed from Arabic and Persian belonging to the sphere of religion and culture. The linguistic character of the Turkish language offers no obstacle to the adoption en masse of foreign words which are not at all felt to be intolerable in the system of the language (cf. e.g. E. Sapir, *Language*, New York 1921, p. 210). This circumstance has given Turkish a great richness in possibilities of expression both in the noun and in the verb (by means of the auxiliary verbs *etmek*, *ylemek*, *kılmak*, *olmak* combined with Arabic *maşdar's*). And since Turkish literature for the most part began with translations from Persian, which has the same faculty for

adoption from the Arabic, the literary language has drawn abundantly from this source to enlarge its powers of expression. Thus there arose an ideal of literary beauty which has brought about a wide breach as regards vocabulary between the written language and the spoken language which came to be known as *şaba türkçe*. There have always, it is true, been scholars who condemned this artificial language (on the *basit türkçe* movement see below, iv.: Ottoman Literature) but it was only in the middle of the sixteenth century that a reaction set in against the abundant use of Arabic and Persian loanwords in the literary language. This movement coincides with the ascendancy of European influence on Turkish literature. But at the same time the influence of European civilization in general caused to be felt the want of new terms to express new ideas, technical, scientific, political etc., which came into Turkish civilization when it turned towards the west. In this difficulty, recourse was again had to the inexhaustible resources of the Arabic vocabulary and also to the morphological possibilities of Arabic. The result was that Turkish scholars and men of letters of the second half of the sixteenth century found themselves faced with an embarrassing wealth of foreign elements in the literary and learned language beneath which the Turkish element tended to be stifled. In spite of its faculty for adaptation, the Turkish language seemed to be supersaturated.

The study of the Arabic and Persian elements in Turkish presents much interest for the cultural evolution of the language and the people. The present pronunciation in many cases enables us to distinguish the words which have really passed into the language of the people, which can be seen from their more complete adaptation to the rules of vowel harmony, and those which remained the property of the scholar and man of letters only (cf. M. Bittner, *Der Einfluss des Arabischen und Persischen auf das Türkische*, Sb. Ak. Wien, CLXXII/iii.; G. Bergsträsser, *Zur Phonetik des Türkischen*, Z. D. M. G., lxxii.; and A. Schaade, *Der Vokalismus der arabischen Fremdwörter im osmanischen Türkisch*, Festschrift-Meinhof, p. 449 sqq.). The study of the meanings of these loanwords is equally important; many Arabic words have a different sense in Turkish from Arabic: in these cases the old lexicographers spoke of *ghale-ṭāt-i meshhûre*. Several works in Turkish are devoted to this subject.

To the generation of Turks of the period of the *Tanzimat* the question presented itself as a problem of culture. It was quite naturally thought that the only means of escaping from the impasse was to return to the language of the people in which the foreign element had always been slighter. Among the first to urge the use of a simpler language was Sulaimān Pasha (d. 1893), known from the Russo-Turkish war; he recommended the adoption of the simple language of the soldiers and published a Turkish grammar which he called *Şarf-i türkî*, avoiding the word *'othmānî* which Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha [q. v.] had still used in the title of his grammar *Ḳawā'id-i 'othmāniye* (Constantinople 1311). Another figure in the same period is Aḥmad Wafîk Pasha [q. v.] whose *Lehçe-i 'othmānî* is a serious attempt to regularise the use of foreign words. The literature of this period, although employing more modern literary

forms, still used the old literary languages which also prevailed in the newspapers and periodicals (school of Mu'allim Nâdî). But in proportion as the Ottoman empire approached its political crisis towards the end of the century, the interest in the language increased more and more. At this period we also find a movement for extreme purism of language, conducted especially by the paper *İkdam*; the great promoter of the *tasfiye-djilik* was Fu'ad Râ'if Bey. He simply preferred to banish all Persian and Arabic expressions from the language and to form new Turkish words, even borrowing them from other groups of Turkish languages, thus creating a language which Ziyâ Gök Alp calls "Turkish Esperanto". Even the lexicographer Sâmî [q.v.] declares himself in theory a supporter of this school. Soon this purism gave way to a more reasonable purism, which was propagated for the first time by the periodical *Genç Kalem* in Salonica (1910) and later by the *Türk Yurdu* in Constantinople. Some innovators like 'Omar Saif al-Dîn Bey even thought that the reformation of the Turkish language ought to be the principal article in the Turkish cultural reformation (cf. *Newsâl-i 'otmânî*, Constantinople 1330, p. 305). In 1917 the question was investigated by Djelâl Nûri in his brochure *Türkçümevî*. After the War, the new programme of the reform of the language was expounded by Ziyâ Gök Alp in *Türkçülüğüñ Esasları* (Ankara 1339, p. 100 sq.). As a result of these new views on language, the literary idiom has also taken a direction which brings it closer to the spoken speech; as examples we may quote the language of the literary works of Khâlîde Edib Khanum and Rüşen Eshref. On the other hand, a knowledge of the written language has spread at the same time among much larger sections of the people. The introduction of the Latin alphabet will undoubtedly influence the mutual relations of the written and spoken language.

Alongside of Arabic and Persian loanwords, Ottoman Turkish possesses a considerable number from other languages. Thus Italian has considerably enriched the terminology of navigation; then there are a fair number of words from Greek and Albanian. French made its influence felt in the sixteenth century but almost exclusively in scientific and quasi-scientific literature. Indirectly the influence of the great languages of Europe, and especially of French, has been felt in the simplification of literary style, in the tendency to avoid the heavy interminable phrases of the old Turkish prose.

The alphabet used for writing Turkish was the Arabic from the earliest known Anatolian documents of the thirteenth century. The system of transcription differs from that followed in Çaghatâi in as much as Ottoman makes a larger use of the emphatic Arabic letters (notably the *z* in roots with a heavy vowel, which corresponds to a real distinction in pronunciation; cf. the article quoted by Schaade, p. 451) and uses the "scriptio defectiva" in the roots with vowel *e*, *i* or *î* and even often for *a*. In 1727 printing was officially introduced into Turkey (cf. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1919) but this innovation was far from having the cultural importance for Turkey that printing had for Europe at the time of the Renaissance. A perfect uniformity of orthography in Arabic characters was never attained and, especially after 1900, we find several attempts to make writing in the Arabic

character clearer, e.g. by the use of the final form of the letter *h* for the vowel *e* but none of these attempts at reform met with general approval. The technique of Arabic calligraphy has been much cultivated in Turkey. Several scripts peculiar to Turkish have been evolved, like the *diwânî* hand which was used for official documents issued by the sultân and high officials, then the ornamental hand called *thulth* and the *riqa* which is a kind of cursive hand, that remained in use up till quite recently. Arabic calligraphy (*hüsni khatt*) in Turkey has at the same time maintained a higher level than in other Muslim countries (cf. the collection of biographies, *Khatt-u Khattâtîn* by Hâbib, Constantinople 1305). Other alphabets, which have been employed for Ottoman Turkish are the Greek by the Karamanlis and Armenian by the Turkish-speaking Armenians (cf. e.g. E. Littmann, *Ein türkisches Streitgedicht über die Ehe*, in *A Vol. of Or. Stud. pres. to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 269 sqq.). The Hebrew script has never been used for Ottoman Turkish.

In 1928 the Latin alphabet was officially introduced into Turkey to take the place of the Arabic. Since the Young Turkish Revolution there had been several attempts to simplify the Arabic alphabet for Turkish usage. The difficulty of Arabic orthography, requiring entirely different principles to write Turkish words and words borrowed from Arabic and Persian, was rightly regarded as a serious obstacle to the spread of the written language among the masses. Thus alongside of several attempts to reform Arabic orthography itself (cf. above), there appeared from time to time more radical proposals like the system which Enver Pasha tried to introduce into the army during the war. This system is based on the Arabic alphabet, but it does not join up the letters and has a consistent notation for all the vowels. But none of these systems gained any great success. On the other hand, the use of the Latin alphabet had always been resolutely opposed in religious circles, even for purely scientific purposes. After the restoration of the Nationalist Turkish state the question remained for some years in suspense. Clerical influence no longer counted and from time to time the position of the Latin alphabet was discussed in the press (brochure by A. Galanti, *Türkçüde 'arabî ve-latin Harfları ve-lml-ü Mec'lesi*, Constantinople 1925). The question was also influenced by the attitude of other Turkish peoples living in Russia, notably in Âdharbâjdjan, and by the discussions at the Turcological Congress at Baku in Feb. and March 1926 (cf. *Islâm*, xvi. 173 sqq.) where Turkey was only poorly represented. Finally in 1928 the government, supported by the Nationalist party, decided to push the matter forward. A law of May 20 officially introduced the use of the European numerals. In the meanwhile the government had been studying the new alphabet and on Aug. 21, Muştafâ Kemâl Pasha delivered his celebrated lecture on the new Latin alphabet in Constantinople. After a few modifications had been made in the first scheme, the new alphabet was at last introduced by a law of Nov. 1. This law orders the use of the Latin alphabet according to the rules elaborated by the *Dil endjümeni* (*Dil encümeni*) and the abolition of the Arabic alphabet, at the same time arranging the stages of the transition. It laid down June 1, 1930 as the final date at which the new alphabet must

be used in all kinds of published documents (cf. the text of the law in *Oriente Moderno*, Jan. 1929, p. 41 sqq. and the article by H. W. Duda, *Die neue Lateinschrift in der Türkei*, in *O.L.Z.*, 1929, col. 441—453). The newspapers had begun to appear in the new alphabet from Jan. 1, 1928. At the same time steps were taken to have the new alphabet taught to all classes of the population by means of courses lasting four months (*millet mektebi*).

The rapidity of the successive measures and the little resistance that seems to have been offered them show not only the strong position of the government but also the feasibility of such a radical reform. This is probably due to the fact that the percentage of the population seriously affected by the change was relatively small, on the other hand no one will deny that the Latin alphabet is much better fitted to render the phonetic character of Turkish than the Arabic alphabet. The time chosen to introduce the new alphabet was not inopportune but it was equally clear that the sacrifice of an alphabet which for centuries had been bound up with the religious, literary and cultural development of a people meant a cultural crisis which places a great responsibility upon the intellectual leaders of the people. The reform is still too recent to be able to judge of its effects.

The new alphabet shows several original features (like the use of *c* for the sound *ç*, of *ç* for *ç* and of *z* without dot for *z*; *ş* for *ş* shows the influence of Rumanian orthography); it is not overloaded with diacritical marks. We cannot yet speak of an established orthography but the rules given at the beginning by the *Dil endjümeni* have laid down the principle of an orthography as phonetic as possible, which applies even to words borrowed from other languages written in the Latin alphabet (e. g. *federasyon* for *fédération*). This often gives Arabic words a form which makes their identification difficult to those accustomed to the Arabic alphabet. In general, we can say that the new alphabet tends to be more suited to the spoken language than was possible with the Arabic alphabet; it has already been pointed out that this circumstance may facilitate in many points the scientific study of the Ottoman language.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

II. OTTOMAN-TURKISH DIALECTS. ¹)

1. Area of Dispersion.

For the want of the necessary detailed surveys it is impossible as yet to define the exact frontiers of the areas in which the Ottoman Turkish language is spoken. It extends over territory in Europe as well as Asia. In Europe in the Balkan peninsula, it is found in islets surrounded by other languages, which have very much broken the Turkish bloc. We may mention the following such Turkish speaking areas: 1. Eastern Thrace with the peninsula of Gallipoli, where the Turks form a solid body with a population of over a million. 2. Parts of Macedonia, namely a long stretch on the left bank of the Vardar, the land between İstip (Štip) and Radoviš (Radovišta), along the Aegean, roughly from Salonika to Dede-Ayač, especially the country

round the towns of Drama, Eskiše, Gümülžina (Gümüržina). On these lands there is a rich literature of the period of the Balkan Wars, some of it politically biased; cf. especially: *Carte ethnographique de la Macédoine du sud représentant la répartition ethnique à la veille de la guerre des Balkans, 1912*, by I. Ivanov (scale 1:200,000), also *Etnografična karta na odrinskija viljaet kam 1912 god.* by L. Miletič (scale 1:750,000), *Etnografička karta na Makedonija* by the same (scale 1:1,500,000); cf. also Vasil Kančof, *Makedonija, etnografija i statistika*, Sofia 1900. Since that time however the ethnical proportions have been very much altered. The exchange of population introduced by the treaty of Lausanne (1923) between Greece and Turkey brought about a considerable shrinkage in the number of Turkish speakers on the now Greek part of these lands, after Greece had sent over 400,000 Turks into Turkey. 3. Certain areas in Bulgaria, namely the districts of Deli-Orman, Tozluğ and Gerlovo in N.E. Bulgaria (cf. D. G. Gadžanow, *Vorläufiger Bericht über eine im Auftrag der Balkan-Kommission der kais. Akademie d. Wiss. in Wien durch Nordost-Bulgarien unternommene Reise zum Zwecke von türkischen Dialektstudien*, *Anz. Wien* of 8th Febr. 1911 and do., *Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die ergänzende Untersuchung der türkischen Elemente im nordöstl. Bulgarien in sprachlicher, kultureller und ethnogr. Beziehung*, *ebd.*, 24th Jan. 1912. For the question of the settlement of the Turks see also L. Miletič, *Staroto bulgarsko naselenie v sieveroistočna Belgarija*, Sofia 1902; the map in A. Ischirkoff, *Das Bulgarentum auf der Balkanhalbinsel im J. 1912*, in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteilungen*, Year 1915, is also very valuable, Plate 44 where the distribution of the islets of Turkish speakers is also given), also a considerable area in N.E. Bulgaria around the towns of Kyržaly and Mastanly. In addition, Turks are found scattered throughout Bulgaria, in the territory round Philippolis (Plovdiv) in the Kozha-Balkan and elsewhere; cf. Dr. Constantin Jireček, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Prag-Vienna-Leipzig 1891, p. 133—146 (out of date). 4. Turkish speakers are found scattered up and down the modern Yugoslavia, the bulk in Macedonia (cf. J. Cvijić, *Ethnographische Karte der Balkanhalbinsel nach allen vorhandenen Quellen und eigenen Beobachtungen*, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, March etc. 1913 and do., *Raspored balkanskih naroda*, *Glasnik Srpskog Geografskog Društva*, Belgrade 1913, p. 234—265). Isolated little bodies are found along the Danube, as far up as the interesting island of Adakale at Orsova (cf. the introduction to Vol. I. of I. Kúnos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Adakale*). 5. The whole western and northwestern shores of the Black Sea show considerable Ottoman influence. In the towns and steppes of the Dobrudja a good deal of Ottoman Turkish is spoken (cf. St. Romansky, *Le caractère ethnique de la Dobroudja*, Sofia 1917, and do., *Carte ethnographique de la nouvelle Dobroudja Roumaine*, Sofia 1915). Unfortunately we do not possess fuller information of the dialectal conditions there. It is important to note that the language of the Christian Gagauz is at bottom Ottoman Turkish. The Dobrudjan Gagauz whom I met north of Varna speak a dialect which is almost indistinguishable from the popular dialect of Constantinople. The language of the Bessarabian Gagauz also which we know from

¹) For practical considerations the author's system of transliteration is retained in this article. See note p. 926a.

Moškov's rich collection (Radloff's, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, vol. x., *Mundarten der bessarabischen Gagausen*, St. Petersburg 1904), is simply an Ottoman Turkish dialect. In spite of the fact that some students have regarded the Gagauz as descendants of the Kumans (C. Jireček, *Einige Bemerkungen über die Überreste der Petschenegen und Kumanen, sowie über die Völkerschaften der sogenannten Gagauzi und Surguči im heutigen Bulgarien*, *Sitzungsber. d. kön. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wiss.*, 1889), their present language contains in fact no Kuman elements.

Ottoman influence is very strongly marked on the south coast of the Crimea. The specimens recently published by O. Šatskaja of the popular poetry of Bağçysarai and Tuak (near Alušta) may be described simply as Ottoman Turkish (*J. A.*, April-June 1926, p. 341—369). The same must be said of many of the texts in Radloff, *Die Mundarten der Krym (Proben der Volksliteratur der nördl. türk. Stämme*, vol. VII). The Crimean Tatar literary language does not differ very seriously from the Ottoman written language (Samoilović, *Opýt kratkoj krymsko-tatarskoj grammatiki*, Petrograd 1916, p. 7 infra).

We have no accurate information about the present condition of the Turkish language in the islands of the Mediterranean, especially in Crete, Cyprus and the islands of the Aegean.

The Anatolian Turkish speaking area in north, west and south has well marked natural boundaries. In the northeast it gradually and apparently without a definite frontier passes into Ādharbāidjāni. Many linguistic peculiarities, which even Foy took to be specifically Ādharbāidjāni (*Azerbajgānische Studien mit einer Charakteristik des Südtürkischen*, *M. S. O. S. A.*, vi. 126—193; vii. 197—265), are also found in Asia Minor dialects, as Giese (cf. above i., p. 531) has rightly pointed out. In the southeast, Ottoman meets the Arabic of northern Syria. In northern Mesopotamia it is much broken up by Kurdish and considerably influenced by Ādharbāidjāni from Persia.

In addition to the settled Turks, we find in Anatolia and even in the Balkan Peninsula nomads and semi-nomads. In Asia Minor their numbers are still considerable, while they are disappearing on European soil (cf. P. Traeger, *Die Jürüks und Konjaren in Makedonien*, *Ztschr. für Ethnol.*, 1905, p. 198—206; on the Jürüks and Konjars in Bulgaria: Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, p. 139 sq.). In Anatolia, Turkish nomads are known under rather vague names like *Asiretler* ("clans"), Jürüks, Turkomans, or by their own tribal names like Avšars (or Afšars) etc. As a rule their language does not differ essentially from that of their settled neighbours.

The frontiers of the area of Ottoman Turkish are still being considerably altered. In the west, i.e. in the Balkans, it is constantly decreasing; while in the east, on the other hand, in places it is gaining ground.

2. Linguistic Minorities in the Ottoman-Turkish Area.

Steps taken by the present republican government have very much reduced the linguistic minorities within the frontiers of modern Turkey. Nevertheless the Ottoman Turkish speaking area is not yet by any means uniform and there are many other

languages in it. The following are the principal minorities: Greeks, formerly very numerous, now, as a result of the exchange of population, practically found only in Constantinople, Armenians (also almost entirely confined to the Constantinople territory), Arabs (Muḥammadan on the Syrian and 'Irāk frontier, Christian in Mersin and district), Kurds in the eastern wilāyets, but also in isolated groups elsewhere in Asia Minor (after Sheikh Sa'īd's rising in 1925, a considerable number were deported to the interior of Asia Minor as a punishment), Nestorian Syrians in the eastern wilāyets (especially Hakkīari), all kinds of Caucasian peoples (Laz, Georgians, Abkhaz, Circassians), who are found scattered all over Asia Minor, most thickly in the N.E., less numerous Albanians (Arnauts), gipsies, Spanish Jews, who live in the larger towns, etc.

Turkish minorities are also found in Asia Minor (e.g. the Krim Tatar emigrants in and around Eski-Shehir) as well as in Rumelia (on the Dobrudja, on the Bulgarian Danube).

3. The mutual Influences of Ottoman-Turkish and neighbouring Languages.

We are at present very imperfectly informed regarding the influence of Ottoman Turkish on its neighbours and *vice versa*. We can only indicate isolated phenomena: for example the disappearance of initial *h* (χ): *aķ* (= Ar. *ḥaq*), *ain* (= Ar. *ḥān*), *ane* (= Pers. *ḫāne*), *ani* (= *hany*, *ḫany*) etc., which is so characteristic of the Macedonian dialects (Kowalski, *Zagadki ludowe tureckie*, p. 11; do., *Osmanisch-türkische Volkslieder aus Mazedonien*, *W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiii. 167—168), but is also found in Bosnian Turkish (Blau, *Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 27), is to be ascribed to the influence of the Southern Slavonic languages. Similarly the variation between initial *e/je* which is often noticed in Northern Bulgaria, may be ascribed to Bulgarian influence. Possibly also the peculiar phenomena of palatalisation in the dialects of the Bessarabian Gagauz (Moškov, p. xxvii. sq.) are to be ascribed to Serbian influence.

Blau has studied the Turkish Serbian mixed language of Bosnia, but he devoted himself not to the spoken language but almost exclusively to manuscript material. On the Ottoman-Turkish language of the period of Turkish rule in Hungary cf. the valuable information in *Litteraturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit* (ed. by F. Babinger, R. Gragger, E. Mittwoch and J. H. Mordtmann, Berlin 1927).

That in the southeastern regions under the influence of Arabic, a greater variety of gutturals prevails than elsewhere in Ottoman and that in particular the Arabic *ain* is pronounced there in Arabic loanwords has been noted by several observers (cf. M. Hartmann, in *K. S.*, i. 154; Balkanoglu, *Dialecte turc de Kilis*, *K. S.*, iii. 263).

The interaction between Turkish and the neighbouring languages is best seen in the vast number of borrowings. So far, Turkish loanwords in non-Ottoman languages have received more attention than non-Turkish words in Ottoman. On the influence of Ottoman-Turkish on the languages of Southeast and Eastern Europe, see especially the work of Fr. Miklosich (*Die türkischen Elemente in den südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen*, Griechisch, Albanisch, Rumänisch, Bulgarisch, Serbisch, Kleinrussisch, Grossrussisch, Polnisch, Denkschriften d.

Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, vol. xxxiv.—xxxviii.; cf. thereon Fr. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *Corollarien zu Miklosich "Die türkischen Elemente..."*, *S.B. Ak. Wien*, vol. cxlvi., 1911). Very valuable also is Fr. Miklosich: *Über die Einwirkung des Türkischen auf die Grammatik der südosteuropäischen Sprachen*, *S.B. Ak. Wien*, vol. cxx., 1890; also N. K. Dmitrijev, *Etjudy po serbsko-tureckomu jazykovomu vzaimodejstviju*, *Doklady Akad. Nauk. S.S.S.R.*, 1928–1929. Turkish loanwords in Serbian in Gj. Popović, *Turske i druge istočanske reči u našem jeziku*, Belgrade 1889, in Rumanian: Th. Löbel, *Elemente turcești, arăbești și persane în limba Română*, Constantinople–Lipsa 1894, and Lazare Sainéan, *L'influence orientale sur la langue et la civilisation roumaines*, i., *La langue, les éléments orientaux en roumain*, Paris 1902. L. Ronzevalle, *Les emprunts turcs dans le grec vulgaire de Roumélie et spécialement d'Adrinople* (*J. A.*, 1911, July–Dec.), discusses Ottoman loanwords in popular Greek, while A. Danon, *Essai sur les vocables turcs dans le judéo-espagnol* (*K. S.*, iv., 1903; v., 1904 and xiii., 1912) discusses the Turkish loanwords in the everyday language of the Spanish Jews.

The Turkish dialects of the Balkans, in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania, show a very high percentage of Slav or Rumanian loanwords. The influence of Arabic and Persian on Turkish, unfortunately with reference to the written language only, is discussed by M. Bittner (*S.B. Ak. Wien*, cxlii., 1900), the Greek elements in Turkish by G. Meyer (*Türkische Studien*, *S.B. Ak. Wien*, cxxviii., 1893).

Our information is very defective regarding the pronunciation of Ottoman Turkish by the numerous non-Turkish minorities in Turkey. A little can be learned from types of dialect in the Karagöz plays, although the greatest caution is necessary since its dialects, as G. Jacob rightly points out (*Das türkische Schattentheater*, Berlin 1900, p. 29–37; *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, Hanover 1925, p. 143), are not true to life but are traditional caricatures, which cannot be taken as based on actual observation. The Turkish of the Greeks and Armenians living in Constantinople used to be caricatured in the Turkish humorous journals. Important material is also supplied by the until recently fairly important daily press, printed in Greek or Armenian type, for the Greeks (the *Karamanlis*) and Armenians who can only speak Turkish. On such literary material, excluding the spoken language, are based the able *Studien zum Armenisch-Türkischen* of F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst (*S.B. Ak. Wien*, vol. clxviii./3, Vienna 1912). They deal mainly with the Armenian Turkish of Constantinople. On the language of the *Karamanli* (*Karamali*) cf. N. Dmitrijev, *Materialy po osmanskoj dialektologii. Fonetika "karamalickogo" jazyka*. *Zap. Kollegii Wostokowedow*, iii. (1928), p. 417–458.

In the pronunciation of the Turkish speaking Greeks, a striking feature is a kind of zeta-ism: $\text{š} = \text{z}$, $\text{č} = \text{c}$, $\text{ž} = \text{z}$, as *çok* (*čok*), *olazak* etc. (cf. G. Jacob, *Zur Grammatik des Vulgär-Türkischen*, *Z. D. M. G.*, lii. 701).

In two Turkish speaking Laz from Laz Köi near Adampol on the Bosphorus whose pronunciation I studied for sometime, I was struck by their pronunciation of *ki* as *či*, e.g. *čün* (*ekin*) "seed", and of the ž as z ; the same thing was noted in a Laz in Samsun: *oda čiltilidir* (*o. kilit-*

lidir). They also pronounced the voiced initial consonants *b*, *d*, *g* voiceless as *p*, *t*, *k* (cf. Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 699).

The Jewish pronunciation, according to the Turks, is characterized by the spirant pronunciation of initial *g* before *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü*, and by the lengthening of the accented vowels in the last syllable: *ben ieldim* (= *geldim*), *bağlım*...

4. The history of the formation of the present Ottoman speaking areas.

The situation we find in the present Ottoman speaking areas is the result of a very long and very complicated process of settlement and assimilation.

It is clear that the inhabitants of Turkey and the adjoining territories who now speak Ottoman Turkish are only to a very small degree descendants of the Turks who migrated hither but, on the contrary, are in the overwhelming majority descended from turkicised native elements.

A history of the settlement of Asia Minor and the Turkish parts of the Balkan Peninsula has yet to be written. So far not even the necessary preliminary work has been undertaken. The process of turkicisation of the territories in question can be represented in general outlines as follows.

Isolated South Turkish groups settled in Byzantine territory even before the Saldjuk invasion, both in Asia Minor and in the Balkans. In the latter area there must still have been also considerable bodies still in existence, surviving from the earlier North Turkish immigrations which came there by the north of the Black Sea. But it is not till the middle of the xith century that we have an immigration on a considerable scale, which may be called Saldjuk and lasts till the end of the xiiith century. Towards the end of Saldjuk dominion in Asia Minor, the process of turkicising the native population must have been begun. This process continued during the rule of the petty principalities which arose out of the ruins of the Saldjuk empire.

The immigration of the Ottoman Turks in the xiiith century seems to have at first played a very minor part in the settlement of Asia Minor, on account of the small numbers concerned. But the political power of the Ottoman state which then began its rapid development had no doubt a far-reaching influence on the process of turkicisation. Only through the gradual unification of Asia Minor by the Ottomans and their great conquests in the Balkans were the preliminary conditions for the turkicisation of these lands created. During the whole period of Ottoman rule we have to think of continual movements of population going on within its frontiers, sometimes large, sometimes small, and with a continual infiltration of Turkish elements sometimes slow, sometimes fast, from outside, especially from the east. Large areas in the Balkans were colonised, although thinly, by Turks from Asia Minor soon after their conquest. Under pressure from the government, great masses of the non-Turkish population adopted Islam and gradually became assimilated to the Turks even to the extent of exchanging their own language for Ottoman Turkish. The Turks of the Balkans still know in many cases whether they are descendants of Turkish immigrants from Asia Minor or

from converted Christians, who became in time quite turkicised.

The immigration of Turkish elements increased in strength after Russia had extended her power over lands with a Muslim Turkish population. Particularly after the annexation of the Crimea in 1783 and on the final subjection of the Caucasian lands in 1864 great bodies of Turkish immigrants poured over the whole Ottoman territory. The attainment of independence by the Balkan peoples on the other hand began the return of large bodies of Turks to Asia Minor, which is still going on. This latter process increased in strength after the World War and, as a result of the exchange of population with Greece, led to about half a million Turks being moved from the now Greek part of Turkey and distributed over almost the whole of Asia Minor.

That a linguistic area which had been formed in such a complicated fashion cannot be uniform as regards dialect is obvious and it is equally clear that the dialectal relations must be extremely complicated.

As regards language, the Oghuz tribes who migrated into Asia Minor must have been fairly uniform. From all that we know of it, the language of the Saldjûk Turks was barely distinguishable from what is known as Old Ottoman. There were of course dialectal nuances in the speech of the different tribes which in time sometimes became deeper and sometimes disappeared. As regards the mixture and levelling of dialects, it was much favoured, especially in Asia Minor, by the nomadic or at least semi-nomadic mode of life of the pure Turkish population which lasted for a long time and indeed is not yet quite extinct.

North Turkish elements (especially remnants of the Kumans), who were still to be found in the Balkan lands in the Byzantine period, almost entirely succumbed in time to Ottoman influence as regards language. Certain linguistic peculiarities which are observed in the dialects of the lands W. of the Black Sea (Deli Orman, Dobrudja, Bessarabia) and, which, it is interesting to note, have certain analogies in the adjoining parts of Asia Minor, may perhaps be regarded as the result of contact between north and south Turkish.

In the language of the turkicised masses, one must expect to have to deal with secondary alterations in Turkish sounds, the result of inherited modes of articulation by the peoples concerned. The mobility of the population, military service, and in recent times the school have however tended to introduce a certain uniformity.

That the mixture and standardising of dialects have not gone further than we actually find, is due to the fact that new settlements do not as a rule merge completely into the old but exist alongside of them and that every settlement retains its own peculiarities for a long period unaltered.

Apart from the historical sources, which have not yet been fully utilised to write a history of the process of settlement by the Turks, we have in place-names a valuable auxiliary source for the study of the gradual settlement and turkicisation of Asia Minor and Rumelia. Unfortunately very little progress has so far been made with such toponomastic studies. In recent years Turkish scholars have devoted some attention to Oghuz tribal names which have become place-names (cf.

Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fu'ad, *Oğuz etnolojîsine dâ'ir ta'rîkh-i notlar, Türkiyeât medîmü'ssâ'i*, i. 185-211; H. Nihâl and Aḥmad Nâdjî, *Anadoluda Türklerle 'âid yer isimleri*, *ibid.*, ii. 243-259). The villages of emigrants of recent date usually have artificial names derived from personal names by means of the Arabic ending *-iye*, like *Osmaniye*, *Orḫaniye*, *Reşadiye*, etc.

5. Sources of our knowledge of Ottoman Turkish dialects and their value.

The most important source for our knowledge of the present linguistic conditions on Ottoman territory is the observations made by European students. Relatively little has been done by Turks as yet in this connection.

If we were to mark on a map of Turkey the places about which we have a certain amount of dialectological information, we would at once see what an infinitesimal amount of work has so far been done and how far we are from an exact knowledge of the whole linguistic area.

The value of the observations upon which we have to rely is very unequal. To the majority of students, the folklore content of the texts taken down by them was the main thing while the linguistic interest was quite subsidiary. The localisation of linguistic phenomena found in the texts is often made difficult by the fact that the collectors neglect to give the place of origin of their authority. The fullest collection of material, that of I. Kúnos, is not free from objection as regards method and has therefore to be used very critically.

Folksongs, so interesting from the folklore point of view, do not form specially suitable material for the study of dialects. For whole songs as well as their individual *motives* wander with remarkable rapidity over wide areas and their language becomes adapted to the local dialect, not at once and even after a considerable period not completely. The songs therefore occasionally show dialectal forms transmitted from distant areas. We have also to reckon with an artificial language for songs, such as has often been noted among Turkish peoples. It is the same with riddles and proverbs, and with the products of folk-literature in general, which show a more or less rigid form.

Most texts have been taken down in the towns where the population is as a rule considerably more mixed than in the country and where dialectal conditions are not so clearly distinguishable. Texts taken down from the lips of villagers on the spot are exceedingly rare. It is no wonder that in such circumstances we cannot yet speak of a study of dialects on Ottoman-Turkish territory on a sound scientific basis.

6. Specimens of language taken down in various areas.

The texts so far published concern either considerable areas or only very limited smaller ones. To the former belong: I. Kúnos, *Mundarten der Osmanen*, St. Petersburg 1899 (forms vol. viii. of the *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, ed. by Radloff). The provenance of the separate specimens is not exactly given, so that the work is of little value for dialect studies (quoted below as *Mund.*). V. Gordievskij, *Obrascy osmanskago narodnago tvoriestva*, Moscow 1916; folklore texts mainly taken down in Constantinople,

some also from Asia Minor (especially at Nigde): Abbreviation *Gord. T. Kowalski, Zagadki ludowe tureckie*, Cracow 1919; a collection of 141 riddles in phonetic transcription with exact statement of their provenance: Abbrev. *Zag.*

For the separate areas we may mention:

1. The Danube Island of Adakale. I. Kúnos, *Ada-Kalei török népdalok*, Budapest 1906. A hundred folksongs collected in Adakale in transcription and with Hungarian translation: Abbrev. *Adak. Lied*; I. Kúnos, *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Rumelischen Türkisch*, Part. i.: *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Adakale gesammelt, in Transkription herausgegeben und mit Einleitung vers.*, Leipzig-New York 1907, Part. ii.: *Deutsche Übersetzung mit Sachregister*, ibid. 1907. Abbrev.: *Adak.*

2. Bessarabia. W. Moškov, *Mundarten der Bessarabischen Gausen*, Text, St.-Petersburg 1904 (forms Vol. x. of Radloff's *Proben der türkischen Volksliteratur*). Abbrev.: *Gagaus.*

3. Bulgaria. S. Čilingirov, *Turski poslovice, pogovorki i karakterni izrazi* (in *Bulletin du Musée National d'Ethnographie de Sofia*, ii. 157—71; iii. 59—65), Sofia 1922—23. Does not give a correct idea of the dialects of the Bulgar Turks; cf. thereon: N. Dmitrijev, *Zametki po bolgarsko-tureckim govoram* (*Doklady Akademii Nauk B, Leningrad* 1927, p. 210—215).

4. Macedonia. T. Kowalski, *Osmanisch-türkische Volkslieder aus Mazedonien*, *W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiii., 1926, p. 166—231. Abbrev.: *Maz.*

A few specimens from Macedonia also in *Zag.*

5. Thrace and Constantinople. I. Kúnos, *Osmán-török népköltési gyűjtemény*, 2 vols., Budapest 1887 and 1889. Very full collection of folklore materials from Constantinople. Abbr.: *O. T.*; L. Bonelli, *Locuzioni proverbiali del Turco volgare*, *K. S.*, i., 1900, p. 308—322 (transcription of 140 proverbs and idioms collected in Constantinople); I. Halász, *Török dalok, Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, xxii. (1892), p. 526—528 (9 short songs in the Constantinople dialect).

6. Western Asia Minor. I. Kúnos, *Kisásiai török nyelv*, I. *Brusza-Aidin vidéki nyelvmutatványok (népdalok)*, *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, xxii. (1890), p. 113—156, 40 songs from the district of Brusa-Aidin in transcription with Hungarian translation and notes. Abbrev.: *Brus.-A.*, II. *Brusza vidéki szólások*, p. 261—274, 165 proverbs from Brusa with Hungarian transl. and notes. Abbrev.: *Brus.*; I. Kúnos, *Nasreddin Hodsa Tréfái*, Budapest 1899, 165 pranks of Xoǵa Naşreddin said to be in the Aidin dialect, which according to Kúnos extends from Aidin to Konya. Abbrev.: *Aid.*; K. Foy, *Das Aidinisch-Türkische*, *K. S.*, i. (1900), p. 177—194 and 286—307; T. Kowalski, *Piosenki ludowe anatolskie o rozbojniku Czakydzym, Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, i. 334—355, 29 čakýžy-quatraines taken down from a man of Dumanly (Kaza Uşak). Abbrev.: *Dum.*; T. Kowalski, *Cinq récits de Günei (Vilayet Smyrne)*, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, ii. 204—212. Abbrev.: *Gün.*; V. A. Maksimov, *Opyt issledovanija turkskich dialektov v Chudavendgarje i Karamanii*, St. Petersburg 1867. The majority of the authorities used by W. Heffening, in his *Türkische Volkslieder*, *Isl.*, xiii. 236—267 came from Western Asia Minor.

7. Wilāyet of Kastamuni. J. Thúry, *A Kastamuni-i török nyelvjárás*, Budapest (Academy) 1885, a grammatical sketch of Kastamunian with a glossary from Ğalib's *Muǵayabāt-i-türkiye*.

Abbrev.: *Kast.* Cf. also Cl. Huart, *Un commentaire du Qurān en dialecte turc de Qastamoûni (XV^{ème} siècle)*, *J. A.*, ser. II, xviii. (1921), p. 161—216.

8. N. E. Asia Minor. V. Pisarev, *Njeskolko slov o trebizondskom dialektje* (*Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russ. Arch. Obšč.*, xiii. [1901], p. 173—201).

Abbrev.: *Pis.*; L. Bonelli, *Voci del dialetto turco di Trebisonda*, *K. S.*, iii. (1902), p. 55—72; I. Kúnos, *Lás dalok, Nyelv. Közl.*, xxii. (1891), p. 275—298, 11 Laz-Turkish songs and a list of Laz-Turkish words from the district of Samsun-Trebizond. Abbrev.: *Laz.*; M. Räsänen, *Eine Sammlung von Mäni-Liedern aus Anatolien*, *J. S. F. O.*, xli. (1926), 290 quatrains from the wilāyets of Erzerum, Rize, Trebizond in accurate phonetical transcription. Abbrev.: *Räs.* [poem and verse are quoted]; Balhassanoglu, *Dialecte turc d'Erzerum*, *K. S.*, v. (1904).

9. Wilāyet of Konya. F. Giese, *Erzählungen und Lieder aus dem Vilayet Konjah*, Halle a. S.—New York 1907. Abbrev.: *G.*; F. Vincze, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des anatolischen Türkisch*, *K. S.*, ix. (1908), p. 141—179, deals with the dialect of the town of Konya itself. Abbrev.: *Vin.*

10. Antitaurus territory. Dr. Hamid Zübeir, *Avşar Türk ayıtlarına dâ'ir, Türk Furdu*, May 1928, p. 21—24, specimens of the so-called *ayyt* (dirges) of the Avşars of the Antitaurus. Abbrev.: *Avş.*

11. Borders of Syria and Mesopotamia. Balkanoglu, *Dialecte turc de Kilis*, *K. S.*, iii., p. 261—273, brief sketch of the dialect spoken in Kilis (Kilis) in North Syria; do., *Dialecte de Behesni*, *K. S.*, iv., on the dialect of Behesni, between Maraş and Diyarbakir; M. Hartmann, *Zur türkischen Dialektkunde*, *K. S.*, i. (1900), p. 154—156, some notes on the Ottoman dialects of North Syria (Kilis, Aintab); E. Littmann, *Ein türkisches Märchen aus Nordsyrien*, *K. S.*, ii. (1901); Felix v. Luschan, *Einige türkische Volkslieder aus Nordsyrien*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxxvi. (1904), p. 177—236, mainly taken down from an Armenian from Aintab.

As is clear from this short bibliographical sketch, many important areas, in European as well as in Asiatic Turkey, have not yet been studied as regards their dialects.

7. Dialectal Division of Ottoman Turkish Territory.

All the names which have hitherto been in use for Ottoman Turkish dialects, e.g. Kastamunian, Laz-Turkish, Karamanian, Kharput, etc. are of no value as designations of dialects. They correspond simply to geographical or political administrative conceptions, the connection of which with the boundaries of the corresponding dialects would have first to be proved, if it exists at all.

Even the great division, often taken for granted, of Ottoman into the Rumelian and Anatolian, is of no value from the dialectological point of view and should be discarded as misleading, in view of the history of the settlement of European Turkey. We know positively that certain Rumelian districts were colonised from Asia Minor and as a result their dialects still show distinct traces of their Anatolian origin.

After all that has been said above it must be clear that we cannot yet expect in the immediate future a serious attempt at a scientific classification of Ottoman Turkish dialects. What has so far been

done is based rather on intuition and imagination than on established facts. This applies also to the attempt by Kúnos to divide up Asia Minor according to dialects.

Kúnos (*Kisásia török dialectusairól*, Budapest 1896) distinguishes the following seven dialects: 1. Zeibek in Western Anatolia between Smyrna and Brusa; 2. Kastamunian in the central littoral of the Black Sea; 3. Laz on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, towards the Caucasus; 4. Kharput in the east of Asia Minor, towards the Armenian highlands; 5. Karamanian in southeastern Asia Minor between Mersin and Konya; 6. Angoran in the heart of Asia Minor in the valley of the Kyzyl Yрмак; 7. Jürüküş Turkoman in use among the wandering tribes (*aşiretler*), which are scattered over a wide area of Asia Minor.

Zeibek, Angoran and Jürüküş Turkoman are regarded by Kúnos as unmixed dialects of the early Turkish immigrants. The Jürüks in particular are taken to be the descendants of pre-Saldjūk Turkomans and the Zeibeks of the Saldjūk Turks. Angoran is said to be the survival of the language of the earliest Ottoman immigrants. The four other dialects are regarded by Kúnos as dialects of the turkicised original population of Asia Minor, which arose through the influence of the original languages of these peoples upon Turkish. According to him, Kastamunian was especially influenced by Greek, Kharput by Kurdish, Karamanian by Armenian, Laz however by an "Indo-Germanic" (!) language, not more precisely defined.

This attempt to classify the dialects of Asia Minor has no scientific basis, although at first sight it appears very plausible.

The first serious attempt to collect the distinguishing features of the spoken Ottoman language is in Jacob's essay in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lii. (1898), p. 695-729, *Zur Grammatik des Vulgär-Türkischen*. J. Deny, in *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmanli)*, Paris 1920, draws the attention on certain dialectical peculiarities.

8. Dialects and the Written Language.

The written language has always exercised a levelling influence on the spoken dialects. It is based on the language of the educated classes of Constantinople, which has till now been regarded as a model and is disseminated generally by the schools.

Of this language we had till lately only a vague conception. It was only quite recently that Bergsträsser began a serious attempt to define more exactly the living written language of the educated classes, at least from the phonetic side (G. Bergsträsser, *Zur Phonetik des Türkischen nach gebildeter Konstantinopler Aussprache*, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxii. [1918], p. 233-262). It is proved that this is by no means uniform in its phonetics. Hence the conception of an educated Constantinople pronunciation is only to be used with great caution and with all kinds of limitations.

On the origin of the Ottoman written language (cf. above, ii.) we unfortunately still know far too little. We can only suppose that it gradually developed out of the dialect of court circles in northern Anatolia. When the capital was removed to Adrianople and then to Constantinople, the course of development was probably influenced by the dialects predominating there, while it in turn

strongly influenced the latter. In any case the written language is closer to the dialects of the parts of Thrace and Asia Minor adjoining the Bosphorus and Sea of Marmora than to the dialects of the districts farther west and east.

The earliest literary monuments not infrequently reveal dialectal peculiarities, which we can still trace in various living dialects. Unfortunately their systematic study has hardly been begun.

For the history of the written language and its relation to the older and modern dialects the study of the Old Ottoman texts that exist in transcriptions would be most important [cf. K. Foy, *Die ältesten osmanischen Transcriptionstexte in gothischen Lettern*, *M.S.O.S.*, 2nd part, iv. (1901), p. 230-277; v. (1902), p. 233-293 and Dmitriyev, in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, iii. (1928), p. 420].

9. General Characteristics of the Ottoman Turkish Dialects.

The differences between the various dialects of Ottoman are as a rule not great. This is connected with the fact that there is not great differentiation among the Turkish languages in general. In the area over which Ottoman Turkish is spoken at the present day, it would hardly be possible to find two places the inhabitants of which would not understand one another.

The differences between the separate dialects consist mainly in slight differences in the articulation of certain sounds, in a few sound shiftings and in not inconsiderable differences of vocabulary. Morphological differences are as a rule very slight.

Many investigators have already pointed out that there is little uniformity within the separate dialects. It can be observed everywhere that there is considerable variation in the articulation of separate sounds as well as in the use of grammatical forms by one and the same person. Most of our records of the dialects are therefore full of inconsistencies which, although to some extent due to the carelessness of the recorders, in the main give a true picture of the actual conditions. This variation must be ascribed to an advanced stage of intermixture of dialects which is almost general.

It must be remembered that many elements of the Turkish people now settled were till quite recently nomadic and moved about over a very large area. A great body of emigrants (*mühâjir*) from all possible Turkish areas has long been breaking up the early linguistic map, especially in Asia Minor. In quite recent years Anatolia has had to receive large bodies of emigrants from the Balkans. The measures taken by the republican government aim at as great a uniformity as possible within the state as regards language also, which is being attained mainly through the schools and military service. It is obvious that this is breaking up and destroying the local dialects.

If we remember what has been said above about the historical developments, the present confusion in dialects must be regarded as natural.

To a certain degree, the variation in articulation of separate sounds is to be ascribed to a lack of precision in pronunciation, which is peculiar to the Turks. The place of articulation as well as the degree of opening and expanding of the organs of speech often show considerable latitude. I need only mention the very indolent and varying pronunciations of the *r* pronounced on the tip of the tongue (cf. Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, p. 251).

From cases of real inconsistency of pronunciation we must carefully distinguish those which are only due to defective notation by the recorders. Thus we often find a varying transcription of a sound which in itself is uniform, like the narrow *ē*, which in sometimes written *e* or *ī*, or the slightly labial *u*, sometimes transcribed *u* or *y* etc.

10. Concluding Remarks.

Since it is not possible to speak of dialectal unities in the strictly scientific sense, we must for the present be content with an orderly arrangement of the linguistic records, mainly of a phonetic nature, which show a variation from the written language and in different combinations characterize the different dialects. On the area of dispersion of most phenomena we are very poorly informed. It will have to be left to future systematic investigation to fill in accurate details in the map of the Ottoman speaking area.

Since we still know very little of the historical grammar of Ottoman Turkish, it seems advisable to collect and arrange the facts afforded by our collections of material without going into chronological questions.

Vowels ¹⁾.

Round Vowels.

§ 1. *ö* and *ü* have a very varying pronunciation in the dialects but with a distinct tendency to abandon the characteristic peculiarities of their pronunciation. For many, especially Asia Minor dialects, *ö* and *ü* pronounced slightly farther back are characteristic, which sound to the ear rather as *o* or *u* so that they have usually been written as *o* or *u*. These varieties of *ö*, *ü* are frequently found in the first (root) syllable, especially after initial *g* or *k*. According to Räs., the shifting from *ö* > *o* seems to be almost regular in N.E. Anatolia. Giese often noticed the change from *ö* > *o* and *ü* > *u* in texts from the wilāyet of Konya. It is also recorded by Thüry for Kastamuni (Kast. 8). Occasionally also it is found on Rumelian territory, namely in Adakale.

Examples: *a*. from Räs. *t^cor* (kör 110, 3), *t^cömur* (kömür 123, 3), *öpert^cen* (öperken 131, 3), *dön* (dön 98, 4);

b. from G. *donüp* (dönüp 17, 22), *şöyle* (şöyle 29, 18),

1) The following signs are used to indicate Ottoman Turkish sounds:

A. vowels (the approximate mode of articulation is added in brackets according to Bell's vowel table): *ī* (hfa), *ī* (hfw), *ē* (mfñ), *e* (lfn), *y* (hxn), *ə* (mxn perhaps mxw), *ü* (hfnr), *ö* (mfñr), *ú* (hxn̄r), *ó* (mxnr), *u* (hbn̄r), *o* (mbnr), *u* (between hbn̄r and hxn), *ü* (between hfn̄r and hfw), *a* (lb), *ī* (not syllable forming *ī*), *u* (not syllable forming *u*).

B. Consonants: *b*, *p*, *v*, *f*, *m*, *d*, *t*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *ž* (= *āš*), *č* (= *īš*), *ž* (= *āž*), *c* (= *īc*), *n*, *j*, *g*, *k*, *h*, *γ*, *χ*, *η*, *l*, *l̄*, *r*, *h*.

C. Special signs: — length, — palatalisation, — aspiration, — reduction of voicing, — stress (accent), < = derived from, > = has become.

Note: In round brackets are given the equivalents in the written language of the corresponding dialect form. They must not however be in any way regarded as the original or basic form of the word in question.

dokerim (dökerim 87, 8), *gotürür* (götürür 22, 11), *gozüümü* (gözümü 31, 5);

c. from Adak. *bujuk* (büyük 6, 31), *sozini* (sözümü 141, 27), *butun* (bütün 7, 18; 141, 18), *umrumde* (ümrumde < ömrümde 8, 32).

Note. This shifting from *ö*, *ü* to *o* and *u* frequently brings whole words from the anterior (light) to the posterior (heavy) series of vowels, e. g. *duydurup* (döydürüp, döydürüp G 34, 5), *guşun* (göğüsünü, göğüsünü G 90, 2), *koço* (köpe "hound", Deli Orman) etc.

§ 2. *ö* > *e*. We rarely find a case of the complete unrounding of *ö* and its transition to *e*: *elmedüm* (ölmedüm, ömedim Räs. 102, 3), *elürsa* (ölürse Räs. 165, 3).

§ 3. *ö* in the stem syllable is often pronounced with a higher position of the tongue so that it becomes *ü* (regular change in the Volga dialects!). This *ü* by § 1 may again become *u*. We find this with special frequency in texts from Adakale: *gütür* (götür 5, 13), *gütürük* (götürür 138, 10), *düner* (döner 7, 8), *üper* (öper 2, 30; 7, 21 etc.), *üksüz* (öksüz 1, 3).

Sporadic cases of *ö* > *ü* (> *u*) are also found in Asia Minor: *düşeklerde* (döşeklerde G 89, 24), *guren* (gören G 83, 7) etc.

§ 4. *o* > *u*. Analogous to the preceding is the case of the *o* of the stem syllable raised to *u* in many dialects: *u* (*o* "he" Räs. 178, 3), *uñ* (*on* "ten" Räs. 76, 4), *duñan* (doğan Räs. 226, 1), *ussay* (oñsay G 56, 23), *yuwan* (kovan G 64, 15).

§ 5. In the wilāyet of Angora we find a pronounced diphthongisation of initial *ö* to *uö*: *köpein* (öpeim from Taş-Oluğ near Kır-Şehir), *köldü* (öldü) etc. In these regions initial *gö*, *kö*, becomes *gkü*, *gkü*, *gkü* or *kü*, *kü*, *kü*: *gkü*, *gkü* (*göz* "eye"), *gkürdü*, *gkürdü* (*gördü*), *küömür* (*kömür*) etc.

§ 6. The degree of labialisation of rounded vowels in the syllables liable to vowel harmony is very characteristic of Ottoman dialects but has unfortunately been very little investigated so far. In general one can say that the power of the labial attraction diminishes with the distance from the stem syllable. We also find however quite the opposite tendency.

The tendency to a marked unrounding of the labial vowels in derivative syllables is found in the dialect of Adakale: *bunynle* (*bunynla*, Adak. 138, 1), *ony* (*onu*, op. cit., 138, 3), *öldüüm* (*öldüüm*, op. cit., 138, 28), *oylüm* (*oylüm*, 79, 4 from foot) etc.

Where the recorders vary between *u* and *y* an intermediate sound is usually indicated which I write *u*, the place of articulation of which is farther back than in the case of *y*, the labialisation of which is however much less pronounced than in *u*.

The N.E. Anatolian dialects on the coast of the Black Sea favour labial vowels in dependent syllables even when the stem syllable contains no rounded vowel. Very many examples can be found in "Laz-Turkish" in Kinos: *aiaçlaruna* (*aiaçlaryna*), *iapturayım* (*iaptırayım*), *aiaçaxmusun* (*aiaçakmysyn*), *kaşsun* (*kaşsyn*) etc.

This peculiarity is confirmed by the specimens recorded by Räsänen: *funduyum* (*fyndıyyım*, 80, 1), *dalllaruna* (*dallaryna*, 80, 2), *çigaramun* (*çigaramyn*, 147, 1), *sesuni* (*sesini*, *sesini*, 147, 4).

On the other hand, the striking fondness for *o* and *ö* recorded for the "Aidin" dialect in Kinos (*Nasreddin Hodsa Tréfaı*), not only in the stem syllable but also in the derivative syllables, in

which, as we know, *o* and *ö* otherwise never occur (cf. Deny, § 25), is doubtful.

Unrounded vowels.

§ 7. Ottoman dialects have two varieties of *e*, a narrow (higher), here written *ê*, and a broad (lower) variety, written *e*. In many districts, for example, there is a clear distinction between *el* "people, strangers" and *el* "hand". The narrow *ê* is found either primary or as the result of combination. The former appears in *gêze* (Räs. *d'îže*, 146, 4), *demek*, *êmek*, *vermek*, etc., the latter in *bêzaz* (G 83, 3 *bîzaz*), *îel* or *jêl* (G 63, 10 *jil*), *îesir*, *jêsir* (G 52, 15) etc. That *e* in the immediate vicinity of *î*, *j*, *ç* becomes narrow is a phenomenon also observed in the educated speech of Constantinople (Bergsträsser, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxii. 240; cf. Deny, § 189 and p. 1090).

§ 8. Most dialects distinguish between an *i* pronounced with the tip of the tongue and a *y* with the middle of the tongue. There are however also dialects in which there is no such difference and which have no pronounced *y*. The absence of a distinct *y* is characteristic of the Macedonian Turkish dialect of the district of Skoplye. At first sight of this dialect one is struck by the forms with final *î*, *i* (from *y* and *u*): *boîuni* (*boîunu*, *boîuny*, Maz., p. 172, N^o. 1, 2), *ulî* (*ulu*, *uly* "large", N^o. 3, 1), *olîdi* (*oldu*, *oldy*, N^o. 4, 6), *baîasi* (*baîasy*, N^o. 4, 28).

In N. E. Anatolia also we find, at least to judge from Räsänen's records, a similar phenomenon: *îok'ari* (*îokary* 67, 1), *satt'î* (*satty* 69, 3), *k'aldim* (71, 1).

§ 9. The position of the tongue in pronouncing final *y* in many dialects is considerably lower than usual so that the vowel articulated is similar to an *a*: *vurşuklaryna* (*vuraşaklaryny*, Heffening, *Isl.*, xiii. 255, N^o. 32), *yanıçklara* (*kanıçklary* G 87, 14), *parmaami* (*parmaymy* Räs. 38, 2), *iap'raa* (*iaprayy* Räs. 43, 2), *atima arairim* (*atymy arajorum* Räs. 209, 2).

The confusion of the dative with the accusative noticed in Tozluğ (Bulgaria) (Gadžanov, ii. 4—5) is probably of purely phonetic origin and to be explained by this peculiarity of final *y* and its confusion with *a*.

§ 10. Ottoman Turkish, as is well known, had originally no nasal vowels. But here and there we find the nasalisation of a vowel where a nasal consonant has disappeared: *sōra* (*sonra* or *soğra*), *oîunū* (*oîulunuy*, *oîulunun*) etc. In many districts also we find a kind of nasalisation of final vowels or formation of an indistinct *n*-like consonant after final vowels, where there was no nasal vowel originally. This is especially frequent with careless articulation. Most recorders write this nasal element with *n*: *žezairiy harmannaryn* (for *harmannary*) *savruîur* (G 77, 1), *demîşler kin* (*demîşler ki* G 27, 19), *o yzyzy bobasyn* (for *bobasy*) *demîş yzyza* "the father of that girl said to the girl" (G 30, 10—11), *izmiriy içinde baliuzun yzyzyn* (for *yzyz < kyzy* G 79, 2 from below).

§ 11. Contraction of a diphthong from *eî* to *ē*, *ōî* to *ō* is very common in dialects: The *ē* and *ō* which thus arise are, as indicated, distinctly longer than the usual *e* and *o*. Examples from G: *šēî*, 18, 1), *mēdanda* (*meîdanda*, 19, 6), *bē* (*beî*, 86, 6), *ēledim* (*eîledim*, 86, 13), *ōle* (*ōîle*, 38, 22), *sōledi* (*sōîledi*, 18, 11), *bōle* (*bōîle*, 54, 21; 83, 21) etc.

Consonants.

§ 12. *γ*, *ȳ* i. e. a voiced spirant pronounced with the middle or back of the tongue shows a remarkable gradation in the dialects. In addition to narrow varieties that differ very little and sound like carelessly articulated explosives, we have a broad, half vocalic variety of *ȳ*, here written *î*.

γ disappears entirely in many dialects, thus giving rise to diphthongs, long vowels and all kinds of contractions. This is especially the case in the Constantinople dialect. Examples from O. T.: *ālamā* (*aylamaya*, i. 40, 5), *oldūnu* (*olduyunu*, i. 41, 34), *attyny* (*attyyny*, i. 41, 33), *iasā'n* (*iasayyn*, i. 45, 1) etc. But this phenomenon is frequently noted elsewhere as well.

To judge from Kúnos' specimens, *γ* remains in all positions in the dialect of Adakale: *aylamaya* (140, 1), *čožury* (1, 2), *čayyrttyryr* (89, 23), *oyîy* (*oyîu*, 64, 3 from below), *olduyy* (142, 21) etc.

In the district of Skoplye in Macedonia the dative in polysyllabic substantives in *-aî* ends in *-aga*: *sanžaga* (*sanžaya*, N^o. 5, 3), *olmaga* (*olmaya*, *olmā*, N^o. 4, 5) etc.

In the same dialect the group *-ayî-* becomes *-aî-*, e. g. *daîler* (*daylar*), *baîlêjoruz* (*baylaforuz*), *aîlêjor* (*aylafor*) etc. This phenomenon is also found in Selanik. In Macedonia, final *-aya*, *-ary*, *-yry* becomes *-aî*, *-yî*: *bardayî* (*bardaryy*), *kurbayî* or *kurbajî* (*kurbarya*), *bêjazlyî* (*bêjazlyyy*) etc.

A variety of *γ*, pronounced with a vibration of the uvula, which in popular poetry rhymes with *r* pronounced on the tip of the tongue is worth noting; cf. Giese, p. 57, note 2; p. 64, note 3; also Heffening, in *Isl.*, XIII, 254, No. 27, 3: *darîady* (*dayîady*).

§ 13. In many parts of Asia Minor original velar *ŋ* or palatal *ȳ* still survives. It would be of value to ascertain the exact boundaries of this *ŋ*, *ȳ*, which however is not yet possible. In any case Central and Eastern Anatolia seem to possess *ŋ*. It is also found on the Syrian-Anatolian borders (e. g. Kilis; cf. *K. Sz.*, iii. 263). In N. E. Anatolia, on the coast of the Black Sea, *ŋ* seems to be represented by *n*. But Räsänen's records differ: *î'iy k'öpeçuy k'izi* (N^o. 222, 3), but in the same *mani* we have *jeni* "new" and in the next *aîaunda* "at thy foot". Whether as Foy, *K. Sz.*, i. 289 suggests, the *ŋ* has begun to extend its area in Asia Minor, is very doubtful in view of the unreliability of the material on which he bases his view.

In the Constantinople dialect, *ŋ*, *ȳ* are represented by the corresponding dental variants. So far *ŋ*, *ȳ* are not known to have survived in any Rumelian area.

§ 14. The relations of the unvoiced posterior or glottal spirants deserve special attention. In Macedonia, between Skoplye and Salonika, perhaps also beyond, *h* disappears initially (cf. from below § 22, § 25), medially between two vowels and finally (cf. from below § 33). A very weak *h* and a somewhat stronger *χ* has survived here only incidentally before consonants. We find a similar phenomenon in the specimens from the southern Crimea (Satskaya and Dmitriyev, *Ź. A.*, April—June, 1926, p. 345).

§ 15. The alternation of *v* || *î* after *ō*, *ū* is found in N. W. Asia Minor and in different parts of the Balkan Peninsula. *K'öve* "into the village" I have heard in the villages between Scutari and Izmid. We also find: *kövün* (*köîün*: Kúnos, *Nyelwtud.*

Közlemények, xxii. 130, 15, 143, 13), *söviüdü* (*söviüdü* or *söviüdü*, *ibid.*, p. 151, 21), *öviüdü* (*öviüdü* or *öviüdü*, *ibid.*, p. 151, 22), *göve* (*köje*, *ibid.*, p. 261, 5 from below) — all from the district, of Bursa-Aidin. *Güve* (*köje*) I noted (Zag., N^o 45) from a peasant of Mumşa near Balykesir. The most eastern points are probably those noted by Giese in the wilāyet of Konya: *köve* (G 25, 9), *üvežen* (*uñuñazaksyn*, G 22, 7) *gouve* (*göjde*, *gökde*, G 83, 9, Jürük).

On Rumelian territory we find *küvü*, *küve*, *küe* (*köje*) from Deli Orman; *küve* is also the usual form in the dialect of the Bessarabian Gagauz.

§ 16. Posterior *k* (*q*) became *x* in many Asia Minor areas, particularly, it seems, in the N. E.: *goxar* (*koçar*), *çyxaman* (*çykamam*), *soxunon* (*sokunorum*), *uñxu* (*uñku*), *saxal* (*sakał*) — all from Kaştamunian (Thüry, p. 12 sq.); *ioxuša* *çyxarxan* (*ioxuša* *çyarkeren*), *şaxyr* (*şakyr*), *axama* *bařtym* (*arçama* *bařtym*), *çuşur* (*çukur*) — all from the Brusa-Aidin territory, according to Kúnos, Brusa-Aidin. On *k* > *x* finally cf. from below § 31.

§ 17. The *r* sounds offer great variety. In general they are characterized by a careless articulation without a pronounced trilling with the tip of the tongue. As a rule a Turkish *r* is pronounced by the tip of the tongue being brought once up to the nearest gum. This explains on the one hand the ease with which the *r* becomes silent before consonants and finally (cf. from below § 34) and on the other the change to *r* > *z* (or *r* > *s*). In some dialects of N. E. Bulgaria *r* disappears before consonants, slightly modifying the preceding vowel which is marked by the recorders as a lengthening: *āpa* (*arpa*), *götüdü* (*götürdün*), *kýka* (*kýrka*), *vānaşa* (*varnaşa*) (all examples from Gadžanov, i. 5), while in reality there is a change in quality as well as in quantity in the vowel. In Kaşiseri and district I noticed after final *r* an *s* of a similar character: *ıars* (*var*), *k'onars* (*konar*), *gidişors* (*gidişor*), *birs* (*bir*) etc.

§ 18. *ş*, *ç*, *ž* appear slightly palatalised in many dialects, even in words with posterior vowels. This palatalisation is rarely indicated in our specimens (cf. Maz. 218, 3 *dişari* from *dyşary*, *ibid.*, v. 3, from below *çekmeşe*; Räs. 3, 1, *bāahā*, 6, 2 *aaşlar* from *ayaşlar* etc.). Sounds palatalised in this way sometimes produce a narrowing of the vowels immediately adjoining (cf. § 47): *čişme* (*čeşme* G 77, 9), *čožu* (*çözü*), Moşkov, *Gagaus*, p. 31, 21) etc.

§ 19. In the Turkish dialects on the S. E. coast of the Black Sea, we find a variety of zetazism, *ç* being represented by *c*, *ž* by *z*. Examples from Räs.: *cinene* (*çimenene* 64, 4), *d'eze* (*geže* 67, 3), *kücüük* (*küçük* 65, 3), *caira* (*çağyra* 71, 1), *bažasi* (*bažasy* 68, 2), *k'ožasi* (*kožasy* 68, 4).

As often, here also the language is not quite logical for we sometimes find both *ž* and *ç* (e. g. *žapažaum* from *žapažayym* 142, 1).

§ 20. *k'* and *g'* appear, in the dialects from the region of Trebizond and Rize, slightly advanced before posterior vowels so that they almost become *t'* or *d'* (cf. § 48). Examples from Räs.: *d'üneš* (*güneš* 136, 2), *d'ideom* (*gidişorum* 138, 1), *d'el* (*gel* 139, 3), *aš'ere* (*askere* 141, 3), *čiri'in* (*čirkin*, 144, 3).

§ 21. In some parts of Asia Minor aspirated tenues seem to occur. Thus Räsänen in the songs recorded by him usually indicates *p*, *t*, *k*, *ğ*, as

aspirated: *p'armaamı* (*parmaymy* 38, 2), *p'ara* (*para* 33, 4), *duť* ("mulberries" 44, 4), *raf'ra* (53, 1), *alt'in* (53, 1), *t'abaķ't'a* (50, 1), *k'izlara k'oža řazak'* (49, 4), *k'ožadum sebet'e* (*kožadum sepete* 160, 1) etc. I have noticed slightly aspirated tenues in the dialects of the region between Sivas and Kaşiseri.

Initial Sounds.

§ 22. In the dialects the initial sound shows a series of peculiar phenomena. Initial vowels are usually pronounced without very definite clearness. The glottal stop is unusual at the beginning of a word; it is sometimes heard in Macedonia where it takes the place of *x*, *h* sounds which have disappeared: *'izmet* (*çizmet*), *'iç* (*hiç*, *çiç*), *'asret* (*hasret*, *çasret*) etc. (cf. § 14 and 23).

§ 23. In many dialects initial vowels, especially at the very beginning, are often introduced by a slight breathing (glottal spirant): *hona* (*ona* G 17, 16), *herley* (*eherley*, *eherleññ* G 56, 1); cf. Giese G 51, note 1; *hateš* (< Pers. *آتش* Zag. N^o 39 from Mumşu near Balykesir), *höşle* (*öşle*, Laz., p. 285, 17), *hoķkalik* (*oķkalyk* Räs., p. 18, 2 from Vezirhan).

In Kaştamunian there is even said to be a strong posterior spirant: *χateš* (*ateš*), *χanbar* (*amber*; cf. Thüry, Kast. 16 from below). Sporadic cases are also found in Gagauz: *χağyır* (*ağyır* Gagauz, p. 271, 9), *χarap* (*arab*, *ibid.*, p. 5, 3).

§ 24. In the dialect of the Bessarabian Gagauz an *i* has regularly developed before initial *e* and *ö*: *iev* (*ev*), *iēžel* (*ežel*), *iēkmis* (*ekmis*), *iērtesi* (*ertesi*), *iöbür* (*öbür*, *o-bir*), *iöküz* (*öküz*), *iömür* (*ömür*) etc.: all examples from Moşkov. On the other hand among the Turks and Gagauz in N. E. Bulgaria I frequently heard *edi* (*jedi*), *etmiş* (*jetmiş*), *eni-koķ* (*jeni-köķ*) etc.

A prefixed *i* is also found in N. E. Anatolia: *ialdat'i* (*aldatı* Räs., p. 142, 3), *iirmaya* (*ymaya* Räs., p. 105, 1), *iiri* (*iri* "coarse" Räs., p. 217, 2).

§ 25. In Macedonia every kind of initial *h*, *ç*, disappears, sometimes leaving a glottal stop (cf. § 14 and 22); examples from Radoviš on the Strumitza: *ačan* (*hačan*, *kačan*), *anym* (*hanym*), *ava* (< Arab. *هواء*), *oza* (< Pers. *خواجه*), *ane* (< Pers. *خانه*), *urma* (< Pers. *خرما*), *aķ* (< Arab. *حق*) etc.

§ 26. In Macedonia every initial *vu-* of the written language appears as *u-*, every initial *ji* as *i-*; example from Radoviš: *urdiller* (*vurdiller*), *iılan* (*iyılan*), *iłdırim* (*ilydyrym*), *iıemes* (*ijıemes*) etc.

In Asia Minor also a similar phenomenon is observed here and there: *urur* (*vurur* Räs., p. 6, 4 from Vezirhan) *iılan* (*iyılan* Räs., p. 87, 4 from Rize), *ił* (*iyıl* Räs., p. 93, 1 from Rize), *iķ'an* (*izykan* "wash thyself" Räs., 137, 4 also from Rize), *iıid* (*iggit*, *iıiit* Kúnos, Brus.-A., p. 129, 10) etc.

§ 27. Initial *i*, *y* before *s* with a consonant following completely disappears in many parts of Rumelian territory or is at least much reduced just as occurs to some extent in the language of the educated classes: *stambol*, *stambul* (*istambol*, *istanbul*), *smaıl* (*ismai*), *smařlady* (*ysmařlady*) etc.

§ 28. Loanwords beginning with *r* and *l* are in most dialects adapted to Turkish mouths by prefixing a vowel (cf. Radloff, *Phonetik der nördlichen Türkssprachen*, § 126): *uruba* (*rubā*, G 18, ult.), *ürjasynđa* (*rujasynđa*, G 27, 19), *yrašt* (*rašt*, Kúnos, Aid., p. 36, 5 from below, 37, 15 etc.),

ürzûgar (*ruşgar*, Kúnos, *Brus.-A.*, p. 122, 10 from below), *irzêb* (*režeb*, Thûry, *Kast.*, p. 11 and 29), *ileš* (< Pers. *خیش*, Dum. = *R.O.*, i. 351, 12), *ilāna* (< Gr. *νάνα*, Zag., N^o. 77 from the village of Kūşak near Muşla), *ilazim* (< Arab. *إلازم*, Kúnos, *Brus.*, p. 265, 22).

§ 29. In many parts of Asia Minor, particularly in the west, the unvoiced initial consonants *p*, *t*, *k*, *q*, *s*, *ç* are frequently pronounced voiced. Whether this is a complete voicing is a question which cannot yet be settled for want of phonetic experiments and investigations.

a. Initial *p* becomes *b*: *barmaxsyz* (*parmaksyz*, *Brus.-A.*, p. 135, 4), *bülüs* (*piliş*, Zag., N^o. 73: Muşla S. E. of Smyrna), *bişir* (*pişir*, G 33, 8), *bekmez* (*pekmez*, G 89, 17 Jürük) etc.

b. Initial *t* often becomes *d*: *durna* (*turna*, G, p. 53, 1; *Brus.-A.*, p. 121, 16), *doušan* (*taşan*, *op. cit.*, p. 122, 3 from below), *davux* (*tauç*, *Brus.*, p. 264, 5), *dilki* (*tilki*, G, p. 17, 5), *dutulmuş* (*tutulmuş*, G, p. 20, 9). Many examples from Kaştamunian in Thûry, p. 38–42.

c. Initial *k*, *q*, *k'* in considerable areas of western and central Anatolia regularly becomes *g*, *ğ*: *göppek* (*köpek*), *gыз* (*kyz*), *guşu* (*kuşu*), *güçük* (*küçük*) — all from Brusa (Kúnos, in *Nyelviud. Közl.*, 1890, p. 261 sqq.); *gaşty* (*kaşty*, Zag., N^o. 91: from Ayin near Sēdi Gazy), *gaşyr* (*kaşyr*, Zag., N^o. 34: Mumşu near Balykesir) etc. This phenomenon is also frequent in the north, in Kaştamunian; cf. Thûry, *Kast.*, p. 52 sqq.

The closing of initial posterior *g* in Central Anatolia seems to be very slack so that the sound gives the impression of a voiced narrow sound and is written by many authors with *γ* instead of *g*: *γapynžan γarviji* (*kapynža karvyjy*, G, p. 55, 1), *γalem γulaşlysyn* (*kalem kuşaklysyn*, G, p. 61, 30), *γara γaş* (*kara kaş*, G, p. 73, 22) etc.

Sporadic cases of the transition from *k*- to *g*- are also found on Rumelian territory: *gavvaşlar* (*kavvaşlar*: Adak., p. 8, 23). In Tozluğ (Bulgaria) there are several villages the inhabitants of which are called *gakčii*, from their habit of pronouncing *k*- as *g*- (Gadžanov, i. 9).

d. Initial *s* becomes sporadically *z*: *zopa* (*sopa*, G, p. 17, 6), *zevde* (*sevda*, G, p. 88, 16), *zişa* (*sişah*, G, p. 80, 18), *zyrtylan* (*syrtlan*, *Kast.*, p. 12 supra), *zere* (*sara* < Arab. *سرا*, *R.O.*, ii. 206, 3: Günej) etc.

e. Initial *ç* becomes sporadically *ş*, e.g. *şingene* (*çingene*: *Brus.*, p. 267, 3), *şam* (*çam*: Räs., p. 208, 1) etc.

§ 30. On the other hand, a directly opposite tendency is frequently observed, namely a partial or complete reduction of the voicing of initial *b*, *d*, *g*. Especially in the north or northeast of Asia Minor this tendency appears to be very strong. In what is known as Laz Turkish from the region of Trebizond we find (according to Kúnos, *Láz dalok*): *peni* (*beni*, p. 275, 3), *pilirdim* (*bilirdim*, p. 275, 4), *pejaz* (*bejaz*, p. 275, 5), *paşijorsun* (*kaşijorsun bana*, p. 280, 10) etc. almost without exception.

On the other hand, *t*- for *d*- is only found sporadically: *tolduram* (*doldurajym*, p. 275, 4 from below), *tibinde* (*dibinde*, p. 278, 8 from below), *tişimi* (*dişimi*, p. 283, 12) etc.

Still rarer is initial *k*, *q*- for *g*-: *keminin* (*geminin*, p. 277, 5), *kören* (*gören*, p. 279, 18), *karip* (*garip*, p. 282, 10) etc.

These observations by Kúnos are to a great extent confirmed by Räsänen's notes. The voiced initial *b*, *d*, *g* appear in his work with partial or completely reduced voicing although not quite regularly: *bir* (p. 214, 1, but in the same quatrain *burda*), *beri* (p. 217, 3), *şala* (*bayla*, p. 218, 3), *beşik* (*büyük*, p. 221, 1), *benum boğnumi büyük* (p. 221, 4), *bula* (*buşla*, p. 223, 4) etc.

Similarly *davulumun* (p. 244, 1), *dere* (p. 246, 1), *dönüp* (p. 248, 2), *duşarlar* (p. 248, 3) etc., even *talina* (*dalyna*, p. 145, 2; p. 238, 2); also *geleşum* (*geleşim*, p. 244, 4), *gittikçe* (p. 245, 4), *görimursa* (*gürünürse*, p. 246, 3) etc.

To judge from Räsänen's records initial *tenues* and *mediae* are frequently not distinguished from one another in the dialect of Trebizond: *gidesem* (p. 225, 3) and *gim* (*kim*, p. 225, 4) are written initially with one and the same sign; also *beri* "hither" (p. 233, 2) and *beri* "Peri" (p. 233, 4).

I have noticed unvoiced initial consonants which are voiced in the written language, in people from various regions of the former wilāyet of Angora: *fişne* (*vişne*, Beş-Tut near Çangry), *patarsyn* (*batar-syn*, Taşoluk near Kırşehir), *paşe* (*başa*, Kuzajşe near Jozgad), *tarylyr* (*darylyr*, *ibid.*), *puşut* (*buşut*, Denekmaden) etc. I know sporadic cases also from western Anatolia e.g. from the village of Dumanly in the region of Uşak. Isolated cases of this phenomenon are even found on Rumelian territory (e.g. the so striking *pinmek* < *binmek* in N. E. Bulgaria and among the Bessarabian Gagauz; cf. Gadžanov, i. 6 from Deli Orman).

The frequent variation in our records of the spoken speech as regards voicing of initial consonants arouses the suspicion that there are no pure *mediae* in this position. A final solution of the question will only be possible when we are accurately informed regarding the condition of voicing in the dialects, if possible by instrumental records.

Final Sounds.

§ 31. Final posterior-*k* (*q*) becomes -*ç* in the eastern dialects. The boundary between -*k* and -*ç* may, broadly speaking, be said to be the Kyzyl Yрмак and the central Salt Steppe, although -*ç* areas are also found on this side of the Kyzyl Yрмак, notably the Kaştamuni district. On the other hand, the change from -*k* > -*ç* is quite unknown, so far as I am aware, on Rumelian territory.

Examples: *iazyç* (*iazyk* from Küçük Çaly-Ayyıl near Jozgad), *iałyç* (*iałyk*, *ibid.*), *alanaşaç* (*aly-naşak*, Kuzajşe near Jozgad), *ne işapaç* (*ne işapalym*, Jozgad), *gidijorç* (*gidijorus*, village of Bojalıçe near Kavza).

Similarly in "Laz Turkish" in Kúnos: *kyvrałyç* (*kyvrałyk*, *Laz.*, p. 275, 5 from below), *araluç* (*aralyk*, *ibid.*, p. 283, 1), *kataluç* (*katalyk*, *ibid.*, p. 283, 4) etc. On the other hand, the texts given by Räsänen from the coast of the Black Sea between Trebizond and Rize show almost regularly an unchanged final-*k*. All the more remarkable then are the forms given by him like *üçek* (*çiçek*, p. 184, 1), *içeşek* (*içeşek*, p. 184, 4) etc., in which final-*k* on the middle of the tongue becomes -*ç*.

The change from *k* < *ç* is found not only at the end of words but also at the end of stems and derivative syllables: *goçu* (*koçu*, *Kast.*, p. 12, 16),

soxujon (*soxujorun*, *ibid.*, p. 12, 18), *axvdyr* (*akydyr*, Causat. from *ak-*, G 57, 20), *aixaxlaruna* (*aixaxlaryna* Laz., p. 275, 7).

The change of *k* to *x* appears regularly in the "Aidin" dialect of the tales of Hoşa Nasreddin in Kúnos: *braxyr* (*brakyr*, p. 65, 9), *xyibax* (*xyplaş*, p. 64, 5 from below), *saxlarym* (*saxlarym*, p. 62 ult.), *yyrk* (*kyrk*, p. 63, 1) etc. Possibly his authority came from Eastern Anatolia.

§ 32. Final *k* pronounced on the middle of the tongue sometimes loses its explosive sound and becomes *y* or *j*, or disappears entirely. The cases observed are mainly due to sandhi: *güzü aili* (*küçük ali*, G, p. 57 ult.), *güzü xatynym* (*küçük xatynym*, G, p. 58, 5), *go iüzünde* (*gök iüzünde*, G, p. 88, 4), *keş izine* (*geşik izine*, G, p. 91, 18), *zebe gibi* (*zeihek gibi*, G, p. 83 pu., 84, 3).

§ 33. Final *-x*, *-h* in loanwords disappears very often in many dialects: *padişu* (G, p. 18, 5), *alü* (G, p. 22, 23), but *allax kerimdir*, p. 34, 13), *tembi* (Arab. *تنبية*, G, p. 23, 7), *sahi* (Arab. *سحي*, G, p. 27, 28), *şe islam* (Arab. *shaiikh al-Islām*, G, p. 40, 28), *evü* (Arab. *أبوال*, G, p. 25, 3) etc. On the pronunciation of *x*, *h* in the language of the educated classes of Constantinople cf. Bergsträsser, *ibid.*, p. 253 sqq.

§ 34. For many territories the disappearance of final *-r* in verbal forms and in the words *var* and *bir* is characteristic (cf. § 17 and 64). In certain stereotyped cases, it is also found in the popular dialect of Constantinople, as in *bikerre* (*bir kerre*, O. T., i. 29, 7 from below) und *biçok* (*bir çok*, *ibid.*, i. 176, 27). Very common are *bî* (*bir*) and *vü* (*var*, from sandhi also *mü*: *ırganyymmü* < *ırganyym var*, Zag., N^o. 92; cf. below § 40a).

In the 3rd pers. sing. of the present in *-ior*, the final *-r* regularly disappears in some districts of Asia Minor (cf. below § 64). The loss of final *-r* in the 3rd pers. sing. of the aorist is not so regular (cf. § 66).

This dialectal peculiarity is found as early as the Jönus texts in Mühlbacher; cf. K. Foy, *Die ältesten osmanischen Transcriptionstexte*, ii. 241.

§ 35. The voicing of the final consonants *b*, *d*, *z*, *ş* is weakened in the dialects or disappears completely, as it does to a certain degree in the written language also (cf. Bergsträsser, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxii., 261 sq.), so that they become *ḡ*, *ḡ*, *ḡ*, *ḡ* or even *p*, *t*, *s*, *ç*. This phenomenon is really much more frequent than is indicated in our texts. Examples: *gedişes* (*gideşesiz*, G, p. 18, 21), *iüs* (*iüz*, G, p. 27, 16), *denis* (*deniz*, *deniz*, G, p. 77, 6), *zuap* (Arab. *أضواء*, R. O., ii., 205, 17) etc.

The latest official Turkish alphabet in Latin characters does not recognise a final *-b*, *-d*, *-ş*, but instead has a final *-z*, which is not exactly in keeping with the actual pronunciation.

§ 36. *ç* at the end of a word, as usually before consonants, especially explosives, becomes *ş*: *uş* (*üç*, G, p. 17, 5), *heş* (Pers. *هشج*, G, p. 18, 1), *harış* (Arab. *khāridj*, G, p. 19, 8), *işmes* (*işmeş*, Zag., N^o. 66, from *Kuşak* in the region of Muşla), *ḡülüş* (*piliç*, *op. cit.*, N^o. 73).

Vowel harmony.

§ 37. Several authors have already pointed out that the laws of vowel harmony are frequently broken in the Ottoman dialects (cf. G. Jacob, *Zur*

Grammatik des Vulgär-Türkischen, Z. D. M. G., lii. 719: "in Kleinasien ist die Vokalharmonie teilweise arg im Verfall"; cf. K. Foy, in *K. Sz.*, i. 189 sqq. etc.).

Vowel harmony is weakest with regard to labialisation. Attention has already been called to certain features in this connection above (§ 6).

To the very frequent cases of defective harmony belong those in which the final syllable of a word is distinguished in vowel harmony from the other syllables. We very often find the endings *-a*, *-da*, *-dan*, *-lar*, *-sa* after light stems and vice versa *-e*, *-de*, *-den*, *-ler*, *-se* after heavy stems: *desdima* (*destime*, G, p. 60, 15), *sinema* (*sineme*, G, p. 62, 15), *itmeş* (*etmeş*, G, p. 82, 14), *üstüna* (*üstüne*, G, p. 60, 14), *gelma* (*gelme*, Räs., p. 209, 3), *versam* (*versen*, Räs., p. 85, 2), *derlar* (*derler*, Moşkov, p. 32, 25), *sölemişler* (*sölenmişler*, G, p. 37, 9) and vice versa *ataş* (*ateş*, G, p. 60, 17), *bälameş* (*başlamaş*, G, p. 51, 10), *çalbımyzda* (*kaşbımyzda*, G, p. 91, 27), *fuşare* (*fuşara*, Moşkov, *Gagaus.*, p. 32, 26), *hare* (*şara*, Zag., N^o. 8 from *Kalkandelen* in Macedonia), *daş* (*işa*, Dum., R. O., i. 344, N^o. 4) etc.

As these examples show, a very frequently occurs at the end of a word in place of the expected *e*. It is possibly not a real *a* but a very broad variety of *e* (*ä*) as the *e* in an open final syllable is generally pronounced very open in the language of educated people also (Bergsträsser, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxii. 239). Dimitrijević (J. A., April-June 1926, p. 343) calls attention to a similar phenomenon in the language of the osmanised Krim Tatars.

On the other hand, we find in the dialects numerous cases of vowel harmony rigidly carried through, where it is not found in the written language. Loanwords form the most cases. The vowel attraction acts progressively or retrogressively according to circumstances.

Examples: a. progressive: *meşden* (*meşdan*, Brus.-A., p. 125, N^o. 4, v. 8), *zevede* (*seveda*, G, p. 88, 16), *mezer* (*mezar*, R. O., i. 343, N^o. 2, 2), *pişmen* (*pişman*, *ibid.*, N^o. 6, 2), *ataş* (*ateş*, G, p. 36, 1), *şahan* (*şahin*, Pers. *shāhin*, G, p. 75, 14, 61, 2) etc.

b. retrogressive: *aşma* (*elmaş*, Brus.-A., p. 121), *esker* (*asker*, R. O., i. 344, N^o. 5, 4), *marakşly* (*merakşly*, G, p. 17, 4), *saraş* (*seraş*, G, p. 17, 17), *dafa* (*defa*, G, p. 23, 19) etc.

c. retrogressive and progressive: *barabar* (*beraber*, Räs., p. 19, 3).

Certain cases are worthy of special mention: a. *-ki* and *-ken*, progressively harmonised as *-ku*, *-kan*: *olurmuşku* (*olurmuş ki*, G, p. 37, 3), *varmıyorku* (*varmıyorki*, G, p. 37, 4), *boşanyrkana* (*boşanyrken* + *a*, G, p. 51, 9; cf. below § 76), *yuşanyrkana* (*kuşanyrken* + *a*, G, p. 51, 11) etc.

b. *birez* "a little" from *bir az* (G, p. 53, 20; cf. *K. Sz.*, i. 189); c. by vowel attraction acting retrogressively the demonstratives *bü*, *şu* before light stems often become *bü*, *bö*, *şü*: *bögün* (*bü gün*, G, 29, 10), *büün* (*bü gün*, O. T., i. 26, 13; 27, 9; 33, 16 etc.), *şü köşke* (*şu k.*, O. T., i. 26 ult.), *şü güşerşin* (*şu güverşin*, O. T., i. 160, 23), *şü tenzeremi* (*şu t.*, O. T., i. 227, 26) etc.; cf. Foy, in *K. Sz.*, i. 187 sqq.

Sound Change in Combination.

Assimilation of Consonants.

§ 38. The dialects are characterised by a large number of peculiarities in assimilation. Most of these occur only sporadically. To define the areas

in which they appear is not yet possible. Many of them also occur in the spoken language of the educated classes, especially when speaking more quickly than usual or with a certain amount of carelessness. These changes occur in the dialects all the more frequently as the speakers have not before their eyes the regulating influence of the written forms.

§ 39. Complete retrogressive assimilation occurs most frequently in the following cases:

a. *pt* > *tt*: *attas* (*aptas*, Pers. *ābdest*, Zag., N^o. 62, Kužak near Muyla).

b. *kt* > *tt* and *xt* > *tt*: *zütte* (*zükte*, *zük-de*, R. O., ii. 205, 8 from below, from Günei), *nettyup* (*mektüb*, village of Nazylli in the district of Aıdın), *anattar* (*anaxtar*, O. T., i. 192, 2, 256, 22).

c. *ts* > *ss*: *essin* (*etsin*, G, p. 67, 23), *ɣassyɣa* (*ɣatsyɣa*, Brus.-A., p. 146, 8 from below), *ɣassydan* (*ɣatsydan*, O. T., i. 218, 7), *tüsü* (from *tütsü* probably through *tüssü*, O. T., i. 206, 7).

d. $\dot{k}s > ss > s$ (after dropping gemination; cf. below § 53): $\dot{\imath}apa\dot{z}\ddot{a}syn$ ($\dot{\imath}apa\dot{z}assyn > \dot{\imath}apa\dot{z}\dot{a}ksyn$, G, p. 37, 19).

e. *zs* > *ss*: *gassynnar* (*kassynlar*, Brus.-A., p. 144, 13), *ölmessede* (*ölmezsede*, G, p. 60, 3).

f. $\check{s}s > ss$: *issin* (< *išsin* < *ičsin*, G, p. 38, 6, 12; cf. § 36).

g. *ls* > *ss*, unusually frequent: *ossun* (*oļsun*, G, p. 28, 5), *ussay* (*oļsaj*, G, p. 56, 23), *gessin*, *satyn*, *assin* (*gelsin*, *satyn alsyn*, G, p. 51, 8).

h. $rs > ss$: *vassan* (*varsan*, G, p. 18, ₁), *zykylyssa* (*zykylyrsa*, G, p. 82, ₁).

i. *ri* > *li* (or > *l*, after dropping gemination):
sojallar ... gojallar ... seveler ... savallar
(sojallar ... gojallar ... seveler ... savallar,
Brus.-A., p. 121), gaŋlar (karlar, op. cit.), tellikler
(terlikler, O. T., i. 91, 5), giliŋler (geliŋlar, Gad-
zanov, i. 7 below, from Deliorman) etc.

j. *ln > nn*: *anny* (a₁ny "his forehead" from Taso₁luk near Kyrşehir).

k. *rn* > *nn*: *hīdinnebi* (*hydyr-nebi*, Räs., p. 263, 1).

l. nm > mn: žammys (žammys, G, p. 20, 23), semmi (sen-mi, G, p. 37, 10), ajjazdamny (ajjazdamny, G, p. 37, 22), yaterlenmiš (katerlenmiš, G, p. 64, 2), m. zm > mn: olmammy (olmazny, G, p. 60, 10), iaymamny (< iaymamny < iaymazny, G, p. 77, 26).

§ 40. Complete progressive assimilation occurs mainly in the following cases:

a. *mv* > *mm*, very frequent in sandhi: *öldüm-mağyt* (*öldüyüm vağyt*, R. O., ii. 205, 9 from below), *joğanyymmâ* (*joğanyan var*, Zag., N^o. 92 from Ayn in the district of Sedi-Gazy), *nefsim-mariken* (*nefsin variken*, G, p. 30, 22), *selam-mirdim* (*selam vërdim*, G, p. 62, 11), *ölüm-mersin* (*ölüm versin*, G, p. 71, 2) etc.

b. *nl* > *nn* and *ɲl* > *ɲɲ*: *karannyk* (*karanlyk*, Zag., N^o. 102, Ayn in the district of Sēdi-Gazy), *bunnary* (*bunlary*, G, p. 18, 26), *haɣvanny* (*haɣvanly*, G, p. 18, 23), *gongɣüme* (*gönlüme*, G, p. 82, 13).

c. *nd* > *nn*: *käptynnan* (*käptyyndan*, O. T., i. 25, 10), *dedinnen* (*dediýinden*, O. T., i. 134, 2), *gittinnen* (*gittiýinden*, O. T., i. 217, 11) etc.

d. $\eta m > \eta \eta > \eta$: *yurduŋu* (*kurduŋ-mu*, G, p. 75, 14), *derdiŋi* (*derdiŋ-mi*, G, p. 75, 15).

§ 41. Partial retrogressive assimilation frequently occurs in the dialects in sandhi where a final *-m* under the influence of an initial *b-* in the next word becomes *m*: *baṣam ben* (*baṣan ben*, G, p. 78, 4), *beziṣem baṣy* (*baṣirgan baṣy*, G, p. 85, 16), *uṣun boṣunu* (*uṣun boṣunu*, G, p. 88, 23), *birim buṣursun*.

(*birin[i] bulursun*, G, p. 56 ult.), *altym bilezik*
(*altyn bilezik*, G, p. 70, 15, 84, 7).

§ 42. Partial progressive assimilation *ml* > *mr*: *damna* (*daml̥a*, Zag., No. 97 from Ayin near Sēdi Gazy; *damna damna göl oğur*, Brus., p. 264, 3), *alemner* (*alemler*, Brus.-A., p. 154, 6), *žumne* (*žümle*, Zag., No. 96 from Ayin near Sēdi Gazy) etc.

§ 43. Assimilation in regard to a sound which comes between the end of the stem and the beginning of the suffixed syllables, so far as we know, follows in the dialects the rules laid down by Bergsträsser for the language of the educated classes (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxii, 1918, p. 261 *sq.*).

§ 44. Partial progressive assimilation at a distance is often noticed in combinations of *ne* "what" with forms of the verb *eylemek*: *neşlerim* (< *neşlerim* < *ne eşlerim*, Brus.-A., p. 124, 10), *neşneşim* (*ne eşleşim*, Brus., p. 270, № 132), *nenesin* (*ne eşisin*, G., p. 73, 2) etc.

Influence of consonants on vowels.

§ 45. The labial or labio-dental consonants *b*, *p*, *m*, *v*, *f* exercise to a greater degree than is the case in the written language a labialisising influence on immediately adjoining vowels, both progressively and retrogressively: *bobařarym* (*babařarym*, G, p. 86, 15; the word *baba* appears in many districts as *boba* or *buba*: *buba*, Laz., p. 287; Brus.-A., p. 127, 9; *boba*, Räs., p. 223, 4; in this form I also know it from N. E. Bulgaria), *bövyr* (*bavyr*, Zag., No. 75 from Kuřař in the district of Muřla), *buřak* (*byřak*, G, p. 62, 15), *řapušyr* (*řapyřyr*, Zag., No. 10, *ibid.*), *elbüse* (*elbise*, G, p. 19, 25), *arabuna* (*arabyna*, G, p. 39, 23), *řülüř* (*řiliř*, Zag., No. 73 from Kuřař in the district of Muřla), *divvanemisiř* (*divvanemisin*, G, p. 27, 14), *dövälete* (*devlete*, G, p. 58, 10), *hömen* (*hemen*, G, p. 20, 8), *tumar* (*timar*, G, p. 57, 28), *mısyır* (*mısyır*, G, p. 82, 2).

§ 46. *ȳ, j* or *ĭ* in contact with vowels, especially with *e, a, u*, frequently cause a narrowing of the latter to *ĕ, ʏ* (or at least to a *y*-like vowel), *ü*.

Narrow *é* before and after *ǵ, j, k* has already been discussed above (§ 7). Otherwise cf. *vuramyǵyz* (*vuramajyz*, *R. O.*, i. 350 from the village of Dumanly near Ušk), *haǵlaǵam* (*haǵlaǵam*, *haǵlaǵajym*, *G.*, p. 60₄; cf. Deny, *Grammaire*, § 644), *dura-miǵorum* (*duramajorum*, *Räs.*, p. 46₄), *koǵun* (*koǵun*, *Zag.*, No. 120 from Taš Oluq near ǰyršehir), *ǵuǵan* (*ǵuǵan*, *G.*, p. 80₁₅) etc.

Note: The new orthography in Latin characters has brought to light in the written language an *i*, or *y*-like pronunciation of *e*, or *a* before an *i*: *iyice hatırlıyorum* (*eğışe hatırlıyorum*), *göstermiyerek* (*göstermeđerek*), *görünmiyordu* (*görünmeđerdu*), *kuçaklamıyacak* (*kuşaklamajaşak*) etc. Cf. Deny, § 627, note 2.

§ 47. On the influence of palatalised ξ , ξ , ξ on vowels see above § 18. In Gagauz, ξ regularly changes a , y , o , u to e , i , \ddot{o} , \ddot{u} (Moşkon, p. xxvii.): $\xi o \xi \ddot{u} k$ (Gagauz, p. I, 10), $\xi o \xi \ddot{u} l \ddot{u} l \ddot{u} r \ddot{a}$ (op. cit., p. I, 12), $\xi \ddot{a} n \ddot{a} v \ddot{a} r$ (op. cit., p. 3, 6), $\xi \ddot{u} d \ddot{a} \xi \ddot{e} k$ (op. cit., p. 3, 12).

Influence of vowels on consonants.

§ 48. As in all Turkish languages, in the Ottoman dialects also the articulation of consonants is dependent on the nature of the surrounding vowels. Under the influence of anterior vowels consonants are pronounced farther forward, and farther back under the influence of middle and posterior vowels. In many consonants, especially *k, g, ğ, ç, ƣ*, the forward pronunciation is com-

bined with a more or less pronounced palatalisation. According to Räsänen's records, *k* and *g* are pronounced before *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü* so far forward and so palatal that they almost become *t'* or *d'* (cf. § 20). This peculiarity seems to extend from the coast region of Trebizond and Rize nearly towards Erzerum.

In Gagauz, anterior vowels *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü* cause a regular and pronounced palatalisation of all adjoining consonants (cf. Moškov, p. XXVI—XXVII).

Simplification of groups of consonants.

§ 49. In many cases the complete assimilation leads to the disappearance of a consonant, or the doubling of a consonant is dropped (cf. § 53).

In the following cases we have the simplification of groups of three (or four) consonants:

a. *ltm* > *tm* in *atmıŝ* (*ałtmıŝ*, G, p. 38, 6 in a man from Isparta; 42 pu., in a Jürük; O.T., i. 108, 21 from Constantinople), *üzat'mıŝ* (*üzatlmıŝ*, Räs., p. 26, 1 from Vezirhan). We also find *at* < *alt* (G, p. 77, 6). Cf. R.O., ii. 210, 2 sqq.

b. *ftl* > *fl* in *čiftlik* (*čiftlik*, almost general "popular" pronunciation of this word).

c. *ftč* > *fč* in *čiftči* (*čiftči*, e. g. O. T., i. 78, 12 from below).

d. *nčl* > *nšl* > *šl* in *gešlik* (*geňšlik* < *genčlik* < *genčlik*, G, p. 56, 20; *geňšlik*, Dum., R.O., i. 343, N^o. 1, 2).

e. *rsł* > *sł* in *aşlan* (*arşlan*, G, p. 58, 3 and frequent elsewhere).

f. *čč* (= *tšč*) > *tč* as in *üt-čüz* (*üč-čüz*, G, p. 92, 4, 5).

g. *čs* (= *tšs*) > *ts*: *utsam* (*učsam*, G, p. 72, 7).

Groups of two consonants:

a. *kč* > *k*: *kačdylar* (*kačdylar*, G, p. 19, 14), *kačmas* (*kačmas*, Gün., R.O., ii. 6 from below, also elsewhere over a wide area).

b. *rt* > *t*: *gutulmasyn* (*kurtulmasyn*, Dum., R.O., i. 348, N^o. 17), *bačbyt* (*bačburt*, G, p. 45, 3).

c. *ks* > *s*: *čusek* (*čusek*, Maz., W.Z.K.M., xxxiii. 200, N^o. 38, 1), *čuseklerden* (G, p. 56, 16 from the region of Konya), *čusečikten* (*čusekčikten*, Brus.-A., p. 145, 11). The disappearance of *k* is here due to a kind of dissimilation.

d. *tk* > *k*: *izmek'arčik* (*čizmetk'arčik*, W.Z.K.M., p. 218, 12, from Macedonia).

e. *kč* > *č*, especially in diminutive forms, before the ending *-čik*, *-čyk*. The dropping of *k* is also almost the rule in the written language, cf. Deny, § 511. Examples: *bölüčik* (G, p. 78, 1), *sevdičik* (O. T., ii. 304, N^o. 72, 1, 305, 5, 333, 23), *čapračyyn* (*čapračyyn*, O. T., ii. 334, 5), *saylyčayyyn* (G, p. 56, 24).

On the other hand we find: *čaruččauumi* (*čarykčarymy*, *čarykčyrymy*, Räs., p. 154, 1).

f. Finally we may class here the often noted disappearance of a final *t* after *s* or *š*: *abdas* (*abdest*, Kast., p. 16), *dos* (*dost*, G, p. 53, 11), *us* (*üst*, G, p. 77, 5; for *u* cf. § 1), *poštu* (*poštu*, G, p. 58, 2), *pušlari* (*puštlary*, Maz., W.Z.K.M., xxxiii. p. 196, N^o. 35, 8; cf. *ibid.*, p. 224 sq.).

Interchange of sound.

§ 50. *r* and *l* in contact with another consonant show a tendency to change place with the latter.

a. *örgetdi* (*ögretti*, *öjretti*, G, p. 28 ult.), *torpač* (*toprač*, G, p. 31, 8), *devriš* (*derviš*, G, p. 29, 29), *pevranalar* (*pervaneler*, G, p. 59, 9), *Belirgad* (*Beligrad*, G, p. 52, N^o. 3 pass.), *pevra* (*perva*,

G, p. 86, 26), *erbišim* (*ibrišim*, G, p. 73, 7). Many examples in Thüry, Kast., p. 15 sq.

b. *čölmek* (*čömlək*, Zag., N^o. 47 from Mumžu near Balykesir), *čilbač* (*čyplač*, Zag., N^o. 104 from Ayin near Sedi Gazy), *tačbada* (*tačlada*, G, p. 90, 22), *mečlem* (*mečlem* < Arab. *معلم*, p. 89, 25), *gölmek* (*gömlək*, Brus.-A., p. 126, 11).

This feature is especially found in Asia Minor.

Development of sounds.

§ 51. Before the explosives *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g* and the fricatives *č*, *ž* secondary nasals *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *ɲ* are frequently developed. This phenomenon is, it is true, most frequently noticed in loanwords but it is also found in pure Turkish words: *dimbi* (*dibi*, Zag., N^o. 8 from Kačkandelen in Macedonia), *pampur* (*vapor*, Radoviš in Macedonia), *hyrsant*, *hursant* (*fursat*, G, p. 36, note 2; p. 72, 3 from Bozgir; *ibid.*, p. 69, 11: *fursan*), *fursant* (*fursat*, Räs., p. 4, 4 from Vezirhan), *šafač* (*šafač*, Ar. *شفا*, Güneč), *göngüs* (*gögüs*, *göjüs*, from Dumanly near Kütahtia), *garmangaruš* (*čarmakaryš*, Thüry, Kast., p. 16), *menčilis* (*mečlis*, Zag., N^o. 103, from Ayin near Sedi-Gazy; Brus.-A., p. 131, 18; Thüry, Kast., p. 16) etc.

Syllable Division.

§ 52. Simple consonants between two vowels frequently appear somewhat lengthened. They may even be pronounced long under the influence of stress. In this case the consonant is divided between the preceding and following syllables so that the division between the syllables divides the consonant which produces the effect of pronouncing the consonant as a double one: *dočašalym* pronounced with emphasis sounds almost like *doč-laš-šal-ym*. Examples: *vaččaiy* (*kačaiy*, G, p. 77, 16), *čollarsa* (from *čolmak* "pluck, pull", not from *čollamak* "to send", G, p. 80, 19), *göppek* (*köpek*, Brus., p. 261, N^o. 6), *eššek* (*ešək*, *ibid.*, N^o. 25), *güččük* (*küčük*, *ibid.*, p. 267, N^o. 88), *ellimde* (*elimde*, Räs., p. 4, 4), *ellim* (*elim*, Räs., p. 31, 4; *ellime*, p. 34, 2), *sevdičillim* (*sevdičim*, Räs., p. 93, 3).

§ 53. On the other hand, we do not find a pronounced double sound where it might be expected on etymological grounds. The result is, taken with § 52, that e. g. the two last syllables in *bašy šallym* "my (beloved) with the shawl covered head" and *dočašalym* "let us go around" are pronounced identically. Similarly *kašsab elinde* and *kašsab belinde* are practically indistinguishable in the usual pronunciation.

This enables us to understand forms like the following: *eveli* (origin. *evveli*, G, p. 17, 4), *ač sačaly* (*ač sačally*, G, p. 23, 1), *memlekete* (*memlekette* [locative!], G, p. 27, 7), *ačamadyč* (*ačamadyč* from *ačlamadyč*, G, p. 30, 2; cf. § 40b), *Baydada* (*Baydada*, G, p. 61, 13), *čoladylar* (*čolladylar*, G, p. 55, 13) etc.

§ 54. Many dialects allow two vowels to succeed one another directly within a word, where the cultured language and other dialects have an *i* or *y* sound. This is usually found where an original guttural has been lost. Most examples are found in Räsänen's texts from N.E. Asia Minor: *dalačča.um*, *alačča.um* (*dalaččarym*, *alaččarym*, Räs., p. 151, 1, 2, 4), *geňšli.umi* (*geňšličimi*, Räs., p. 153, 3), *čopužča.umi* (*čopužčarymy*, p. 154, 2), *čüre.um* (*čürečim*, p. 157, 4) etc.

In the wilāyet of Angora and adjoining districts I have frequently noted the same thing: *ēal* (*ēil* "bend!" from Taş-oluk near Kırşehir), *öpmea* (*öpmeje* from Kuzağış near Jozgad, *kyımyodum* (*kyımağordum*, *ibid.*), *kötölüo* (*kötülüüü*, *ibid.*), *doar* (*doyar* from Denekmaden) etc.

The same phenomenon is recorded from Tozluk in N.E. Bulgaria: *'buraa*, *beaz*, *'nerce* (Gadžanov, ii. 4).

§ 55. In most dialects an *ı* sound has developed between two vowels coming directly together within a word. But sometimes we find *h* instead of *ı*: *evahilde* (*evailde*, *evaiilde*, G, p. 31, 3), *taht-i-pahi* (*taht-i-pāi*, G, p. 32, 20), *Izmehal* (*Ismail*, G, p. 57, 22) etc.

Sentence Sandhi.

§ 56. When two words come together, of which the first ends with a vowel and the second begins with a vowel, in all dialects, as is frequently the case in Turkish languages, the first of the two vowels is usually dropped. Examples: *Hamz oyu!* (*Hamza oylu*, G, p. 87, 5), *sularyıyız işdim* (*sularyıyız içtim*, G, p. 86, 21), *gölges olmas dağ olmas* (*gölgesi o. dağ o.*, G, p. 77, 25), *elim öpdürürüm* (*elimi ö.*, G, p. 82, 3), *el ağıary* (*eli ağıary*, G, p. 82, 2 from below), *del Ismail* (*deli Ismail*, G, p. 85, 2), *otl olur* (*otlu o.*, G, p. 67, 8), *helv alıms* (*helva alıms*, G, p. 29 ult.).

Ne and the interrogative particle *my* deserve special mention: *nışlıo* (*ne işleor*, R.O., ii. 204, 7 from below from Güneji), *noıdu* (*ne oldu* very common; cf. e.g. Adak., p. 140 ult.), *nuılmalıy* (*ne olmalıy*, G, p. 83, 15), *napsyn* (*ne iapsyn*, Brus.-A., p. 149, 4 from below); cf. also the forms given by Künos without references: *nedežen* = *ne edežeksin*, *napažžān* = *ne iapažakısyn*, *nežžen* = *ne edežeksin*, *nappatırsyn* = said to be *ne iapup iatırsyn*, *aylarmula* (*aylarmı ola*, G, p. 75, 4), *uyrarmula* (*uyrarmı ola*, G, p. 53, 11) etc. 1).

In the combination of *-a-* the second vowel sometimes disappears: *afendim* (*a efendim*), *pa-dişafendi* (*pa-dişah* [h] *efendi*), *ta zelden* (*ta ezelden*, G, p. 60, 18).

Reduction of Syllables.

§ 57. In words of three syllables, the central one, if it is open, is frequently reduced. This feature, also found in other Turkish languages, is much more common in all dialects than in the written language. It is connected with the accentuation of words of three syllables: $\bar{u}-\bar{u}$ or $\bar{u}-\bar{u}$; cf. W. Bang, *Studien zur vergl. Grammatik der Türkssprachen*, S. B. Pr. Ak. W., xxxvii. (1916), p. 920; T. Kowalski, *Ze studiów nad formą poezji ludów tureckich*, p. 70, note 1.

Grammar.

§ 58. Declension.

Declension offers no peculiarities of a local nature.

The "confusion of the accusative with the dative" noted in various Ottoman speaking districts (Gadžanov, ii. 4—5), e.g. *atıma ararım* (for *atımy ararım*, Räs., p. 209, 2 from Kysarna, in the wilāyet of Trebizond), is, as explained in § 9, due to a phonetic peculiarity.

Similarly the identity of the locative with the

dative ending, which is frequently met with, is to be explained by phonetic changes (assimilation, with later dropping of the gemination, cf. § 49 and § 53): *köjünürze üü k'ia var* "in your village there are three girls" (from *köjünürze* > *köjünürze*, Räs., p. 156, 3), *iedi iasuna i'cen* (*iasunda* > *iasunna* > *iasuna*, Räs., p. 149, 4), *iaplanın cimenine ben bir idım* "on the meadow of the alpine pasture I was alone" (< *cimeninne* < *cimeninde*, Räs., p. 107, 1 sq.) etc.

Nominative forms frequently met with in place of expected dative forms are probably to be explained as the result of contraction: *nere* (= *nereje*) *gittini bilememi* "he could not ascertain where (the other) had gone" (R.O., ii. 205, 4 sq. from Güneji), *nere ieksen ora gider* "whither (= *nereje*) thou dragest her, thither (= *orağa*) she will go" (G, p. 66, 20), *indım dere, iirmaya* "I went down to the valley (= *dereje*) to the river" (Räs., p. 105, 1). The *ne* (< *neje*) "why", often found in dialects, is probably to be similarly explained.

The Pronoun.

§ 59. The personal pronoun of the 1st and 2nd person singular appears in the east of Anatolia in the forms *bene*, *sene*, agreeing with the other cases, for *banı* (or *bana*), *sağı* (or *sana*). I have heard them from a Turk from Urfa. The same forms are given by Balkanoglu (*K. Sz.*, iii. 264) for the dialect of Kilis. Räsänen notes them as heard from a woman from the wilāyet of Erzerum: *sene* (Räs., p. 16, 2; p. 23, 3). We must regard these forms as the result of Adharbaidjāni influence.

Songs in Räsänen from Trebizond and neighbourhood show a dative in *ğaa* (alongside of *bana*), *sa a*: *ğaa* (p. 176, 3), *ğaa* (p. 263, 2), *sa a* (p. 263, 4); alongside however, we have: *ğaa* (p. 134, 1), *sa a* (p. 133, 3).

The demonstrative pronoun *bu* appears in N. E. Anatolia strengthened by a prefixed *ha* (exclamative *a* with an aspirated anlaut): *habu* (in Räsänen, p. 159, 4; 215, 3; 250, 3; 256, 1). The same *ha* is added to the *bu* in *böyle*, *burası*, *burada*: *haburadan* (Räs., p. 180, 4; 191, 1; 192, 1; 199, 1; 257, 1), *haburasi* (Räs., p. 258, 1), *habuöyle* (Räs., p. 104, 1).

Similarly we find prefixed *ha* in the demonstrative *o*, dialectal *u* (cf. § 4): *ha u* (Räs., p. 240, 4).

Conjugation.

Personal Endings.

§ 60. 1st Pers. sing.

In the dialects we find *n* for *-m* at the end of forms in conjugation, as frequently in old Ottoman (Deny, § 551); cf. W. Bang, *Studien zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Türkssprachen*, i., S. B. Pr. Ak. W., xxii. (1916), p. 534, note 1.

Examples from Asia Minor: *iapažān* (*iapažarym*, G, p. 17, 13), *ičejin* (*ičeim*, G, p. 88, 25), *olman* (*olmam*, G, p. 89, 26), *işkaryn* (*işkarym*, G, p. 79 19), *enmen* (*enmem*, *ibid.*, p. 351, 4 from below), *duraryn* (*durarym*, Zag., No. 33, from Mumşu in the district of Balykesir), *iapıñon*, *geliñon*, *gidiñon* (*iapıyñorum* etc., Brus.-A., p. 134), *gorman* (*görmem*, Thüry, *Kast.*, p. 19).

So far as I know, a similar phenomenon is only found in Rumelian territory at Tozluk in N. E. Bulgaria: *bilmen*, *gitmen* (*bilmem*, *gitmem*, Gadžanov, i. 9), *gelieryn*, *gelioryn* (*ibid.*).

§ 61. 2nd Pers. sing.

1) M. Köprülü-Zāde Fu'ād is wrong in thinking (*K.Cs.A.*, ii. 37 on v. 54), that a contraction like *şad mofırsyn* < *şad-my ofırsyn* represents an archaic feature of the xiiith century.

By confusion of the forms of conjugation in *-im*, *-sin*, ... *-iz* (*gelirim*, *gelirsin*, ... *geliriz*) with that in *-m*, *-ŋ*, ... *-k* (*geldim*, *geldiŋ*, ... *geldik*, or *gelsem*, *gelseŋ*, ... *gelsek*) in the Asia Minor dialects we very often find the personal ending of the 2nd pers. sing. *-ŋ*, where elsewhere we have *-sin*: *giden*, *varyŋ* (*gidersin*, *varırsın*, *K. Sz.*, i. 155, from North Syria), *gideŋiŋ* (= *gidesin*, *ibid.*), *geliŋoŋ* (*geliŋorsun*, *Brus.-A.*, p. 133, 19), *geliŋ* (*gelirsin*, *ibid.*, p. 133, 23), *öjrediŋoŋ* (*öjrediŋorsun*, *Brus.*, p. 263, 6), *olmaŋ* (*olmaŋsın*, *G.*, p. 69, 12), *söleŋeŋ* (*sökleŋeŋeksin*, *G.*, p. 19, 16) etc.

In keeping with this we find: *sen .. sadrazamıŋ seŋsimiŋ*? (for *seisimisin*, *G.*, p. 39, 26 sq.), *batırazakımyŋ* (*batırazakımyŋsın*, *G.*, p. 18, 4) etc.

§ 62. 1st Pers. plur.

As a result of a similar confusion of the two types of conjugation, the 1st pers. plur. of the opt., pres., aor. and fut. in many, especially East Anatolian dialects, ends in *-k* (*-k*): *gidek* (*gidelim* from the district of Sivas), *kałdyrazımy* (*kałdyrazıymy* from Kaıseri), *gidiŋok* (*gidiŋorus*, *K. Sz.*, i. 155 from North Syria), *doŋurux* (*doŋuruz* from Tatlıŋak, S. from Sivas), *bilmek* (*bilmeŋiz*, *ibid.*), *duzaŋauk* (*duraŋayyz*, *Räs.*, p. 173, 2), *ałmyŋyk* (*ałmyŋyz* is given by Balkanoglu for Kilis in North Syria, *K. Sz.*, iii. 264) etc.

Outside of the conjugation tables we also find *-k* with the meaning "we are" (instead of the enclitic *-[k]iz*): *biz amelek* "we are workmen" (I heard this in Amasia from labourers from Yozgad), *güzelik* "we are beautiful" (*K. Sz.*, iii. 264 from Kilis).

This phenomenon is characteristic of the east of Asia Minor. While it is not found far east of Angora in northern Asia Minor, in southern Asia Minor it appears to extend much farther east. In the country east of Kyzyl-Yрмаk, I heard almost exclusively the forms in *-k* (*biz bu sui ićemek*, *bis K'eskin* *giderik* etc.).

§ 63. 2nd Pers. plur.

Everywhere that we find in the 2nd pers. sing. *-ŋ* for *-sin*, we also have in the 2nd pers. plur. *-ŋiz*, *-ŋyz* etc. instead of *-siŋiz*, *-siŋyz* etc.: *gidiŋoŋuz* (*gidiŋorsunuz*), *vereŋeŋiz* (*vereŋeksiŋiz*) etc.

§ 64. Verbal forms ending in *-r* (3rd pers. sing. pres. and aor.) lose this *r* in various dialects (cf. § 34): *'niŋliŋo* (*ne işleŋor*, *R. O.*, ii. 204 from Güneı), *deŋo-kum* (*deŋorkim*, *ibid.*, p. 205, 20), *iudaŋu* (*iutyŋor*, Thury, *Kast.*, p. 19), *k'emiri* (*kemirir*, *R. O.*, i. 347, No. 15, 4), *ıaŋary* (*ıaŋaryr*, *G.*, p. 70 from Bozgir) etc.

After final *r* of the form *dır* (from *demek*) we sometimes find a vowel-like sound which is difficult to define, like *dırŋ* (cf. *R. O.*, ii. 206, 15).

In some Rumelian dialects (notably in the dialect of Adakale) a final *r* of the aor. partic. almost regularly becomes *ı*: *kaŋaı* (*kaŋar*), *saıaŋler* (*saıarlar*), *ıldiriı* (*öldürür*) etc.

The Tenses.

§ 65. Present.

Besides the forms in *-ŋor* we find in dialects those in *-ıur*, *-ıür*, *-ıir* with many slight gradations in the quality of the vowel. The half consonantal *ı* may sometimes disappear so that the two vowels come together: the vowel of the corresponding gerundive form and the vowel of the ending *-ur*, *-ür*, *-ir*. The final *r* also may disappear completely (cf. § 64).

Forms with the vowel *u* and *i* (*-ıur*, *-ıir*, *-ur*,

-ir, or *-ıu*, *-ıi*) are found in the two most northeasterly corners of the Ottoman speaking area: on the one side in the northeast on the coast of the Black Sea, towards the Caucasus, on the other in the northwest, in the N.E. of Bulgaria, in the Dobrudja and Bessarabia.

Examples from the N.E.: *d'aliŋur* (*geliŋor*, *Räs.*, p. 68, 1 from the wilayet of Erzerum), *agair* (*akıŋor*, *Räs.*, p. 166, 1 from Trebizond), *eseŋi* (*esiŋor*, *Räs.*, p. 175, 2, *ibid.*), *saryıi* (*saryŋor*, *Räs.*, p. 194, 4 from the wilayet of Trebizond), *donanııi* (*donanyŋor*, *Räs.*, p. 254, 2), *ıaŋkanie* (*ıaŋkanyŋor*, *Räs.*, p. 245, 2; with very broad and low final *i*; cf. § 9), *atılmaŋe* (*atılmaŋor*, *Räs.*, p. 219, 1) etc.

With Räsänen's statements, those of Kúnos for the district of Samsun-Trebizond agree: *ıayaŋir* (*ıayaŋor*, *ıayyŋor*, *Laz.*, p. 278, 12 from below), *ıyŋylmaŋir* (*ıyŋylmaŋor*, *ibid.*, l. 11 from below), *geliŋir* (*geliŋor*, *Laz.*, p. 281, 4 from below).

I have noticed forms in *-ir* (*-ıir*) even south of Sivas: *ıeıkir*, *tartylyir*, *soıruir*, *ıurmyir*, *duısunmyir* etc., all from the village of Tatlıŋak, between Sivas and Kaıa-dibi.

Forms in *-ıu* (*-ıi*) were noted by Thury in Kaıtamunian (p. 19): *bataıu* (*batıŋor* < *bataŋor*, cf. § 46), *iudaıu* (*iutyŋor* < *iutaŋor*), *ıyrmaıaıu* (*ıyrmaıyŋor*) etc.

Forms ending in *-ıur* are also characteristic of the dialect of the ottomanised Tatars of the Crimea: *saryıur* (*ıatskaya*, in *ı. A.*, 1926, p. 352, 4), *parleıur*, *baıyıur* (*baıyŋor*), *ayleıur* (*ibid.*, p. 364, 7-9).

The forms in *-ıur* and *-ıir* seem to cover an area which begins with the wilayet of Kaıtamuni and stretches along the coast of the Black Sea far to the east and north. I do not know a single case of such forms from the southern half of the peninsula.

If we now turn to the western coast of the Black Sea we find very peculiar, complicated conditions which cannot yet be considered to have been quite cleared up.

Among the Bessarabian Gagauz, according to Moıkov (Gagauz., xviii./xxix.), two forms of present are used alongside of each other: the one in *-ıor*, the other in *-ır* (cf. *oıner*, 2, 30; immediately following it *oınaŋor*, 2, 31). As forms like *bııryıerıym* (from the village of Etulia in the circle of Ismail) show, *-ır* has arisen out of *-ıııer*.

Still more involved is the position in northern Bulgaria. The present forms there form one of the most important criteria for distinguishing the dialects of the different districts. According to Gadıanow, whose statements I can generally confirm, we have the following forms of the present in conjugation:

a. Vicinity of řumen, village of Troica (Turkish: Turuıa); i. 5:

geleirim, *geleısin*, *geleıri*, *geleıriz*, *geleırsınyz*, *geleıl'ar* 2).

b. Northern part of Gerlovo (i. 7):

1) I cannot see why this present form should be entirely separated from that in *-ıor* and "probably compared with the Čag. present in *-tur*" (M. Palló, *K. Cs. A.*, i. 86). On the contrary, I think it is hardly possible to seek two different starting-points for the forms in *-ıor*, *-ıur*, *-ıo*, *ıu*, *-ıür*, *-ıü*, *-ıir*, *-ıi*, *-ıe*.

2) Gadıanow writes *geleıl'ar*; by *j* he indicates that *ı* is not *ı*.

g'liürim, g'liürsen, g'liüri, g'liüriz, g'liürsinyz, g'liüller.

c. Southern part of Gerlovo (i. 8):

g'liüverim, g'liüversin, g'liüverir, g'liüveriz, g'liüversinyz, g'liüverler, or in a heavy stem:

ia'pvyrym, ia'pvyrysın, ia'pvyryr, ia'pvyryz, ia'pvyrsinyz ia'pvyrylar.

d. Southwestern part of the district of Tozluk (i. 9):

g'liürin, g'liürsyn, g'liüry, g'liüryz, g'liürsinyz, g'liüller.

e. N.E. part of the same area (i. 9):

g'liürim, g'liürsun, g'liürü, g'liürüz, g'liürsunuz, g'liürü.

f. Central Deliorman between K'emanlar and Songur (i. 12):

g'liüverim, g'liüverirsin, g'liüveri, g'liüveriz, g'liüverirsin, g'liüverirler, or in a heavy stem:

ia'pvyrym, ia'pvyrysın, ia'pvyryr, ia'pvyryz, ia'pvyrsinyz, ia'pvyrylar.

g. Vicinity of Dobrič in the Dobrudja (i. 13):

geliem, geliésyn, gelée, geliéz, geliésinyz, geliéllar, also: ia'pyiem ia'pyiésyn¹⁾ etc.

h. Old Gagauzes in Kestrič, north of Varna (i. 13):

geliom, geliysun, geliy, geliyz, geliysinyz, geliolar.

i. Vicinity of Popovo (Turk.: Pop-k'öi) (i. 14):

geliörum, geliösün, geliöru, geliöruz, geliösünuz, geliölar, or ia'pogrum, ia'pogsun, ia'pogru, ia'pogruz, ia'pogsunuz, ia'poglar.

The forms above quoted from N.E. Bulgaria and the Dobrudja are exceedingly important for the explanation of the present in *-ior*²⁾ as they represent an older stage of development than that preserved in the written language. The discussion of the question whether a form like *geliiverim* is a combination with *ver-* or a phonetic development from *geliizerim* must remain undecided.

In the dialect of the island of Adakale the present has been completely ousted by an aorist form in *-i*: *ia'paž, gidež, geliž* (cf. § 64 and 66). But we also find forms in *-iir*, e.g. *av'lažir (av'lažor, av'lyjor, Adak., p. 264, 23).*

Isolated forms in *-iür* are found in Macedonia: *dök'ejür (W. Z. K. M., xxxiii. 212, N^o. 59, 7).*

The present in *-ior* agreeing with the written language covers the whole of Rumelia especially, it seems, Thrace with Constantinople and the western and southern parts of Asia Minor. On Asia Minor territories *-ior* usually appears without final *-r*: *'nišližo (ne išleior, R. O., ii. 204 from Güne), k'e'semežo (k'e'semeior, ibid., p. 205), 'dežokum (dežorkim, ibid., p. 205, 20), ko'iyžo (ko'iužor, ibid., p. 205, 22), geližo, gidižo, dižo (M. Hartmann, K. Sz., i. 155 from North Syria; Hartmann's remark, as if the forms in question were the 2nd pers. sing., is based on an error). The same form is given by Balkanoglu*

(Nežib Asim) for Behesni in the wilāyet of Kharput (K. Sz., iv. 125).

As to the conjugation of the present, two types can generally be distinguished, a fuller with the endings *-iorum, -iorsun, -ior, -ioruz, -iorsunuz, -iorlar* and a shortened with the endings *-iom, -ioñ, -io, -ioz or -iož (-iož), -ioñuz, -iorlar (-ioñlar, -ioñla etc.).*

To the former type belong amongst others the conjugation of the present in N. E. Asia Minor: *d'idejrum (Räs., p. 100, 1), sevejrum (ibid., p. 161, 3), žalaisun (p. 247, 3), aldaisun (p. 222, 4), žayirižiler (žayiryjorlar, p. 260, 2), dežuller (dežorlar, p. 258, 2) etc.* N. E. Bulgaria also follows this type.

The second type is given by M. Hartmann and Balkanoglu for Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. It is however also found in southern and western Asia Minor: *ia'pižon (ia'pyjorum, Brus.-A., p. 134; cf. § 60), geližon (geližorum, ibid.), geližon (geližorsun, Brus.-A., p. 133, 8 from below), ne ia'pižon (ne ia'pyjorsun, ibid., p. 134, 2) etc.* While however the 1st pers. plur. in the east ends in *-žok, -žox (gidižok, K. Sz., i. 155; sevojox, K. Sz., iv. 125; cf. § 62),* in the west it ends in *-ioz: istežos (istejorus, G, p. 19, 15).*

Forms with the negation particle *ma, me* show no special features; only *a, e* usually become *v, i*, *i* under the influence of *ž* (cf. § 46). Gagauz forms like *verilmēr* (Gagauz., p. 2, 17), *düşünmērsin (ibid., p. 5, 25)* are present, not aorist forms.

In Deliorman the 3rd pers. sing. is positive *o'lyjyry*, but negative *o'lymyr* (from the village of Yunus Abdał north of Razgrad).

The Aorist.

§ 66. In the aorist participle the final *-r* frequently disappears (cf. § 34 et 64): *k'emiri (kemirir, R. O., i. 347, N^o. 15, 4), geli, sesleni, besleni, usłany* (all from Brus.-A., p. 121), *virü (verir, Kast., p. 19), iašary (iašaryr, G, p. 70 from Bozgir) etc.*

This form which is also the 3rd pers. sing., forms the starting point for a series of abbreviated forms: *diley (dilersin, G, p. 32, 12), duruž, iden (durursun, edersin, Kast., p. 19), nerden geliž "whence comest thou?"* (to be distinguished from *nerden geližon, Brus.-A., p. 133, 12* from below); interrogative: *a'lyyny (a'lyrmysyn, G, p. 29, 10).*

In the 1st pers. sing. we often find final forms in *-n* (cf. § 60): *ia'darun (ia'tarym), alurun (a'lyrym), ia'vlarurun (ia'varyrym, cf. § 50b) — in Thüry, Kast., p. 19; also in the negative form: gorman (görmem), varman (varmam), iimen (iëmem) — all three in Thüry, Kast., p. 19; gadman (o'lmam, G, p. 89, 26); bilmeñ, gitmeñ (Gadžanov, i. 9 from Tozluk in N. E.-Bulgaria) etc.*

There are also shortened negative forms: *o'lmaz (o'lmazsyn, G, p. 69, 12), virmey, gorkmaz (vermezsin, kormamazsyn, Thüry, Kast., p. 19).*

In the 1st pers. sing. in dialects we also find a full form with the *-mez* retained: *gešmezem (gečmem, G, p. 65) — in agreement with old Ottoman; cf. Deny, § 631, note.*

The 1st pers. plur. in N. E. Asia Minor has the ending *-k* for *-z*, both in the positive and the negative forms (cf. § 62): *ederuž (ederiz, Laz., p. 278, 9), derik (almost dirik = deriz, Tatlyžak, S. from Sivas), dožuruž, sataruž (dožuruz, sataruz, ibid.), biz bilmeñ "we do not know" (ibid.).*

It has already (§ 64) been pointed out that in the dialect of Adakale *ž* appears for *r* as the final of the aor. partic.: *geližim (p. 8, 31), görižsin*

1) Unfortunately Gadžanow gives no further forms.

2) On the origin of the present in *-ior* cf. Th. E. Korš, *Proischoždenije formy nastojaščago vremeni v zapadno-tureckich jazykach, in Drevnosti Vostočnyja*, iii. (Moscow 1907), 1—22; K. Foy, *M. S. O. S.*, vi. 159—61; W. Bang, *Monographien zur türk. Sprachgeschichte*, S. B. Ak. Heid., Year 1918, Abh. 12; M. Palló, *K. Cs. A.*, i. 85—6 (review of W. Bang's work); Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, § 613; H. W. Duda, *Die Sprache der Qyryq Vesir-Erzählungen*, Leipzig 1930, i. 89 sqq.

(p. 8, 14), *araisyn* (p. 5, 30), *oturii* (p. 5, 2, 6, 3, 4), *çykaş* (p. 5, 28, 6, 6), *haşkyriş* (p. 8, 9), *toplaş* (p. 8, 13), *ķurtulişinis* (p. 167, 26), *gideşler* (p. 6, 5), *çalışışler* (p. 5, 3) etc. Forms in *-k* and *-r* are used promiscuously: *o gişe orda iatış* (p. 173, 19) and immediately following it: *o geşe orda iatyr* (p. 174, 8), or *fil ħadar oliş* (p. 174, 4) and immediately following it: *fil ħadar olur* (p. 174, 14) etc. The differentiation of the vowels before *-k*: *gideş* but *geliş*, *iapaş* but *alış* or *alış* indicates with certainty that *gideş* goes back to *gider*, *geliş* to *gelir*, so that the forms are really aorist forms, as Foy supposed, *M.S.O.S.*, vi. 161 (cf. § 64, note 1).

In the dialect of Urfa I have noticed in the 1st pers. sing. of the negative form the ending: *-menem* (as in *Ādharī*) instead of the literary *-mem*: *söñlemenem* (*söñlemem*), *ellemenem* (*ellemem*) etc.

The Future.

§ 67. We usually find contracted forms which may be regarded as coming from the 1st pers. sing. (*baķaķam* < *baķaķayym*) or from the 1st pers. pl. (*baķaķaş* < *baķaķayş*).

The 1st pers. sing. frequently ends in *-n* (cf. § 60): *iayylıñan* (*iayylıayym*, *R. O.*, i. 349), *iapañan* (*iapañayym*, *G.*, p. 17, 13) etc.

On the analogy of the former, the 2nd pers. sing. ends in *-ñan* or *-ñan*: *söleñen* (*söleñeñeksin*, *G.*, p. 19, 16), *üveñen* (*üveñeñeksin*, *G.*, p. 22, 7) etc. Interrogative, or: *geleñen-mi* (*geleñekmisin*, *O. T.*, i. 66, 2), *istemeñeñan-mi* (*istemeñeñekmisin*, *Gagaus.*, p. 1 pu.) or: *batyrañakımyñ* (*batyrañakımysyn*, *G.*, p. 18, 4; cf. § 61).

The 1st pers. pl. ends in the east in *-k*, *k* (*-k*), in the west in *-z* (*-s*): *gideñek* (*gideñekiz*, *Türk Yurdu*, May 1928, p. 23^a, from the Avşares of the Taurus territory), *durañauk* (*durañayş*, *Räs.*, p. 173, 2), *aırılañauk* (*aırılañayş*, *Räs.*, p. 173, 4), *gediñes* (*gideñekiz*, *G.*, p. 18, 21) etc.

The 2nd pers. plur. on the analogy of the sing.: *vereñeniz* (*vereñeksiniz*, *O. T.*, i. 250, 28) etc.

The Optative.

§ 68. The 1st pers. sg. of the optative often shows, as in old Ottoman, the personal ending *-m* added directly to the optative stem in *-a*, *-e*: *binem* (*bineñim*, *G.*, p. 60, 4), *sałam* (*sałañım*, *G.*, p. 60, 5) etc.; cf. Deny, § 645. Similarly after verbal stems ending in vowels: *avlañam* (*avlañayım*, *G.*, p. 60, 5).

The 1st pers. pl. ends in the east in *-k*, *-k* (*-k*). It usually represents the 1st pers. plur. of the imper. in *-lim*, *-lym*: *gidek* (= *gidelim* from *Tatlyşak*, South of Sivas), *bilek* (= *bilelim*, *Türk Yurdu*, May 1928, p. 24^a, 14 from the Taurus territory); *ķopak* (*ķopañym*, *ibid.*, p. 24^b, 3 from below), *kañdyrañymy* (*kañdyrañymmy*, *Kajseri*), *gidek*, *baķak* (perhaps *baķax*, from North Syria; cf. *K. Sz.*, i. 155) etc.

The Imperative.

§ 69. 1st pers. pl.: *iatañux* (*iatañym*, *Laz.*, p. 283, 4), but *gideñim* (*gidelim*, *Räs.*, p. 172, 1).

In the 2nd pers. pl. of stems ending in vowels or in negative forms we frequently find the ending *ñ* added directly: *dolañ* (*dolañym*, *G.*, p. 86, 6), *dıñ* (*dıñym*, *G.*, p. 80, 12), *söleñ* (*söleñym*, *G.*, p. 91, 22), *uyramañ* (*uyramañym*, *G.*, p. 53, 8), *aýlaşmañ* (*aýlaşmañym*, *G.*, p. 89, 10) etc.; cf. Deny, § 608.

Verbal Nouns.

§ 70. Verbal noun in *-asy* etc. [Bibliography: W. Bang, *Studien zur vergl. Grammatik der Türk-sprachen*, article 1: Über die osmanische Fluchform *odşayı yanası* und ihre Verwandten (*S.B.Pr. Ak. W.*, xxii. [1916], 522—535); Böhtlingk, *Japanische Grammatik*, p. 308 sq.; Thüry, *Kast.*, p. 21; Brockelmann, *Qışsa-i-Yūsuf*, § 65; do., *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx., 212; do., *K. Cs. A.*, i. 31 (from Maḥmūd al-Kāşyārī); Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, § 793—98].

This verbal noun, which only survives in the modern literary language in a few formal expressions, is still quite vigorous in the dialects, particularly in Anatolia. We find it in the following cases:

a. in many curse-formulae: *añ ħuruñasy başymyz* (*O. T.*, i. 256, 10), *haş göñü çyķasy herif haş* (*ibid.*, ii. 19 sq.), *batasy* (= *iere batasy*, *ibid.*, ii. 306, 5 from below), *ıyķyluş viran kaļasy* (*ibid.*, ii. 312, 9), *ekmeñi taşşan kendisi taşy oļasyña* (*Konıa vilājeti ħalkyñat ve ħarsyñaty*, p. 322, N^o. 6, where many other examples are given).

b. in combination with *-dek* or *-şek*: *gidesiñeşek* (*O. T.*, i. 15, 17; 18, 24), otherwise cf. Bang, *op. cit.*

c. in various formulae: *çylđyrasyña sevinüp* (*O. T.*, ii. 2, 31; cf. Bang, *op. cit.*).

d. used as an adjective: *Şar-kyşlaña bir saat kaļasy ħerde köñ var* (by a shepherd of Kañadibi, South of Sivas).

e. predicative, used like a participle: *oýluş ölesiñemidir?* (in *Türk Yurdu*, May 1928, p. 23^a, 22).

f. as a substantive only in the phrase *veresiñe* (as in the written language): *veresiñe bir testi daha aļarak* (*O. T.*, ii. 47, 17), *veresiñe şarab ittim* (*O. T.*, ii. 316, 4 from below).

g. very common in combination with *gelmek*, as in the following quatrain from Güneļ:

ħaļa varasym geldi,
ħadyr gurasym geldi;
ħayym ħamdan görünñä,
ħamı gyrasym geldi.

§ 71. Gerundives in *-inş*, *-ynş* etc. appear in the dialects with final *-k*, *-z* (*-s*) or *-n* (cf. Deny, § 1392). Examples for *-inşek*: *gormeñinşek*, *ermeñinşek* (*O. T.*, ii. 194, N^o. 76), *varynñak*, *doñunñak* (*ibid.*, p. 260, N^o. 10), *baķynñak*, *ħatynñak* (*ibid.*, p. 325, N^o. 100), *düşinñek* (*G.*, p. 80, 13); cf. Deny, § 1392, p. 998.

Forms in *-inşez* (*-inşes*) so far had only been found in Macedonia (*W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiii. 174 and 220), in the region of Konya (Giese), in Maraş (Deny), Trebizond (Pisaref) and among the Turkish speaking Armenians (Deny). To the examples given by Deny (p. 999) I may add:

gene aķşam olunñas,
kañlanamam gelinñes.
ne isterseñ alañym,
seniñ göñlüñ olunñas

from Güneļ, east of Smyrna.

Forms in *-inşen* (for explanation cf. § 10) I know only from the texts by Giese: *yaşynñan varıñı geñirim daşa* (*G.*, p. 55, 1), *besleninşen arab atlar etlenir* (*G.*, p. 59, 30) etc.

The Verbal Noun in *-dik*.

§ 72. By the combination of a verbal noun in *-dik* with a pronominal suffix and the postposition

le (in dialects *inen*, *ynan*, cf. § 80) there arises a form with a temporal significance, which is very frequent, especially on Rumelian territory, among the Bessarabian Gagauz, in the dialect of Adakale and in N. E. Bulgaria. Examples: *tū dama ĵaklaş'lyñnan bēgir kişneniſ* "when he approached the stall, the horse neighed" (*ĵaklaş'lyñnan* < *ĵaklaş'lyñny-ile*, Gagaus., p. 126, 3), *sabā oldiñnen (oldıyuy-ile)* "when it became morning" (Adak., p. 2, 36), *suĵa var'dyna (! vardyvyñny-ile), su bul'añnyk-ise 'geñme; 'sora küve var'dyña (! vardyvyñny-ile) ĵaryny bobana ĵol'lama* "when you come to water and it is turbid do not cross it; also when you come to the village do not send your wife to your father" (from a folk-tale recorded by me in the village of Duştabaĵ in Deliorman) etc.

§ 73. Instead of the usual construction with *-dikden sonra* we very often find in dialects *-dikden geri: ešdikdengeri, düšdikdengeri, ašdykdengeri* (G, p. 52, 8, 9, 10), *oldıkdankeri* (G, p. 59, 21), *soľdukdankeri* (G, p. 59, 23), *güldükdankeri* (G, p. 59, 27) etc.

The significance of this construction is partly temporal "after", partly causal: "since however"; cf. Deny, p. 1035 sq.

§ 74. Probably by contamination from *-dikke* and *-dikte* (or *-dikten*) arise forms in *-dikken*, which are found among the Bessarabian Gagauz as well as in Deliorman: *daĵiĵe tuttukĵan sōra eve ge'tiris* "after we have prepared (the boys) for the daĵy ceremony, we bring them (the boys) into a house" (from an account of the ceremonies of circumcision taken down by me in Ķemanlar, Deliorman), *tā ĵötü* (cf. § 24) *gittikĵan ĵep ĵyrmzy adamlar* "even when one crosses, one finds nothing but red men" (Gagaus., p. 10, 1) etc.

§ 75. In the construction in *-dikke* in Macedonia, I also found a final *-z* (-s): *üšüdükĵes ĵek üštüme ĵorgani* "when I freeze, draw the blankets over me" (*W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiii, p. 184, 4), *susa-dikĵes vēr agıma dilini* "when I thirst, put thy tongue in my mouth" (*ibid.*, 1. 6).

Iken etc.

§ 76. We find many dialectal peculiarities in the forms composed with *iken*:

a. *-ken* (from *iken*) follows the rules of vowel harmony and after heavy stems becomes *-ĵan*, in the eastern dialects *-ĵan* (§ 37). Both *-ken* and *-ĵan* combine with exclamation *-ē, -ā* to *-kene, -ĵana*. Examples: *ĵyĵarĵan (ĵyĵarken, Brus.-A., p. 122, 4 from below), bošanyrĵana, üšenirkene, ĵušanyrĵana* (G, p. 51, 5, 6, 7); cf. Deny, p. 949, footnote 1.

On the other hand, we find in the dialect of Bessarabian Gagauz *-ĵan* even after light stems: *ĵerĵan* (Gagaus., p. 1, 2; 165, 13);

b. *-ken, -ĵan* frequently appears without final *-n* as *-ke, -ĵa: gelirke* (G, p. 80, 4 from below), *ĵyz yĵa (ĵyz iken, G, p. 65, 13), eldēike (elde iken, G, p. 72, 3), oturur'ke* (*W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiii, p. 216, 16 from Radoviš in Macedonia).

§ 77. When the subject of the form in *-maĵta iken* is a plural, in the dialects (as frequently also in the written language, see Deny, § 1358, p. 954) the plural termination *-lar* is added to the locative ending *-da: gezinüp oturmaĵtaĵar-ken görürler-ki* (O. T., ii. 29, 10), *usatmaĵtaĵar-ken* (O. T., ii. 51, 18), *doľašmaĵtaĵar-ken* (O. T., ii. 48, 22) etc.

Note: The addition of the plural ending *-lar* to the locative ending is also noted elsewhere: *gözetmekdeler idi* (for *gözetmekde idiler*, G, p. 33, 28). *Otur-madaĵarken* (O. T., ii. 23, 1) is an isolated form; cf. *K. Cs. A.*, i. 321.

On the use of the Participle in -an, -en etc.

§ 78. In the northeast as well as in the north west of the Ottoman speaking territory we find constructions with the participle in *-an, -en* (or *-ĵan -ĵen*) instead of with the verbal noun in *-dik* or the gerundive in *-inĵe* etc. (influence of *Adĵari!*): *ĵelken doľana ĵadar* "until the sail fills" (Räs., N^o. 197, 2), *ĵoşan d'elene ĵadar* "till thy husband comes" (*ibid.*, v. 4), *her seni görende* "every time I see thee" (Räs., N^o. 266, 3), *ülüp gidene ĵadar rahatlyĵke ĵašarler* "they live in comfort till their death" (Adak., p. 172, 3), *göz aĵyp ĵapaşana ĵadar* "in a moment" (Adak., p. 206, 18 sq.).

Vermek as an auxiliary Verb.

§ 79. Accelerative forms combined with *vermek* are used much more frequently in many dialects than in the written language. Their original significance seems to have become much weakened. According to Gadžanow, there are in Bulgaria (Deliorman, Gerlovo) dialects which only have present forms combined with *ver-*; but it would have to be considered whether in the forms quoted by him the element *ver-* is not perhaps, at least occasionally, a phonetic development from *-ĵer-* (cf. § 65). The people of South Gerlovo, who speak in this way are called by their neighbours *geliverĵi* (Gadžanow, ii. 6).

In Anatolia I heard this name given to the people of Ķonya among whom the accelerative forms in *ver-* are continually used; *ver-* appears in the dialects also in negative verbal stems: *gelmeĵi-vē (gelmeĵi ver, cf. § 34, Brus.-A., p. 140, 10), gelmeĵivirdi* (G, p. 69, 4). Cf. Deny, § 824.

The Postpositions.

§ 80. *ile, -ile* is found in the dialects in many forms: *ile, -le, -ilen, -len, -inen, -nen*; after heavy stems also harmonised: *-yĵla, -ĵa, -yĵlan, -ĵan, -ynan, -nan: ĵazyĵan güzin* "in summer and in autumn" (G, p. 79, 3 from below), *göz ĵašynan* "with tears" (G, p. 59, 8), *ününen şanıynan* "with glory and prestige" (G, p. 54 ult.), *aĵnan ĵyľdyz* "moon and stars" (G, p. 52, 5), *dašynan (taš ile, Brus.-A., p. 130, 16), ĵaĵlan* (Räs., N^o. 181, 2), *ĵarımnan (ĵarym-ile, Räs., N^o. 3, 4) etc.*; cf. Deny, § 876, note 2 and p. 924, middle.

§ 81. *syra*. Much more frequently than in the written language (cf. Deny, § 902) *syra* is used in the dialects as a postposition. Examples: *arĵam syra* "close behind me" (Brus.-A., p. 127, 7, 147, ult.), *aşderĵanyn ardy syra gidelim* "let us go after the dragon" (Adak., p. 18, 26), *arĵasy syra* "close behind her" (O. T., i. 116, 15, 147, 15), *ĵany syra aľup gider* "takes him with him and goes away" (O. T., i. 127, 32), *ardy önü syra doľaşyr* "he encircles him in front and behind" (O. T., i. 243, 18 sq.) etc.

§ 82. *ĵadar. ĵadar* appears in different forms in the dialects:

a. *gada* (with voiced initial, § 29c, and loss of the final *-r*, § 34) is noted by Thüry in Ķastamunian, (p. 52, alongside of *ĵadar*, cf. also p. 18).

b. *gadan* (with nasalisation of the final, cf. § 10)

given by Kúnos for Brusa: *ıassyya gadan* (Brus., p. 268, 1), *ne gadan gaısa* "however much he flies away" (*ibid.*, p. 271 v. 8 from below).

c. *ıadağ* (probably assimilation to the post-position *dek* "up to"; cf. § 83) in Giese: *o zamana ıadağ* (G, p. 37, 16).

d. *ka*, added enclitically, is found on Rumelian territory: *dızeke* "knee-high", *biızeke* "up to us", *sabaıaka* (*sabaıa-kadar*) "till morning" (all from Macedonia, *W. Z. K. M.*, xxviii. 178 and 221), *herıaka* (*her ne kadar*, Adak., p. 18, 21) etc.; cf. Deny, p. 1133 on § 904.

§ 83. *-dek. -dek* (cf. Deny, § 904) also appears in dialects harmonised in *-dağ*: *aııa'madağ* "till evening" (Gagaus., p. 3, 29). Alongside of *-dek* we also have *-den, -dan* (different from the ablative ending !): *ıındııadan* "until now" (Gagaus., p. 110, 15). According to Deny, p. 613, middle, this form is also used in the dialect of Selanik.

§ 84. *gibi*. We find the following forms in dialects:

a. *gibin*: Räs., N^o. 179, 2, 4.

b. *gimi*: *geıdı ıel gimi* "is whirled past like the wind" (G, p. 56, 20), *pevranaıar gimi* "like butterflies" (G, p. 12, 5).

c. *kimi* (*Ādharbāidjāni* form) is according to Deny, p. 1131 also found in the dialect of Maraş.

d. *kimin*: *guı kimin uıtum* "I flew thither like a bird" (Brus.-A., p. 146, N^o. 28, 3), *Lokman hekim kimin* "like the wise Lokman" (*ibid.*, N^o. 35, v. 5).

The Adverbs.

§ 85. *geri. geri* sometimes appears intensified by reduplication: *gerisi gerine dönuı* "returned" (*O. T.*, i. 47, 33), *kyzy gerisi gerıze evine gönderirler* "they send the girl back home" (*O. T.*, i. 137, 12), *geıdı gersingeri* "he went back" (G, p. 18, 11), *kölerine girsingeri ıaıaıar* "they flee back to their villages" (G, p. 22, 18).

§ 86. *ıalan*. In Anatolian dialects the participle *ıalan* is found as an adverb in the meaning of *artyk, gaıry*: *Mysyra suıtan itseler istemen ıalan* "if ever they wished to make (me) sultan of Egypt, I would not have it" (G, p. 59, 26; cf. 72, 15), *kaı ıalan kaı* "fly, fly" (*Nyelvtud. Közl.*, xxii., 1891, p. 289).

§ 87. Adverbs in *-ıene, -ıene*. In the dialects we find the adverbial ending *-ıene, -ıene*; I know it from Kastamuni and the northern part of Rumelia: *ıokıene* "in a mass", *ıapıene* "softly", *pekıene* "strongly", *usuııene* "moderately" — all in Thüry, *Kast.*, p. 18; *boııeıene* "so" (Adak., p. 1, 6, 34, 13, 141, 9), *oııeıene* "so" (Adak., p. 2, 4 etc.).

§ 88. *amaı* etc. Instead of *ıarıy* "opposite" in many parts of Anatolia we have *amaı, ıamaı* etc. M. Hartmann for example (*K. Sz.*, p. 156) gives for 'Anteb (Aintab): *ıamaıymyzda* "opposite us"; *ıamaı* is noted by Balkanoglu (Neııib Asim) from Kilis meaning "vis-à-vis" (*K. Sz.*, iii. 269). *Annaı* found in the Taurus is probably a corruption of *amaı* (< Pers. *amāz*): *annaıymyz ıara ıaka* "opposite us is a black rock" (*Türk Yurdu*, May 4, 1928, p. 22b), as is *arnaı* which I know from the wilāyet of Bolu: *arnaıta guııy gördüm* "opposite I saw a lamb" (in a song from Çarşembe in the south of Bolu), *arnaıta gördüm senı* "opposite I saw thee" (from the same district) etc.

Bibliography: given in the article. A number of notes and examples for which no reference is given are from the author's unpub-

lished materials. They were collected by him in his dialectological studies among Turkish soldiers in 1917—1918 and during his dialectological journeys in Asia Minor (1923 and 1927) and in N. E. Bulgaria (in 1929).

(T. KOWALSKI)

III. OTTOMAN TURKISH LITERATURE.

The literature to which the name of Ottoman is now generally given is really the literature of the Oghuz Turks, who settled in Asia Minor in the Saldjūk period and later in the time of the Ottomans in Rüm-ili, where they founded a powerful empire. This literature, which has had an uninterrupted development from the time of the Saldjūks down to the present day, is based on the literatures of still older dialects and has remained in touch with these in all periods of its evolution. Especially since the xvth century, it has become the most important and richest branch of all the Turkish literatures and has exercised an influence on the literature of the other dialects. Here we shall only sketch the general evolution of this literature, noting its main genres and principal personalities. We shall deal not only with the classical literature which was confined to the upper classes, but also — in their general features — with the literature of the masses, that of the poet musicians (*sāz şāh-ırları*) and the literature of the various mystic groups. We have felt the necessity of dwelling more fully on points which have hitherto not been satisfactorily studied or which are not yet well known in the learned world, while, as regards better known aspects, we have not gone into details, confining ourselves to a synthetic exposition. For example the xiiith and xivth centuries — the least known period of this literature — have been treated more fully in proportion to other centuries. This is necessary in order to be able to elucidate more fully unknown points and must not be considered disproportionate in in this succinct résumé.

We divide Ottoman literature into three great periods, corresponding to the general development of the history of Turkey:

a. Muslim literature from the xiiith century to the middle of the xixth, i. e. to the period of the *Tanzımāt* [q. v.].

b. The "European" literature from the period of the *Tanzımāt* to the development of the nationalist movement.

c. National literature, arising out of the development of the nationalist movement.

We shall examine these three periods in chronological order, in order to avoid arbitrary distinctions.

a. Muslim Turkish Literature.

xiiith Century.

After the Saldjūk occupation in the xth century, Anatolia had been gradually turkicised and converted to Islām. In the xiiith century however, Greeks and Armenians still formed a considerable proportion in the towns and villages of Asia Minor (Pauthier, *Le Livre de Marco Polo*, Paris 1865, p. 33—39). Among the Turks who settled in Asia Minor some belonged to one and others to other branches of the Turkish people. But as the Oghuz formed the majority, it was the Oghuz dialect

that formed the foundation of the literary dialect that took shape in Asia Minor. The Oghuz dialect, which had separated from the other Turkish dialects well before the tenth century, had already a rich popular literature; we know of the existence of Oghuz poems in the Ghaznawid period (Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Ghaznawī Dewrinde Türk Şi'ri, Edebiyat Fakultası Medjmu'ası*, vol. vii., No. 2, p. 81—83).

The Oghuz who settled in Asia Minor had brought with them all these literary traditions. But in addition the literary products of other dialects also found their way in for different reasons (cf. on this: Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Türk Edebiyatında ilk Mutaawwifler*, Constantinople 1919).

As a result of all these influences there gradually grew up in Asia Minor alongside of the popular literature, a written literature in Turkish; we do not know positively if this written literature had already begun before the xiiith century or not. We do know that from the time of the Saldjūks of Asia Minor in the xiith century, Islāmic culture had established itself in the large towns. Then, after the Saldjūks had exterminated the Dānishmandids and disposed of the Crusaders, learning and literature attained a considerable development in Asia Minor. The products of this movement were written partly in Arabic, but mainly in Persian. We cannot therefore doubt that Anatolian Turkish had a long struggle with Arabic and Persian in order to become a literary language. We see clearly the predominance of Arabic, the language of religion and that used for teaching in the medreses; it was the official language for the correspondence of the sultāns with the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, the Aiyūbids and the Mamlūks and that used in the inscriptions and *wakf* deeds of this century and also of the following centuries. The influence of Persian was still greater. We know that in the entourage of the sultāns and of various scholars and princes, Persian was used and Persian poetry was constantly read. In the same way we find in some *wakf* deeds of the Mongol period — although very rarely — phrases in Mongol, but written in the Uighur character. Nevertheless the predominant language in official transactions and state documents was Arabic.

The use of Turkish was probably confined to dealings with the people. In 676 (1277) when the Karaman Oghlu Mehmed Bey had occupied Konya, he ordered that only Turkish should be used in the business of the chancellery; according to one tradition, he had a number of the old scribes put to death (cf. Saiyid Luḡmān, *Idmāl-i Aḥwāl-i Āl-i Saldjūk*; J. J. W. Lagus, *Seid Locmani ex libro turcico qui Oghuzname inscribitur excerpta*, Helsingfors 1854, p. 13). According to Ibn Bibi, the use of any language other than Turkish was forbidden not only in the business of the chancellery but also in private life (*Saldjūk-nāme*, Aya Sofia MS. No. 2895). The importance given to Turkish during this brief reign does not of course prove that Turkish had already gained a predominance over the other languages. If we bear in mind that Turkish has come into general use in the religious tribunals of Asia Minor only since the xvth century, and that at Baghdād Persian was still employed in the registers of the chancellery in the xviiith century, we can better understand this. It is however certain that Turkish began to gain in importance in state business from the end of

the xiiith century (cf. *T. O. E. M.*, No. 17—94, 1926). In this century the *siyākat* hand was used in the Saldjūk chancellery and there was also a system of writing peculiar to the chancelleries. In documents written in Turkish on the other hand, vowels were never indicated by letters in the Arabic fashion, but only the vowel signs were used. This shows perhaps that among the Turks of Anatolia, the tradition of the old Uighur script had been quite forgotten.

It is as a result of all these conditions that we find Turkish literary works appearing in the course of the xiiith century. A very small portion only of them has come down to us. Works which we no longer possess but of which we know of the existence from historical references are: the story of *Shaikh San'an* in verse by an unknown author; the *Şalsāl-nāme* in verse and prose by a poet called Şaiyād 'Isā, in which are described the combats of 'Alī with a demon called Şalsāl; the *Dānishmend-nāme* composed in 643 (1245) by Ibn 'Alā, secretary of the Saldjūk Sultān, by order of the prince Malik 'Izz al-Dīn Kaika'ūs b. Ghīyāth al-Dīn. It is probable that the stories of Saiyid Baṭṭāl, the existence of which is known in Egypt as early as the xiith century, were translated into Turkish in the xiiith century. The *Baṭṭāl-nāme* and the *Dānishmend-nāme*, a work which grew up around the personality of Malik Dānishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī, a hero who came to Asia Minor in the period of the first Saldjūk occupation and founded the Dānishmandid dynasty, is a product of the struggle between Muslims and Byzantines in Asia Minor.

The political and economic situation of Anatolia in the xiiith century and particularly the material and moral crisis caused by the first Mongol invasions encouraged the expansion of mysticism in these regions. The Yesewī and Haidari dervishes, coming from the east, brought to Asia Minor the mystic poems in Turkish of Aḥmad Yesewī and his disciples. The Turkish mystics also, under the influence of Arabic and Persian mysticism, were forced to have recourse to Turkish as the language of the people in order to gather round them as many followers as possible. It was for this reason that Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī wrote a few Turkish verses, although very few, and that Sultān Weled produced a certain number of Turkish poems. These were until recently the only products of Saldjūk literature known. We may also mention Aḥmad Faḳīh of Konya who lived at the beginning of this century and wrote a fairly long mystic *mathnawī*, which we still possess (cf. Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Anatolische Dichter in der Seldschukenseit, Körösi Csoma Archiv.*, ii.), and a little later Şaiyād Hamza [q. v.], whom we may regard as a disciple of Aḥmad Faḳīh. These poets composed their works in the 'arūd metre and in imitation of the Persian mystics. But the mystic movement in Asia Minor was not confined to producing works of no originality. It also created a new kind of poetry, which was purely Turkish and original, in the language of the people, in syllabic metre and in forms suitable for a popular literature. Yesewī and his pupils had a great influence on the genesis of this last poetry.

Yūnus Emre was the greatest representative of this genre; he was still alive at the beginning of the xivth century. His art is essentially one of the people, i. e. it is Turkish. A Neo-Platonic

Muslim element can be distinguished in it, which does not differ at all from the mystic philosophy of, for example, *Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī*, and a popular element which determines its language, style, form and rhythmic metre. It was through the mystical verses of *Yūnus* that there developed a tradition of writing poems in the language of the people and in the popular syllabic metre, which did not lose its power even in the periods when Persian influence was at its height. The mystics of the different orthodox and heterodox sects which arose in Asia Minor in the following centuries wrote popular poetry in the style of *Yūnus* in order to exert an influence on the masses. Among the latter special mention may be made of the *Bektāshī*, *Hurufī* and *Kızılbaş* poets who imitated *Yūnus* with great success.

In the xiiith century we find a profane poetry beginning in Anatolia under the influence of Persian literature. It was encouraged by the luxurious life and freedom in the fullest sense of the word that prevailed among the upper classes. This movement became still stronger under the Mongols. It produced in the palaces of the *Saldjuks* a kind of profane poetry quite free from ascetic and didactic tendencies and inspired by Persian literature. The first representative of this school, the aims of which were purely artistic, is the poet *Khawādja Dahhānī*. It is very probable that this branch of literature, which was practised among the eastern Turks as early as the xith century, had had representatives before him in Anatolia, for his poems were written in quite a perfected style and attained a high degree of perfection from the technical point of view. It is therefore a mistake for Turkish and European writers on the history of Ottoman literature to trace the development of Turkish profane poetry to the time of *Bāyazid Yıldırım* at the earliest. *Dahhānī*, also wrote, by command of his sovereign, in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn III a *Shāhnāma* of the *Saldjuks*, in Persian; he was a Turkoman of *Khurāsān*. From the dialectal point of view, his language shows all the peculiarities of the *Oghuz* dialect of Anatolia. A comparison between the works of *Dahhānī* and, for example, the Turkish works of his contemporary *Sultān Weled*, enables us to see with what success he could use the *'arūd* metre. But nowhere in his works do we find any trace of mystic influence (cf. on *Dahhānī* my articles in *Hayāt*, No. 1 and 103).

It was natural that there should exist in this period in Anatolia among the masses and the nomadic tribes — just as was the case in the preceding centuries — a popular literature and that there should be bards of the people, whom the old *Oghuz* called *osan*. The latter, *öğür* in hand, went round the assemblies of the people, the nomads and the villages. They were also to be found in the armies of the *Saldjuks*. They recited and sang parts of the old *Oghuz* epics, like the stories of *Dede Korkud*. These products of the popular literature were as a rule recited in the popular rhythm and in traditional forms going back to an ancient past. Sometimes the names of these forms show an ethnic origin like *türkü* [q. v.], *turkmani*, *warsaghi*; others, like *koşma*, *deyish*, *kaya başlı*, reveal their popular character by their name or show that they were always accompanied by a melody. These popular poets usually employed the old Turkish musical instrument called *kobuz*.

xivth Century.

We find the literary development begun in the xiiith century following the same lines in the xivth century. In spite of the political division of Asia Minor, the spread of Muslim and Turkish culture continued at the expense of the Armenians and Greeks. The principality of the Ottomans founded at the western end of Anatolia reached the shores of the Sea of Marmara; towards the end of the century, it entirely subjugated a great part of Anatolia and reestablished the unity of the Turks once again; by its victories over Byzantium, the Serbs, the Bulgars and finally over the united forces of Europe at Nicopolis, it gave rise to a great and powerful empire.

A certain number of *beys* in Asia Minor had neither Persian or Arab culture, and this was the reason why the language of the people became important, why books were written in Turkish and also why a number of works were translated from Arabic and Persian into Turkish. *Ibn Battūta* gives some interesting notes on the importance of Turkish at the courts of the Turkoman *beys* and on poets writing in Turkish.

We know that books were written in Turkish in the xivth century at several centres like *Konya*, *Nigde*, *Ladik*, *Kastamuni*, *Sinub*, *Siwas*, *Kır Şehri*, *Bursa* and *Iznik*. Many of the works of this period have been lost. On the other hand, the compilers of biographies of poets (*tezker-i shu'arā'*), which begin to appear in the xvth century, give for this old period very little information and that for the most part inaccurate. The information we have been able to collect from the sources gives us the following works:

1. The *Ināndj Oghlu* in the region of *Deñizli* and *Ladik* (1277?—1368).

A *Tafsir* on the *Fātiha* by an unknown author (manuscript in the library of the University of Stambul) and a *Tafsir* on the *Surat al-Ikhhlās* (MS. at Angora) very probably by the same author, written by command of *Murād Arslān Bey* *Ibn Inandj* (d. before 763 A. H.). This dynasty had associations with the *Mewlewis* and the author speaks very respectfully of *Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī*. We know also of a poet called *Mu'arrif Ladikī* who lived in this century at *Ladik* (*Ilk Mutaşawwifler*, p. 263) while *Naḳīb Oghlu*, author of a story of *Hasan and Husain* in verse (*Millet Kütübkhānesi*, No. 1518), probably came from the same town. I think that *Naḳīb Oghlu Tādj al-Dīn* mentioned in *Eṣṣākī* (*Les Saints des Derviches tourneurs*, transl. Huart, ii. 329) as a contemporary of *Čelebi 'Arif* (d. in 719), is the same person.

2. The *Aidin Oghlu* (1307—1403).

In the library of the *Ulu Djāmi'* in *Bursa* (No. 21) there is a *Kışaṣ-i Ewliyā'* of which the beginning is lost. From a complete manuscript recently acquired by the *Ma'arif Wekāleti* we now know that the book was translated from the Arabic for *Aidin Oghlu Mehmed Bey* (707—734 A. H.). The author's name is not known. Another work is a *Kalīla wa-Dimna* transl. by an author named *Ma'sūd* for the famous *Umur Bey*, son of *Mehmed Bey*. This is dated before 734 A. H. (there is a MS. in the Bodleian among the Turkish manuscripts, Marsh. 180; another copy in the Laleli library, No. 1897).

3. The *Menteshe Oghlu* (1300—1425).

Thanks to Hammer's publication (*Falknerklee*),

we know a *Bāznāme* translated from Persian by Maḥmūd b. Meḥmed of Bardjin for Meḥmed Bey (middle of the xvth century). Hādjdj Khalifa mentions that Meḥmed b. Maḥmūd Shīrwānī composed for Ilyās b. Meḥmed Bey a work in Arabic entitled *Ilyāsiye* which he later translated into Turkish, by command of Ilyās Bey, and adds that the language is coarse.

4. The Germiyan Oghlu (1300—1428).

It is recorded that the *Kābūs-nāme* and the *Marsubān-nāme* were translated into Turkish for Sulaimān Shāh b. Meḥmed Bey, belonging to this dynasty (770—790 A. H.), but no MS. of it is known (cf. Ahmad Tawhīd, *Germiyan Beyleri*, *T. O.E.M.*, No. 8). Shaikh Oghlu in his great Mathnawī *Khurshid-nāme* only mentions it in his introduction.

5. The Hamid Oghlu (1300—1391).

In the Library of Angora there is a manuscript No. 5/42 of which the author is unknown and which contains a *Tafsir* on the *Sūrat al-Mulk* (lxvii.) written by command of an Anatolian emir named Khiḍr b. Göl Beyi. We believe this Khiḍr Bey to have been the son of Dundār Bey, one of the Hamid Oghlu who reigned in the region of Lake Eğhridir (Eğhridir Gölü) and that Dundār Bey perhaps was surnamed Göl Beyi.

6. The Othmān Oghlu (Ottoman state).

An author named Muṣṭafā b. Meḥmed of Angora wrote a *tafsir* on the *Sūrat al-Mulk* for Sulaimān Pasha, eldest son of Orkhān, a work of which there is a manuscript in the Bāyazid public library. Bursalı Tahir Bey (*Othmanlı Müellifleri*, ii. 13) says that there is in the same library a work by the same writer in Turkish called *Hikw al-Nāsiḥīn*. We may add a *Dānīshmand-nāme* rewritten in 762 (1361) by 'Arif 'Alī, commander of the citadel of Tokat, by order of Murād I, and a translation in verse of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* by an unknown author and also dedicated to Murād I (Pertsch, *Die türkischen Handschriften . . . zu Gotha*, p. 168).

In addition to these works, we possess also several others written in this century in different parts of Asia-Minor:

a translation of Ṭabarī written in 710 (Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS. of the British Mus.*, p. 22);

a *Dastān-i Maḳāl-i Ḥusain* written by a poet named Shādī or Shaiyād in 763 A. H. at Kaṣtamuni;

a poem *Tāwūs*, by 'Izz al-Dīn Oghlu bound up with the preceding;

Ḥadret-i 'Umar Destānī by 'Alī;

a Mathnawī *Mihr-u Wefā* written in 760 by an unknown author;

a *Munādījāt* by Khwādja Oghlu;

a collection of maxims in verse by Sinān Oghlu (MSS. in my private library);

a mathnawī by Ma'ādh Oghlu Ḥasan of Bey Pazar, on the *Ghazewāt-i 'Alī* and another mathnawī written by 'Alī and entitled *Fath-i Kal'a-i Salāsīl* (Millet Kütübhānesi, MS. No. 1518);

a translation of the *Tadhkira-i Awliyā'* of 'Aṭṭār written in 741 by an unknown author and mentioned by Joseph Thury (*Türk dili Yادkārları*, *Milli Tettebb'lar Medj'm.*, iv. 107);

another manuscript containing the translation of the *Tadhkira-i Awliyā'* in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Anc. Fonds Turc, No. 87);

Manāḳib al-Ahrār fī Maḳālāt al-Akhyār by

Aḥmed b. Derwish, *khalifa* of Mewlānā Sinān al-Dīn Aḳshehrī (MS. in the Köprülü Library, No. 253¹²);

the Mathnawī *Warka wa-Gulshāh*, written in 770 (1369) at Siwas by the Mewlewī Yūsuf Meddāh (in the Institute of Turcology);

the Mathnawī of Tursun Fakih [q. v.];

the mathnawī entitled *Hikāyet-i Kan'an wa-Shim'un*, by 'Alī (in my private library);

Teshil, by Hādjdj Pasha (Pertsch, *Die türk. Handschr. . . zu Gotha*, p. 97; there are many copies).

Muntakhab al-Shifā', written in 790 by Ishāḳ b. Murād (Pertsch, p. 99);

some *ghazals* by Aflākī, author of the *Manāḳib* (Weled Čelebi, at the end of the Turkish verses of Sultān Weled);

translation in verse of Shāṭibī entitled *Kashf al-Ma'ānī*, written in 800 A. H. by Meḥmed b. 'Ashīḳ Selmān al-Lādikī and another work in verse on the Qur'ān by the same author (in my private library);

a *Futūwet-nāme* by Yaḥyā b. Khalil (O. L. Z., 1928, p. 12);

another *Futūwet-nāme* written in the time of Yıldırım (in my private library);

translation of the *Mantīk al-Tair* by Gülshahrī in 717 as well as a number of poems (*Ilk Muteṣawwifler*, p. 268 sq.);

the Mathnawī *Suḥail u-Nawbahār* written in 751 by Khwādja Mas'ūd and his nephew 'Izz al-Dīn Aḥmad (ed. J. H. Mordtmann, Hanover 1924);

translation of the *Farhang-nāme* of Sa'dī, made in 755 A. H. by the same Khwādja Maḥmūd (Weled Čelebi, ed. Kilisli Rifat, Stambul 1342; there is a manuscript in the Copenhagen Library; cf. on these two authors Köpr. Zade M. Fu'ad, *Türkiyat Medjmu'asi*, ii. 481—489).

A certain number of works in eastern and western dialects were also written in the Mamlūk empire, such as a *Farah-nāme*, a mathnawī written in 789 at Tripoli in Syria by a poet named Kemāl Oghlu Ismā'il, a work which is in my private library. We mention this work because it was also popular in Anatolia; 'Ashīḳ Čelebi attributes it to Shaikh Oghlu and 'Alī to Aḥmad Dā'i (cf. Gibb, *Hist. Ott. Poetry*, i. 256).

In a collection of poems entitled *Madjma' al-Nazā'ir* composed in 840 A. H. by a poet named 'Umar b. Mazīd (unique MS. in the University Library of Stambul), in the *Djāmi' al-Nazā'ir* written in 918 by Hādjdj Kemāl of Egirdir and in some other collections we find the names of a great number of poets and books belonging to this century (cf. on these books and their bibliographical contents: Köpr. Zade M. Fu'ad, *Milli Edebiyatın ilk Mubashshirleri*, 1928, p. 60—62).

The replacement of the Saldjuk Sultāns, who were much influenced by Persian culture, by simple Turkoman beys, knowing only their mother tongue, much encouraged the use of Turkish as a language of learning and of art. Many men of learning, *shaikhs*, and poets to obtain the favour of the Turkoman beys and of the notables of their principalities — who were also equally uncultured — endeavoured to write books in Turkish and to translate into Turkish from Arabic and Persian. The princes themselves ordered the translation of religious and literary works which interested them. They began to translate into Turkish *tafsirs*,

theological works, mystical works, legends of saints, books on medicine, books on hunting, books on the history of Islām and generally speaking the principal text-books used and esteemed in the medreses. As a result of the mystical movement and particularly of Mewlewī mysticism, which was very influential in the palaces of the princes, we see in all these works the influence of Mewlānā and in part also of Sultān Weled. We can even say that in poetical works this influence was predominant and that many of the poets of this period were themselves Mewlewis.

Prose literature in this period was mainly confined to didactic works. At the same time poetical literature assumed an extraordinary development; all kinds of works were composed from popular stories having a religious-epic character to works with a purely artistic ideal. The religious-epic stories show a considerable development in this period and include popular works describing the conquests and miracles of the Prophet and more especially the deeds of 'Alī. These works are written in the form of *mathnawīs* and in a very simple style in the metre /- - - /- - - /- - -/. The hero's historical character is usually lost in legend; supernatural events, demons, djinn, magical and miraculous elements give the work quite a fantastic character. Some of these epics, in which Muslim ideas predominate, are grouped round the personality of Ḥamza. Ibn Taimiya mentions as early as the end of the xiiith century the existence of a *Ḥamzā-nāme* among the Turkomans of Syria (*Minhādī al-Sunna*, iv. 12; cf. on the *Ḥamzā-nāme* in Muslim literature: Köpr. Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Turkiyāt Medj.*, i. 9). A third cycle of legends is that of Abū Muslim (cf. Köpr. Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Türkiye Tarihī*, i. 73). Among the heroic legends in which the influence of Islām is strong we may also mention the *Baṭṭāl-nāme* and the *Dānīshmand-nāme*.

Among the numerous works of this century based on Islāmic ideas we may also mention the books of *Siyar*, the works devoted to Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain and the events at Kerbelā, as well as the *mawlid*s. Books dealing with the Prophet and the holy family were very popular in this Islāmic milieu. There were in the palaces of the Mamlūks and emirs of Egypt men whose duty it was to recite to them books of *Siyar*. One of these was Darīr of Erzerūm, translator of the *Futūḥ al-Sha'm* of al-Wāqidi and author of a book of *Siyar* in Turkish, in verse and prose, written in the second half of the xvth century (cf. Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Fuzūli*, Constantinople 1924, p. 9; *Öthmanlı Müellifleri*, iii. 37; Rieu, *Turkish MSS.*, p. 38). Its language belongs to the early period of the *Adhari* dialect — a period in which this eastern Oghuz dialect was not yet separated entirely from the western Oghuz dialect of Anatolia — but on account of the fame of the author in Anatolia we may mention him here. The language of this class of works was simple, easily understood and liked by the people. Authors often thought it unnecessary to mention their own names.

From the xvth century we find the number of poets increasing who wrote with purely artistic aims and took as their model classical Persian literature. *Shaiḫ* Aḥmad Gülshehrī of Kır Shehri should be mentioned first of these, as much for his artistic merit as for his priority in time. He put into Turkish the *Manṭiq al-Tair* of 'Attār, expanding it with stories from various sources,

notably the *Mathnawī* of Rūmī, and with a number of other reflections relating to his own time. We also possess a number of isolated poems of his. Although a mystic, his literary aims were purely artistic. His *mathnawī* *Karāmāt-i Akhi Evrān*, recently published by F. Taeschner (*Ein Mesnevi Gülschehris auf Achi Evran*, 1930), which contains information about his life, is of no literary value. The fame of this great poet lasted down to the beginning of the xvth century but his reputation as a "great poet" disappeared after the xivth. In our *tezkeres* his name is not found (two MSS. of his work are in the library of the Museum of Archaeology in Stambul). The town of Kır Shehri produced other authors besides *Kh*wādja Gülshehrī and seems to have been an important centre of culture; it also produced the well-known mystic poet 'Ashiḫ Pasha (d. 737). His *Gharib-nāme*, written in 730, from the first attained great importance in Asia Minor and is found in many manuscripts. In our *tezkeres* and chronicles 'Ashiḫ Pasha is represented as a great mystic but as a poet he is a mere imitator of Mewlānā and Sultān Weled. His work is of a didactic character; as a poet he is far below Gülshehrī. There also exists a number of detached *ilāhis* in syllabic metre from the pen of 'Ashiḫ Pasha, but they are far from showing the lyrical merit of Yūnus Emre (for the family of 'Ashiḫ Pasha cf. the introduction to the edition of the *Tārīkh* of 'Ashiḫ Pasha Zāde by 'Alī Bey; on the influence which he has retained until recent years as a holy man cf. the article by V. Gordlewski, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de U. R. S. S.*, 1927, i. 25—28; on the language of 'Ashiḫ Pasha see the researches of Brockelmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1919, lxxiii, p. 1—29).

The literary influence of Yūnus Emre is not confined to the mystic poems of 'Ashiḫ Pasha. Many dervishes composed *ilāhis* in the popular language and in syllabic metre: the most celebrated of them are Sa'īd Emre and Kaighusuz Abdal. Sa'īd Emre was a pupil of the celebrated *Kh*ādīm Sultān, one of the *kh*alīfas of Ḥādījī Bektāsh Welī, and lived in the early years of the xvth century; he was therefore a contemporary of Yūnus. Another poem of Sa'īd Emre in the 'arūd metre is a *naẓīra* on the *Čarkh-nāme* of Aḥmad Faḳīḥ (on Sa'īd Emre cf. Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Hayāt*, 1927, N^o. 42). Kaighusuz Abdal, *kh*alīfa of the Bektāshī dervish Abdal Mūsā, displays in his work a true lyric feeling, a deep sincerity and purity and a still freer and more vigorous command of language than that of Yūnus. The influence of Kaighusuz was very great in the development of the vast Bektāshī poetry in the following centuries (*Ilk Müteşawwiser*, p. 376).

In the second half of this century we find classical mystic poetry attaining high perfection in Nesīmī, equally famous in eastern and western Anatolia. His dialect connects him with the *Adhari* group but on account of his great reputation in Asia Minor he belongs to the literature of this region. Nesīmī was one of the chief *kh*alīfas of Faḍl Hurūfī, founder of the Hurūfī sect (on the history of this sect, cf. Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Anadoluda İslamiyet, Edeb. Fak. Medj.*, ii. 6, p. 464; on the sect itself cf. HURUFİS). Nesīmī plays a great part in the development of the Hurūfīya in Anatolia, and in 807 he was flayed alive in Aleppo (on the date of his death, incorrectly given in all the sources, cf. Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Hayāt*, 1927,

No. 20). He was a great poet whose mystic lyrics are most impressive. His style is simple but full of power and harmony. Few poets have equalled him in the science and passionate expression of mystic love. Yet he observes all the rules of poetical style and uses classical forms with success. In his *Diwān* we find *tuyugh*, a form peculiar to Turkish poetry and foreign to Persian literature (cf. on this form of poetry Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Turkiyāt Medjmu'ası*, ii. 219-243).

In the fourteenth century also the subjects of romances and fables were taken from Persian literature, like the prose translation of *Kalila wa-Dimna* [q. v.] by Mas'ūd, with verses intermingled, and the verse translation of the same work made for Murād I. The story of *Suhail u-Newbehār*, however, written in verse by Mas'ūd b. Aḥmad and his nephew 'Izz al-Dīn has more considerable literary value. This *methnewī* translated from an otherwise unknown Persian work is not, we believe, simply a translation but rather an expanded adaptation. Instead of the metre /- - - / - - - / - - - / almost regularly employed in the *methnewīs* of this period, we have the metre /- - - / - - - / - - - / - - - and here and there throughout it *ghazels* written in different metres. The eclectic translation of the *Bustān* by Khwādja Mas'ūd b. Aḥmad is of much less literary value.

After Khwādja Mas'ūd, Shaiḫ Oghlu Muṣṭafā (born in 741) acquired the greatest reputation as a romantic poet. He was a pupil of Khwādja Mas'ūd and finished his *Khurshīd-nāme* in 789 (1387). Belonging to an influential family of Germiān, this poet was at first in the service of the Bey of Germiān, Sulaimānshāh, as *nishāndī* and *defterdār*; later he was in the suite of Bāyazid Yıldırım to whom he presented a second version of his *Khurshīd-nāme* [cf. on him and his *Khurshīd-nāme* the article SHAIKH-ZADE]. We do not have a complete *Diwān* of Shaiḫ Oghlu but many of his poems are to be found in early *medjmu'as*. He has also left a work in prose entitled *Kanz al-Kubārā*. He finished it in 803 and dedicated it to Pasha Agha b. Khwādja Pasha, an influential personage of this period (unique MS. in Köpr. Zade M. Fu'ād's library). This work is occasionally embellished with passages in verse and also contains fragments of Yūsuf Meddāh, Khāṣṣ, Dahhānī, Gülshehri, Khwādja Mas'ūd and Elwān Çelebi (cf. above; Khāṣṣ is the only one of whom we know nothing). It is a kind of *Siyāset-nāme* and in this connection it is interesting for our knowledge of the social life of the period.

Aḥmedī [q. v.] must be regarded as the greatest poet of this period, with the exception of Nesīmī. He is the author of the *Iskandar-nāme*. This work, finished in 792 (1390), has always been famous and exists in numerous MSS. It has been studied in detail by Joseph Thury (*Török Nyelvemlékek a XIV század végén*, Budapest 1903) and was later studied from the philological point of view by Brockelmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxxiii., i./2, 1919). The manuscripts of the *Iskander-nāme* show great differences. Aḥmedī took the subject of his work — a very common one in eastern and western literature — from Persian sources, but he added a long section dealing with the history of Asia Minor and especially with the 'Othmanlı' princes. For this reason we may look upon him as the author of the first Turkish chronicle in verse. The *Diwān* of Aḥmedī is undoubtedly more interesting from

the artistic point of view. Among these poems, there are some which have a local interest from the description of the town of Bursa and the attacks on its inhabitants. In the works of the xvth and xvth centuries we find evidence of his great reputation and many poets of this period wrote *nāzīres* on him. We know that the *Iskandar-nāme* was read and admired in these days in Ādharbāidjān, in Khurāsān and in Transoxiana, and that the poet Shaiḫānī Khān, founder of the Shaiḫānīd dynasty, much appreciated it.

To complete this general picture of the xvth century we must mention Kādī Burhān al-Dīn, although his works show the peculiarities of the Ādharī dialect. Kādī Burhān al-Dīn belonged to the tribe of the Salur and was sultān of Siwas; his stirring political life is well known (745-801 A. H.; cf. the article on him). Besides important works in Arabic on jurisprudence and some Arabic and Persian poems, according to the historian 'Aini, he left a *Diwān* in Turkish, containing *ghazels*, *rubā'is* and *tuyughs*. Although his language lacks refinement and correctness, the poems of Burhān al-Dīn have a note of sincerity and passion of their own.

It is evident from what we have said that Turkish literature developed greatly in the xvth century and that Turkish was successfully making its way against Arabic, the language of religion, and Persian, the literary language. In following the Persian model, a classical Turkish literature laid solid foundations. Its progress had not yet reached its limits, for official documents in various districts were still written in Persian. In inscriptions, legal documents, *wakf* deeds, Arabic was employed. Works on law and theology were still written in Arabic and books on mysticism in Arabic and Persian. Nevertheless we can see Turkish gaining in importance in official business as is the case in some edicts of Murād I (Kraelitz, *T. O. E. M.*, xxviii. 242 sqq.). Many authors and poets, while saying that Turkish is not yet sufficiently polished, felt, under the influence of the general trend, the need of writing in Turkish or rather translating into Turkish. They imitate and translate Persian poets like Firdawsī, Nizāmī, 'Atṭār, Sa'dī, Mawlānā, Salīmān Sawādī and Kamāl Khudjandī. The language gradually becomes filled with Persian and Arabic elements. The grammars of these languages gave Turkish a certain number of rules, which tended to affect the independence and natural beauty of the language. Prosody and metres were also borrowed from Persian; but Turkish words were still very largely used and the domination of Arabic and Persian which is found in the following centuries is not yet felt.

xvth Century.

The invasion of Timūr in the early years of this century retarded for a brief period the evolution of the Ottoman state in Asia Minor; on the other hand, it strengthened Turkish culture in Rūm-ili, to which many educated Muslims migrated at this period.

The advance of Islām and Turkish culture continued throughout this century with increasing force, notably through the application of the *dewshirme*. The progress was most marked in Rūm-ili; on the turkicisation of southern Anatolia we have the evidence of Bertrandon de la Broquière (*Le voyage d'Outremer*, publ. by Ch. Schefer, Paris

1892, p. 100, 101). The earliest work written in Rûm-ili is a poem on the death of Fâtîma written in 803 (1400) by Khalil, imâm of the mosque of Kara Bulut in Adrianople, which is in no way distinguishable from popular works of this kind of the xvth century (the only known MS. is in my private library).

At the same time Turkish increased in importance as a literary and official language. The *wakf* inscription of the Germiyan Oghlu Ya'qûb II of 814 (1411) is the first Turkish inscription of this kind (Khalil Edhem, *T. O. E. M.*, i. 116). There is a Turkish epitaph in verse of 843 (1439) at Angora and another rhymed inscription at Brusa composed by the poet Djemâlî in 870 (1463). All the official documents of the first period of the reign of Sultân Mehmed II are in Turkish (Ahmad Refik, *T. O. E. M.*, index) and also a certain number of edicts (*firman*) of this century, the earliest of which is dated 860 (1455) (F. von Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1922). We also know from a work written in 828 (1425) by Dewlet Oghlu Yûsuf of Balikeser, that Turkish was used in the *medreses*, which we can also assume with considerable probability for the xvth century. In official correspondence with other Muslim or Christian states and in lands inhabited by non-Turkish peoples, other languages continued to be used. The historian Critoboulos mentions a Greek secretary of Mehmed II.

In the first half of the xvth century there were three great princely families who were patrons of scholars and poets: the Qaraman Oghlu at Qonya, the Djandar Oghlu at Qastamuni and the Ottoman princes at Adrianople and Brusa. In this century Fakhkhâr, Khodja Fakih Qaramanî, Halimî and Nizâmî belonged to the Qaraman Oghlu circle. Nizâmî may be regarded as the rival of Ahmad Pasha of Brusa. At the court of the Djandar Oghlu were Mu'min b. Muqbil b. Sinân Sinûbî, author of the medical work entitled *Miftâh al-Nûr wa-Khasû'in al-Surûr* (Bibl. Nat., Anc. Fonds. Turc., N^o. 172), and the unknown author of a commentary on the Qur'an entitled *Djauwâhir al-Asdâf* (Cl. Huart, *Un commentaire du Qoran en dialecte turc de Qastamouni*, *J. A.*, 1921, p. 161—216) which exists in several copies. It is wrong to regard its language as the dialect of Qastamuni. Ismâ'il Beg, a member of this dynasty who reigned from 1443 to 1457, wrote a religious work in Turkish entitled *Hulwiyyât-i Sultânî* (cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. MSS.*, p. 11). This same Ismâ'il (on him cf. the translation of the *Shakâ'ik*, p. 121, 125, 139) had a book on *taqîwid* written for him in Turkish by a certain 'Umar b. Ahmad (MS. in the Millet Kütübkhânesi at Constantinople). He also had a translation made of the *Kimîyâ-yi Sa'âdet* (in my private library). The poets of the entourage of the Djandar Oghlu are Mehmed Sinûbî, the dervish Turâbî of Qastamuni; Hamdi, Khâkî, Thanâ'î and Dâ'î were at the court of Ismâ'il Bey (the two latter were later at the court of the Ottomans). There is also a *Khulâsat al-Tibb* in Turkish, dedicated to Kâsim Bey b. Isfendiyâr of the same dynasty. Rustem Beg, son of the latter, composed a *Divân*. In the xvth century the poets Shemsî Pasha and Emirî belonged to this dynasty.

But the greatest literary development is found under the Ottomans. Poets like Ahmedî and Ahmed Dâ'î wrote *qasidas* for Emir Sulaimân, to whom also was dedicated a *Qaws-nâme* by a certain

Mehmed Shaikh Muṣṭafâ (Bibl. Nat., Anc. Fonds Turc., N^o. 164) and a *methnewî* called *Tuhfe-nâme* or *Iskh-nâme* begun in 800 (1396) by a poet named Mehmed; this poem is an adaptation of of a *Humâ we-Farrukh* in eastern Turkish and shows several remarkable features (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Turc., N^o. 604). We also have a *Djauwâhir al-Ma'ânî*, a theological work written in 809 (1406) by Khidr b. Ya'qûb (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Turc., N^o. 499). The following also belong to this period: a *methnewî* called *Shemsiye*, finished in 811 (1408) by Yazîdjî Salâh al-Dîn (cf. Fleischer, *Cod. Lips.*, cclxii); a poetical translation of the *Maḳâlât-i Hâdjîdjî Bektâsh Welî*, in 812 (1409), by Khâṭib Oghlu (*Türk. Medj.*, ii. 494); and the *Muḳaddime* of Ḳuṭb al-Dîn Iznîkî (d. in 821 [1418]; cf. 'Othmanî *Mi'ellîfleri*, i. 144).

It was Murâd II who did most for the development of the Turkish language and literature. His court was the centre of scholars, poets and also musicians; for example he had a treatise on music composed by a certain Khidr b. 'Abd Allâh (a MS. in the Bibl. Nat., Anc. Fonds Turc., N^o. 150; another at Berlin); another author of this period who wrote two works on music is Ahmed Oghlu Shukrullâh (cf. Albert Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, p. 2978). The poets of this period together with Sheikhî are: Rûmî, Ḥusâmî, Shemsî, Ḥassân, Şafî, Azhârî, Nudjûmî, Nedimî, 'Ulwî and Da'îfî. The names are found in the earliest *tedhkeres*. We have besides the names of many poets, writers and translators, whose works have not survived, like the *Kırk Wezir Hikâyesi* of Shaikh-zâde Ahmed Mişrî [cf. the article SHAİKH-ZÂDE], the translation of *al-Faradj ba'd al-Shidda* of Mehmed b. 'Umar al-Halabî (Rieu, *Cat.*, p. 224; H. Vambéry, *Altosmanische Sprachstud.*, Leyden 1901), the translation of the *Manâḳib-i Imâm-i a'zam* of the same author (in the library of Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'âd), the translation of the *Ḳâbûs-nâme* by Merdjimek Ahmed, in 835 (1431) (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Turc., N^o. 530; Rieu, p. 116; Pertsch, *Kat. der türk. Hss. zu Berlin*, p. 276), the translation of the *Mir'âd al-'Ibâd* by Kâsim b. Maḥmûd Qara-Hişârî, the translation of the *Ḥayât al-Ḥayawân* by Mehmed b. Sulaimân (Nûr-i 'Othmaniye, N^o. 2998—99); the translations of the *Hidâya* and of the *Wiḳâya*, made in 828 (1425) by Dewlet Oghlu Yûsuf (several manuscripts), the translation of the *Gülshen-i râz* by Sheikh Elwân Shirâzî in 829 (1426); an anonymous translation of the *Mathnawî* of Djalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, made in 840 (1437) entitled *Methnewi-i murâdî* (MS. at Cambridge); an anonymous translation of the *Mufradât* of Ibn Baiṭâr (MS. in Upsala); a Turkish commentary on the Qur'an in the library of the Museum at Qonya with interlinear translation; a *Farah-nâme* presented in 829 (1426) by Khâṭib Oghlu (cf. *Türk. Medj.*, ii. 489—496); a *Djâmâsp-nâme* translated from the Persian in 833 (1430) by Mūsâ 'Abdî; the treatise *Bâh-nâme*, translated from the Persian by Mūsâ b. Mas'ûd (libr. of Shehid 'Alî Pasha, N^o. 283); a *Suleimân-nâme* of 3,500 *bait* by Sa'dî of Sîroz; a translation of the *Târîkh* of Ibn Kathîr (libr. of Damad Ibrahim Pasha); a *Seldjûk-nâme* of Yazîdjî Zâde 'Alî (vol. iii. of the *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, forms a part of it); a *Manâḳibî al-Inshâ* by Yahyâ b. Muḥammad Kâṭib, a work containing a number of important historical documents (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Turc., N^o. 660); a trans-

lation of a *Tafsir*, entitled *Anfas al-Djawāhir*, by Abu 'l-Faql Mūsā b. Ḥādjī Ḥusain b. 'Isā al-Iznīkī, in 838 (O.L.Z., 1927, p. 9). Ḥādjī Khalifa, also mentions a translation of a *Tafsir* of Abu 'l-Laith and of the *Djāmi' al-Hikāyat* of 'Awfi, made by Ibn 'Arabshāh. The prose work entitled *A'djab al-'Idjāb*, dedicated in 841 (1437) to Murād II by Maniyas Oghlu Maḥmūd of Üsküb (a MS. in the Bibl. Nat., Anc. Fonds Turc, N^o. 13) shows that Turkish culture was beginning to gain ground in Rūm-ili also. The most important work for the history of the poetry of this period is however the *Madjmi'at al-Nazā'ir*, written in 840 (1436—1437) by 'Umar b. Mazid and containing the poems of 83 poets of the xiiith, xivth and xvth centuries.

A great enthusiasm for the advancement of Turkish literature was shown also by Umur Beg, son of Timūr Tāsh Pasha, one of the great dignitaries of Murād II. A large number of works were dedicated to him, such as a *Djewish-nāme* composed in 831 (1428) by Meḥmed b. Maḥmūd Shīrwānī (MS. at Dresden) and a translation of the *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt* (MS. at Dresden). The translator of this work says expressly that he has tried to use as many Turkish words as possible, in keeping with Umur Beg's wishes. A manuscript of the *Anfas al-Djawāhir* in the Ulu Djāmi' of Brusa has at the beginning a list of books which Umur Beg had given as *wakf*, among them being a large number of works in Turkish. All this shows that in the first half of the xvth century, Turkish was already a language of culture and learning and had produced a literature which included all branches cultivated at this period.

As in the preceding centuries, this activity was not confined to the translation of Muslim works of a classical character; as belonging to popular literature we may mention, as the finest book of *sira*, the poem which Sulaimān Celebi [q. v.] wrote in 812 (1409) at Brusa: his *Mawlid* has been read for centuries by the people and in every century a large number of *naẓires* have been written on this poem, which has all the qualities of a masterpiece of Turkish literature. Mystic literature gained in importance with the birth of new mystic orders. Alongside of translations of the classical works of mysticism (*Gulshan-i rāz*, *Mirṣād al-'Ibād*, *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb*, *Tadhkira-i Awliyā'*), we find a number of works in prose and verse on mystical discipline and the rules of the orders. To this class of literature belongs for example the methnewis *Munāḍjāt-nāme*, *Futūwet-nāme*, *'Ibret-nāme*, *Ma'dheret-nāme*, *Ellesi-nāme* and the *Ḥāiret-nāme* of Shaikh Eshref b. Aḥmed, rather primitive works, the composition of which I would assign to the beginning of this century (the only known manuscripts are in my private library) as well as the translation in verse by Khaṭīb Oghlu of the *Wilāyet-nāme* of Ḥādjī Bektāsh. Several Ṣūfis of this period wrote in verse in the style of Yūnus Emre. Among the latter was the famous Emīr Sultān, who wrote *ilāhīs* in syllabic metre under the *makhlas* Emīr Saiyid. The latter, along with Ḥādjī Bairam Weli of Angora, founder of the order of the Malāmiye-i Bairamiye, founded a line of poets of this genre. One of these was Meḥmed, son of Yazıdjī Şalāh al-Dīn, mentioned above. He became celebrated under the *makhlas* of Yazıdjī Oghlu, especially through his *Muḥammadiya*, finished in 853, and in the following centuries he acquired a great reputation for sanctity in the Crimea and also among the

Turks of Kāzan and the Bashkīrds (cf. Ewliyā Ćelebi, *Siyāhat-nāme*, vii. 812). This great poem is written in several metres in somewhat heavy language; the subject is taken from the books of *siyar*; it also betrays mystic influences while retaining an entirely orthodox system of ideas. The literary influence of this poem has been enormous and there are several editions printed at Constantinople and Kāzan (cf. also 'A. 'Aziz and 'Alī Rahīm, *Tatar Edebiyatı Ta'rihi*, vol. i., part 2, p. 166—177).

One of the most remarkable mystical poets of this period is Kemāl Ummī. He was a dervish of the *Khalwetis* and his works reveal him as a true poet: his influence extended as far as the Turks of Kāzan, the Bashkīrds and Özbeks. 'Abd Allāh b. Eshref b. Meḥmed (d. 874 = 1470), founder of the *Eshrefiye* division of the mystical order of the Bairamiye and surnamed Eshref Oghlu, is equally famous. He is the author of a work entitled *Muski al-Nufūs* and of a *Diwān*. The appearance of the great mystics and the foundation of new orders created a regular Turkish hagiography consisting of collections of legends of saints like Emīr Sultān, Eshref Oghlu and later Ḥādjī Bektāsh Weli, Kaighusuz and 'Othmān Baba. This literature is of great value from the sociological point of view; it becomes especially abundant from the xvth century.

Hurūfī literature, which began with Nesimī, was continued by his pupil Refi'ī who wrote in 812 (1409) his *Beshāret-nāme*, by Ferishte Oghlu (d. 864 = 1459), author of an *'Ishk-nāme*, and by Wīrānī Baba. Hurūfī propaganda even reached the court of Meḥmed II, and under Bāyazīd II these heterodox thinkers were violently persecuted. Nevertheless Hurūfī poets were numerous in the xvth and xvth centuries: Temennā'ī of Kaīsariye, Ḥasan Rūmī of Kara Ferya, Huseini, Uşūlī of Yenidje-i Wardar, Nebātī, Tarzī of Baghdād, Waḥdetī of Bosnia, Penāhī of Tabriz and Muḥīṭī. In the region in which the Aḥarī dialect was spoken we find among the members of this sect Shāh Ismā'īl Şafawī [cf. KHATA'Ī], Lashkarī, Tiflī and Ḥabībī, who later came to Constantinople.

To turn to the non-religious literature, the earliest representative is Aḥmed Dā'ī, a poet who lived at the court of the Germiyan-oglu and of the 'Othmanlı. In addition to some translations, we possess by him an Arabic-Persian-Turkish dictionary, the *'Ukūd al-Djawāhir*. As a poet he imitates with great success Persians like Salmān Sāwedjī and Kamāl Khudjandī. He did not however exercise any notable influence on the poetry of his time.

The most important poet of this period next to Aḥmedī and Nesimī was Sheikhī. He was the author of *kaşidas* and was patronised by the Sultāns Meḥmed I and Murād II. His real name was Sīnān Germiyanī but the data of his life as transmitted are in part contradictory [cf. ŞHAİKHĪ]. The date of his death is unknown but must be after 832 (1429). He was buried at Dumlupınar near Kutahiya (Ewliyā Ćelebi, vol. ix.). Sheikhī must be considered a great poet. His translation of the *Khusraw-u Shirin* of Nizāmī is more than an ordinary translation. The *Khar-nāma* which he dedicated to Murād II is a masterpiece of satire (cf. Köpr. Zade M. Fu'ād, in *Yeni Medjmi'a*, 1917, N^o. 13). The influence of this poet remained great down to the xvth century. Poets like Nedjātī and

Khayālī mention him with veneration so that he merits the title of *Shaiḫ al-Shu'arā'*. He was also respected in religious circles and even among the Turks of Egypt (Ibn Taghribirdi, ed. Popper, vii. 323, 25).

Next to *Sheikhī* we may mention 'Aṭā'ī of Brusa of whom we possess a *Diwān*. His real name was Akhī Çelebi and his epitaph at Brusa is dated 841 (1437—1438). This poet was clearly influenced by *Shaiḫī* but there is a pessimistic note in his poems. It was he who was the first to make use of proverbs in the *ghazel*. Another remarkable figure of this period is the painter Şafī of Brusa. His *Diwān* contains *ḡasidas* dedicated to Murād II, to the vizier Khalil Pasha and other great personages. The biographer Sehī gives a few details of his life.

Other poets of the same period are 'Ulwī of Brusa, Humāmī of Iznīk, author of a *methnewī*: *Si-nāme* (Bibl. Nat., Anc. fonds turc., N^o. 304), dedicated to Khalil Pasha, Ahmed Rūmī of Gallipoli, Baba Nedīmī, the poet of the Bektāshīs, Da'īfī of Gallipoli, who described in verse the wars of Murād II. We may also mention Djemālī, who dedicated his books to Mehmed II and Bayazid II; all the sources confuse this Djemālī with the poet *Sheikh* Oghlu Muṣṭafā of the xvth century [cf. also the article *SHAIKH-ZADE*]. Djemālī wrote in 850 (1446) a *methnewī* entitled *Gülshen-i 'Ushshāk* for Murād II and another *Humā-u Humāyūn* for Mehmed II as well as a third called *Miftāḥ al-Faradj* (Pertsch, *Kat. d. türk. Hss. zu Berlin*, p. 371). There is also a poem by him on the art of letters entitled *al-Risāla al-'adjiḡa fi 'l-Şanā'ir wa 'l-Badā'ir* (Browne, *Cat. of MSS. in Cambridge*, 1900, p. 87). Laṭīfī praises this poet. He also wrote several inscriptions in verse for buildings in Brusa (*T.O.E.M.*, N^o. xv.).

The period of Fātiḥ Mehmed II and Bayazid II, themselves poets, is marked by a great development in the language and literature of the Ottomans. After the disappearance of the Turkoman dynasties in Asia Minor, the court and entourage of the 'Oḡmanlı was the only refuge of poets and scholars. The great conquests had carried Ottoman influence to the Crimea and the islands of the Aegean; they were accompanied by an increased movement for the spread of Turkish and Muslim culture. At the same time the economic prosperity of the empire reached a great height, while the legislation of Mehmed II adapted itself to the needs of the period. The *medrese* and the *teke* and especially the heterodox mystic orders like the Bektāshīs contributed much to the spread of Islām; the state on its side secured the political unity of the empire by continual transportations of bodies of its subjects.

Mehmed II and his grand vizier Maḥmūd Pasha granted considerable pensions to poets and men of learning. Poets and musicians like Nedīmī, Fenāyī, Nūrī, 'Ishḫī, Khafī, Dā'ī, Du'āyī, Kudsī, Kātībī, Nahīfī, Waḥidī and others received great rewards for their labours. Mehdi, Meliḫī, Bursalī Ahmed Pasha and others were continually with Mehmed II. Ḥayātī, Şarfdja Kemāl and Enwerī enjoyed the special patronage of Maḥmūd Pasha. To the entourage of prince Djem belonged Şahidī, Sakḫāyī, La'li, Ḥaidar, Qandī, Sa'dī and Turābī, the tutor of the prince. Bayazid II and his sons kept up this tradition. In the period of Bayazid II over 30 poets were receiving allowances from the

treasury. As the literary and learned activities of the second half of the xvth century are sufficiently well-known from various sources, we shall confine ourselves here to giving a general survey of the various forms cultivated and their most notable representatives.

The greatest poet of the period of Mehmed II was Ahmed Pasha [q.v.] of Brusa; although influenced by Niyāzī, *Sheikhī*, 'Aṭāyī and his master Meliḫī (cf. *Yeñi Medjmi'a*, 1918, N^o. 31) he surpassed his contemporaries in the *ghazel* and especially in the *ḡasida*. Next to *Sheikhī* he may be regarded as the greatest figure in Turkish poetry. His influence is obvious on the poets of his time: Resmī, Ḥarirī, Kandī, Wişālī, Niẓāmī of Konya, Şafī (the vizier Djezerī Kāsim Pasha) and Sulṭān Djem, and is felt even in Nedjātī, Bakī and down to the xvth century. Like the other poets of his age, he was also under the influence of Persian poetry, which was unjustly used as a reproach against him by some authors of *tedhkeres* like Dja'fer Çelebi and Laṭīfī. On the other hand, the very widespread opinion (which we find for the first time in the *Tedhkeres* of Ḥasan Çelebi) that Ahmed Pasha began his poetical career by making *nağire* on some poems of Newāyī is quite erroneous (cf. *Türk Yurdu*, 1927, N^o. 27). Ahmed Pasha collected and arranged his *Diwān* by order of Bayazid II. In it we have satires, *ḡiṭ'a* and notably very fine *murabba'at*.

Next to him the greatest poet of the xvth century is Nedjātī, particularly known for his *merthiyes* and his *ghazels*. He owes his reputation notably to his frequent use of proverbs in his poems. Idris Bitlisī calls him the *Khusraw* of Rūm and all writers regard him as the greatest Ottoman poet after Ahmed Pasha (cf. also Pertsch, *Kat. d. türk. Hss. zu Gotha*, N^o. 168). His fame spread beyond the bounds of the empire. The influence of Nedjātī is traced in Şun'ī, Ṭālī'ī, Shawḫī, Ridāyī, Zhārī of Üsküb, Saḫī of Filibe, Sehī, Ḳurbī of Iznīk, Waṣfī, Werdi and Şāwēr, poets of the xvth and xvth centuries, and also in poets of his own time like Mihri. Many poets composed *nağires* on his works and some of them like Wālīhī of Toḡat have an almost religious reverence for him.

Along with Nedjātī should be mentioned his contemporary Mesīḫī [q.v.] famous for his *Diwān* and his *Shehr-engīz*: his work reflects more or less the life of his milieu. He also had some influence on Bakī.

The *methnewī*, which came into vogue in the xvth century, became very popular in this period. Among mystical works we may mention the *Gulsar-i ma'newī* of Ibrāhīm Tannūrī (d. 887 = 1482), *ḫalīfa* of Ak Shems al-Dīn, the *Wahdet-nāme* of 'Abd al-Raḥīm of Ḳara Hişār (written in 865 [1460], cf. Pertsch, *Die türk. Hss. zu Berlin*, N^o. 375—376), the *Methnewī* of Rūshenī or Aidin, a famous *Sheikh* of the *Ḳhalwatiya*, d. at Tabriz in 892 (1487), the *Firgat-nāme*, written in 876 (1471) at Iznīk by *Ḳhalīlī* of Diyār Bekr [cf. *ḲHALILİ*]. The romantic subjects of these poems were taken from Persian literature; the best known are the *Yusuf-u Zalikhā* of Ak Shems al-Dīn Zāde Ḥamdī [cf. *HAMDİ*], the *Khusraw-u Shirin* of Āhī (on him cf. *Yeñi Medjmi'a*, 1918, No. 54), the *Ishret-nāme* of Rewānī and particularly the *Hewes-nāme*, written in 899 (1493) by Dja'fer Çelebi [q.v.]. This last work is entirely original

and the author shows himself a distinguished poet in whom imagination gains over sentiment. Towards the end of this century, the subjects of the *khamsa* were also very popular. Nizami's *Khamsa* was several times translated.

A certain number of chronicles in verse also belong to this period. There is a *methnewi* in 11,000 *bait* on the exploits of Kemāl Re'is, composed by Şafāyī of Sinub, a poet skilled in naval matters who lived in his *teke* at Galata; also a *methnewi* in 15,000 *bait* by Şabāyī of Edirne on the conquests of Kōdjā Dāwūd Pasha in Bosnia; a rhymed chronicle dedicated by Şarī Kemāl to Bāyazīd II entitled *Sela'fin-nāme*; a *Destūr-nāme* written in 869 (1466) for Maḥmūd Pasha by Enwerī, mainly important for the history of the Aidin-oghlu (*Türk Tārikhi Endjümeni Külliyyatı*, No. 15); lastly a chronicle in 15,000 *bait* on the conquests of Mikhal Ogulu 'Alī Beg by Sūzī of Prizrin. We may also mention the *Kuṭb-nāme*, dedicated to Bāyazīd II, in which the poet Uzun Firdawsī describes the taking of the island of Midilli, and which is a valuable historical source. The same poet acquired fame from other works like the *Silāḥshūr-nāme* and the *Sulaimān-nāme*.

Prose developed considerably in this period. It was mainly artistic prose that was cultivated; its most brilliant representative was Sinān Pasha [q. v.], author of the *Taḍarru'-nāme*, as well as of *Risāle-i Akhlāk* and a *Tedhkere-i Ewliyā*. The former is interspersed with poetry; he shows power as a writer of religious lyrics. His style is the same as in the famous treatise by 'Abd Allāh Anşārī, i. e. artistically elaborated yet natural and sincere. The principal representatives of artistic prose in this period are Şarī Kemāl, who translated the *Tārikh-i Mu'ājam*; Āhī who adapted to Turkish the *Hün-u Dil* of Feṭṭāhī Nishābūrī; Mesīḥī, author of the *Gül-i şad-berg*, and Dja'fer Çelebi. Other great stylists (*münshī*) were the grand vizier Maḥmūd Pasha who wrote under the *makhlas* of 'Adni; the nishāndjī Meḥmed Pasha (*makhlas*: Nishānī) and Ṭursun Beg, known as Yazdijī.

The writing of history in prose also began to develop, Turkish taking the place of Arabic and Persian. In the time of Bāyazīd II we find many specimens of the anonymous *Tewārikh-i Āl-i Othmān*, the prose of which is intermingled with poems taken from the *Iskandar-nāme* of Aḥmedī; they show us that there existed in the xvth century among the people and especially the soldiers, chronicles which were almost of the nature of epics. The historical works of Derwīsh Aḥmed 'Ashikī, known as 'Ashik Pasha-Zāde and of Urudj-Beg do not differ much in point of style from the anonymous chronicles. The chronicles of Kātib Shewkī, Behişti and Neshri belong to the same period. Works like the *Tārikh-i Abu 'l-Faḥ* of Ṭursun Beg [q. v.] and the *Djām-i djām-i āyīn* of Beyātī, on the other hand, were written for the upper classes of society and are very different from these other chronicles. The work of Yazdijī 'Alī, who wrote in the time of Murād II a *Seldjūk-nāme*, which contains among other things a synopsis of Rawendī and a translation of Ibn Bibī is in a way a model for this second class of historiography. Several of these historical works, like that of Ṭursun Beg and the *Istanbul Feṭh-nāmesi* of Dja'far Çelebi were written

rather with the object of displaying a particular style and extensive literary ability, which has had a regrettable effect on some of the literary works in prose.

A fine specimen in unaffected prose of this period is the treatise by Deli Luṭfī which is one of the oldest works of humour (*mezāḥ*) in Turkish (publ. by O. Rescher, *Orientalistische Mitteilungen*, ii., 1926, p. 40-43; on the life of the author cf. *Hayāt*, 1928, No. 100).

In this period we have also a number of works in the Turkish of Anatolia which were composed in Egypt and Syria. In Egypt the Circassian Mamluks were Turkish by language and culture and under their régime works were composed in Eastern and Anatolian Turkish. To the latter category belongs the translation of Kudūrī by the historian 'Ainī [q. v.]. Other works are: a *Hikmet-nāme* in verse written in 893 (1488) by Ibrāhīm b. Bālī, who dedicated it to Ka'it Bey; the Turkish poems of Kānşū Ghūrī, a translation of the *Shāhnāme* written in 903 (1497) by a poet named Sherif for Kānşū Ghūrī (manuscripts in the British Museum, at Upsala, Leningrad, in the library of Ibrāhīm Pasha in New-Shehir and in the Millet Kütübhānesi in Constantinople). There is also a translation into Anatolian Turkish from the Eastern Turkish of the *Kitāb-i Guzida*, by the hand of Meḥmed b. Bālī, who is perhaps the same as the Ibrāhīm b. Bālī already mentioned. We also have a letter in Turkish written by Kānşū to Selim I (publ. by Khalil Edhem, in *T. T. E. M.*, 1928, No. 19).

We thus see that Persian influence in Turkish prose and poetry had increased considerably in the xvth century, even to the extent of becoming a fashion. Meḥmed II even had the Anatolian poet Sheḥdī write for him in Persian a *Shāhnāme* of the 'Othmanlī and Bāyazīd II also ordered the history of Idrīs Bitlisī to be written in Persian. Scholars and poets who belonged to Mesopotamia, Ādharbāidjān, Persia and Khurāsān visited the Ottoman court and were treated with honour and given handsome presents, which even caused Turkish poets to complain. A remarkable figure among the poets who came from the east is Hāmidī (born in 834 = 1430) whose *Diwān* contains Turkish and Persian poems. He himself was of Turkish origin. After having lived at the court of Ismā'īl Beg of Kaşamūni, he enjoyed the favour of Meḥmed II from 864 (1459). His *Diwān* is of considerable interest for the history of the period.

The court of Meḥmed II and Bāyazīd II was in very friendly relations with the court of Herāt and with other Oriental courts, and the cultural and literary bonds which connected the Ottoman empire with the Muslim lands of the east and especially with Turkish lands remained close. Meḥmed II and Bāyazīd II as well as Maḥmūd Pasha had relations with poets like Khwādja-i Djihān, Djāmī and Djālāl al-Dīn Rūmī (cf. e. g. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iii. 422-423). In the same way the eastern poet 'Alī Shīr Newā'ī was famous throughout Turkey at the end of this century. The persistence of the old Turkish tradition in the xvth century is further proved by the fact that the Uighur characters had not been entirely forgotten; there is in the Millet Kütübhānesi a little work prepared to teach these letters to Bāyazīd II as well as a copy of the *Hibat al-Haḳā'ik*, written in Uighur characters. Towards

the end of the century there was actually a reaction against the excessive use of Arab and Persian words in poetry. They tried to write poems in the 'arūd metre, while avoiding foreign words and expressions; one representative of the movement, called *Türkî-i Basîf*, is the poet Wişâli.

The literature of the people, of which the vehicles were the *ozan*, continued in this century as in the preceding ones and was still appreciated at the courts although the *ozan* had become poor musicians alongside of the great "classical" poets. They retained their popularity however among the people. We know of the existence of *ķiṣṣa-kh̄wān* also called *Shāhnāme-kh̄wān* and *meddāh* [cf. HİKĀYA, KAŞŞAŞ and MEDDĀH]. They used to recite the old Muslim epics and were beginning to borrow their subjects from the everyday life of their neighbourhood; the latter provided a coarseness which separated them still further from the classical poetry. We have no longer any work of the popular literature of the period. We may presume that the theatre of *Qara Göz* also developed in this century [cf. *QARA GÖZ* and *KHAVĀL-I ZİLL*].

xvth century.

The xvth century is the period of the apogee of Ottoman might, in which the empire attained its greatest power in the reigns of Selim I and Suleimān the Magnificent. This was reflected also in the sphere of language and literature, which were fostered by the great centres of culture which had grown up with the foundation of schools, *tekės* and *medreses*. As Rūm-ili received the particular attention of the government, it is here that we find many poets appearing. It was also at this period that the Turkish language and the Greek and Slav languages had most influence on one another. By the conquests in the east, where the *Ādhari* dialect was predominant, the poets of these regions were led to use the Ottoman dialect. The Crimea also gradually returned to the fold of Turkish culture: it began to produce Ottoman poets among whom were several of the *Khāns* themselves (cf. *İlk Müteşawwifler*, p. 197). The same influence reached the Dere-beys in Kurdistan. The intellectual classes of the non-Turkish populations were forced to learn Turkish and on the other hand, Stambul attracted learned men and poets from other Turkish and Muslim lands.

All the sultāns and princes of the dynasty of 'Othmān were patrons of art and learning and their viziers followed their example. Selim I [q.v.] wrote, in addition to a Persian *Diwān*, poems in Ottoman Turkish and in *Āghatai*. Suleimān [q.v.] wrote poetry under the *makhlaṣ* of Muḥibbī and from the very first recognised the extraordinary talent of the poet Bāķi. The grand vizier İbrāhīm Paṣha, himself a poet, was the special patron of the poets *Khayālī*, *Lāmi'i* and *Rahmī*. Under Selim II, Murād III and Meḥmed III, the same tendencies prevailed so that, in this century, Anatolian Turkish became a great vehicle of art and learning.

The influence of the Persian poet *Djāmī* and of the Eastern Turkish poet *Newā'i* made itself felt very markedly in the xvth century: many of their poems were translated into Ottoman Turkish. The poet *Lāmi'i* is sometimes called the *Djāmī* of Rūm, on account of his translations. On the other hand, it became fashionable to write poems in *Āghatai*. Poets from the east like *Djemili*

(his *Āghatai Diwān*, containing only *naẓires* on *Newā'i*, is in the Museum of Top Kapu, No. 755) did much to spread the glory of *Newā'i*. Many *Ādhari* poets sought refuge at the court of the Ottoman sultāns: the most famous among them were *Shāhi*, who left the court of *Shāh Ismā'il*, and *Habībī* who had been a member of the court of the *Ak-Koyunlu* Sultān *Ya'qūb* and of the *Safawid* *Ismā'il*. *Habībī* was a precursor of *Fuzūli* (cf. on *Habībī*: Köpr. Zade Fu'ād, *Ādheri Edebiyatına 'ad Tedkikler*, Baku 1926), and a few *Ādhari* poets, like *Başıri*, were also beginning to write in the Ottoman dialect. There is also a good deal of evidence that the cultural relations between the Ottoman court and those of the *Safawids*, *Shābānids* and even of the Great *Moghuls* were quite close. There are interesting details of these relations in the narrative of the famous traveller *Saiyidi Re'is*, who wrote under the *makhlaṣ* of *Katibi* [cf. 'ALİ B. HUSEİN].

Literature flourished not only at Stambul but also in *Baghdād*, *Diyar Bakr*, *Konya*, *Kaṣtamuni*, *Brusa*, *Edirne*, *Yeniĉje-i Wardar* and *Üsküb*. At Stambul the poets used to meet in various places, such as little shops where some poets plied their trade, gardens (the garden of *Bakhshī* at *Beshiktash*), the famous cabarets (*meikhāne*) of *Galata*, *tekės* (the *teke* of *Dja'far-ābād* at *Südlüĉje*) and the mansions (*konaķ*) of rich men (among them poets like *Nigāri* and *Zireki*). After the introduction of coffee, the *kahwe-khāne* also became important meeting-places, and the visitors belonged to all classes of society. This progress in literature goes parallel to the development of architecture, decoration (*naķsh*), calligraphy, music and several branches of science. By the genius of the great poets like *Rahmī*, *Dhātī* and *Khayālī*, and especially *Bāķi* and *Fuzūli*, there was created a Turkish classicism which was of no less merit than the Persian classicism which had been its model. It is wrong to deny an original character to Turkish literature: an intensive study enables one to discover in it the reflection of the ideas of the period and state of society, the results of the great military successes of the empire and of local conditions. In this connection we would especially call attention to the high importance of the different categories of prose and of the historical works.

In the xvth century, the literary language still makes borrowings from the Arabic and Persian. The activity of scholars like *Surūri*, *Südi*, *İbn Kemāl* and *Riyāđi* produced philological commentaries, lexicographical and grammatical works. Books without number were translated into Turkish from Arabic and Persian. The borrowings from the two languages enabled Turkish poets to perfect the prosody and style of their poems according to the taste of the day. The product of the movement however was a beautiful but artificial language in which many of the natural qualities of Turkish were lost. On the other hand, we find poets who fill their poems — probably under the influence of *Nedjātī* — with proverbs (like the *Pend-nāme* or *Kanz al-Badi'* of *Guwāhī*). Other poets like *Derūni* of *Trebizond*, *Āgehi* of *Yeniĉje-i Wardar*, *İshķi* and *Yetim* fill their *ķaṣidas* and *ghazels* with terms taken from navigation. The movement known as *Türkî-i Basîf* (cf. xvth century) has two representatives in this century in *Maḥrami* of *Ṭatawla* (d. 942 = 1535), author of a *Basîf-nāme*, and *Naẓmi* of *Edirne* (d. after 962 =

1555); cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'ad, *Millî Edibiyât Djeriyaniniñ ilk Mubashshirleri we-Diwân-i türki-basıf*, 1928).

The greatest figures in the *kaşide* and *ghazel* in the xvth century are in chronological order: Dhātī, Khayālī, Fuzūlī and Bākī.

Dhātī wrote besides *kaşides* and *ghazels* a large number of works in poetry and prose which are of very unequal value. In his early works the influence of Ahmed Pasha and particularly of Nedjātī is evident. His imagination and his new ideas made him very popular and he had a number of disciples. In the evolution of Turkish poetry his place is between Nedjātī and Bākī.

Khayālī [q. v.] began his poetical career when Dhātī was at the height of his fame, but as a poet he surpasses the latter and many others. The *Tedhkeredji* 'Ahd-i Baghdādī calls him the "Hāfiz of Rūm". His *Diwān* contains all his work and is said to have been arranged by a certain 'Alī Çelebi, although the poet himself says in a *kaşide* addressed to Sultān Suleimān that he had arranged a *diwān*. In his youth Khayālī had been under the influence of the mystics, notably Uşūlī, but mystical poems form only a small proportion of his work. His most original poems are his *ghazels*. He met Fuzūlī in Baghdād and seems to have written *nağires* on his poems.

Fuzūlī must be regarded as the greatest poet of Turkish literature in general, although he was born in the neighbourhood of Baghdād and used the Ādharī dialect in his poems. He was of Turkish origin of the Bayat tribe. He composed a *Diwān* and a *methnewī* *Leilā we-Medjūn* which have secured him a place in literary history. Love in his works is never entirely profane in character, thanks to the inspiration of his mysticism. But as soon as he turns to the *kaşide* we find him falling into artificiality of no value. His *Leilā we-Medjūn* must be regarded as an original work rather than an adaptation. No other poet except Naşīmī and Newā'ī has acquired a reputation like his throughout the whole Turkish world; he even exercised an influence on the musician-poets of the people (cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'ad, *Introduction aux Külliyyât de Fuzūlī*, Constantinople 1342, p. 3—22; *Türkiyât Medjūm.*, ii. 434—436).

Bākī after the death of Khayālī was undoubtedly the greatest poet in Sтамbul. His reputation spread very rapidly throughout the empire and even as far as India. All the later poets down to the sixteenth century have praised him as their master. His *kaşides*, *merthiyes* and *ghazels* really do attain a high pitch of perfection. In spite of the fact that he was inspired by a number of predecessors, he retains all his own personality. In the expression of sentiment Bākī is below Fuzūlī, but the musical charm and faultless ease of his poems have given him the reputation of an inimitable master of classicism.

The xvth century also produced a number of other great masters of the *ghazel* and *kaşide*. We may mention Hairetī, a very original poet, who describes the towns of Rūm-ili and his amours; his friend Ishāk Çelebi; Raḥmī of Brusa, known from his translation of the *Shāh-u-Derwīsh* of Hilālī and for his fine *ghazels*; Fighānī executed by order of Ibrāhīm Pasha; his successor Maḳālī; Durri Zâde 'Ulwi of Sтамbul, author of remarkable *kaşides*. In the second half of the century, Emrī, 'Ubeidī, Mū'e dh dh in Hudāyī and

New'ī are masters of the *ghazel*. New'ī was at the same time a great scholar and stylist. We must also mention Rūhī of Baghdād whose *Terkbend* only won him fame later. Then Fewrī, Djenānī of Brusa and Seliḳī, who became known by their *mukhammes* and *müseddes*. Sünni and the celebrated Kara Fazlī wrote *rubā'ī* in the style of Khayām. Sā'atī, Shühretī, Riyāzī and 'Aṭa excelled in the *hidw*. Others like Sāghirī, Thānī and Ghazālī, surnamed Deli Birāder, wrote *hezel*, *mezāh* (bantering poems; cf. GHAZALĪ and Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'ad, *Yeñi Medjūm'a*, 1917, N^o. 15). Finally two forms very fashionable in the poetry of this period were the *mu'ammā* (enigma) and the *ta'rikh* (chronogram). The poet Emrī excelled in both of these.

As regards the *methnewī* we find, alongside of numerous translations and imitations of Persian works, original poems on local subjects like the *Shehr-engiz*, mystical poems and rhymed chronicles. The subject of *Yūsuf-u Zuleikḥā* was very popular, especially one by Ḥamdī. Many poets also wrote a *Leila-u Medjūn*, of which by far the finest was Fuzūlī's. Other subjects were the *Mihr-u Müsh-terī*, translated by Mirī from the Persian, *Ebkār-i Efḳār* and *Bahrām-u Zühre*, both of which were chosen by Fihri as subjects, and many others. The best known authors of *methnewis* were Kara Fazlī [q. v.] of Sтамbul, author of *Gül-u Bülbül*, Yaḥyā Bey of Taşhliḍja and, not quite so celebrated, Lāmi'ī [q. v.]. Yaḥyā Bey's most celebrated poem is his *merthiye* on the death of prince Muṣṭafā (1553); his *methnewis*: *Shāh-u Gedā*, *Gendjine-i Rāz*, *Kitāb-i Uşul*, *Gülşen-i Enwār*, *Yūsuf-u Zuleikḥā* are distinguished by a remarkable originality [cf. YAḤYĀ BEY]. We must also mention Ādherī Ibrāhīm Çelebi (993 = 1585), author of a *Naḳsh-i Khayāl*, and Muṣṭafā Djinānī of Brusa (d. 1004 = 1596), who wrote *Makḥzan al-Asrār*, *Riyād al-Djinān* and *Djalā' al-Kutūb*. Among descriptions of towns we have several descriptions of Brusa beginning with that of Lāmi'ī; there are similar works on Edirne, Diyār Bakr, Sтамbul etc.; to the same class belongs the *Risāle-i Ta'rifāt* of Faḳīrī (d. 941 = 1534) of considerable historical value for its description of the various classes of society (cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'ad, *Hayāt*, 1921, N^o. 2). The *ghazels* of Nihālī of Brusa (d. 949 = 1542) are of equal interest, in which the poet describes young beauties belonging to the trade-gilds (cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'ad, *Yeñi Medjūm'a*, 1918, N^o. 62).

The *methnewī* form was also still used for mystical works, lives of saints, collections of rules for the mystic orders, lexicographical works etc., most of which have little literary value. Several poets wrote *Hadīth-i arba'in*, in imitation of Djamī and Newā'ī. To this class also belongs the famous *Hilye of Khākānī* [q. v.] and the translations of the *Hadīth-i arba'in* by the same author. Encouraged by the fame of the *Mawlid* of Suleimān Çelebi, many poets, beginning with Aḳ Shams al-Din Zâde Ḥamdī took up the same subject but without attaining the same popularity. Lastly we may mention a *Deh-murgh-nāme*, inspired by the *Manṭiq al-Tair* of 'Aṭṭār and dedicated in 919 (1512) to Selim I by Şhemsī.

As the mystic movement increased in strength in this century and new *tekkes* were everywhere opened, it is not surprising that poets belonging to the different orders should write didactic works,

mystic poems and collections of legends of saints, alongside of translations of Arabic and Persian mystical works. We may say that each *ṭarīqa* had its own literature; among these literatures the more important belong to the heterodox groups. Thus the literature of the Bektāshis, begun in the xvth century by Nedīmī, had representatives in Yetīmī and 'Askerī, dervishes of the *teke* of Saiyid Ghāzī, and others. Many of these figures are of great interest in the history of religion for the freedom with which they expressed their thoughts — which sometimes cost them their lives. Their heretical doctrines were not only disseminated among heterodox bodies like the Bektāshis and Hūrūfīs but also in orthodox orders like the Kḫalwetīs and Melāmīs, as we know from the historical sources. Other mystics wrote very simple poems, like Yaḥyā Efendi of Beshiktash and others.

Finally a number of historical works were written in the form of *methnews*. With the exception of the Ottoman history of Ḥadīdī written in 937 (1531), they always deal with a single event (the taking of Buda, of Djerbe, the Yemen etc.) or with the victories of a sultān (particularly Suleimān) or of a commander (like Kḫair al-Dīn Pasha Barbarossa, Öz Demir Oğlu 'Othmān Pasha etc.).

Prose in this century assumes a heavier and more artificial form; exaggerating Persian models, the simplest ideas are expressed by the most complicated images to the detriment of the subject. This lack of taste is found in the greatest stylists of the period: Lāmi'ī, Kemāl Pasha Zāde, Dželāl Zāde, Feridūn Beg, 'Azmi, the translator of the *Humāyūn-nāme*, 'Alī Celebi, Kīnālī Zāde 'Alī Celebi, Kḫwādja Sa'd al-Dīn [q.v.] and others. This artificial tendency had a much more disastrous influence on prose than on poetry. Works written in simple language were despised by the educated classes. We find however that in very long works, it was only the preface that was written in this turgid and clumsy style. Many literary, historical, religious or moralising works of the period were in fact written in more simple language. The same applies to official correspondence and other state documents. In religious works intended for the people, every endeavour was made to write as simply as possible. The prose which we possess by Bākī and Fuzūlī shows an elegant and comparatively simple language.

We shall begin with the historical works, a field in which great progress was made in this century, mainly on account of the interest taken by the educated classes in the military successes of the empire. Beside the rhymed chronicle, in continuation of the Seldjūk tradition, we find from the time of Bāyazīd II and Selīm I historical works in prose. The official Ottoman history written in Persian by Idrīs Bitlisī was translated into Turkish by his son. Other general histories were those of Ibn Kemāl, Dželāl Zāde Muṣṭafā 'Āli Celebi, entitled *Tabakāt al-Mamālik*, of Muḥyī al-Dīn Djemālī, of Luṭfī Pasha, of Kḫwādja Sa'd al-Dīn and of 'Ālī. There are also a number of special histories, dealing with particular periods or certain events (the *Fethnāmes*) and biographical works (like the *Djāvāhīr al-Manāḫib* relating to Şokollī). At the same time the office of *Shehnāmedji* was maintained at the court. In the time of Suleimān, it was filled by Feth Allāh 'Ārif Celebi, whose successors included Aflātūn

Shirwānī, Seiyid Luḫmān and Ta'likī Zāde (d. 1013 = 1604). These were also Turkish poets, but tradition demanded that the official *Shehnāme* should be written in Persian in the *mūteḫarib* metre, until Mehmed III ordered it to be written in Turkish. From the time of Ta'likī Zāde, prose began to appear scattered through the text. From the historical point of view these *Shehnāmes* are naturally of less importance than the non-official chronicles. While works like the *Tādji al-Tawāriḫ* of Sa'd al-Dīn were regarded as models of style, the *Ta'riḫ* of Luṭfī Pasha [q.v.], whose style more resembles that of the old chronicles, and especially his *Āsaf-nāme* are very important for our knowledge of the social history of this period. The *Ta'riḫ* of Selānikli Muṣṭafā Efendi shows how corrupt the administration was at the end of the century. We must regard 'Ālī [q.v.] as the greatest historian of the time and his other works reveal him as a man of almost encyclopaedic learning. Not only his *Kunh al-Aḫḫbār*, but also his *Naṣīhat al-Salāṭin*, *Kawā'id al-Maḏjālis* and *Menāḫib-i Hünerwerān* show that the author was a severe critic, well informed about the conditions of life of his time. The style of his historical works is relatively simple (on his life and works cf. the introduction by Ibn al-Amīn Maḥmūd Kemāl to the edition of the *Menāḫib-i Hünerwerān*, Stambul 1926). To this century also belongs the *Shakā'ik-i Nu'māniye* written in Arabic by Taḥḫöprü Zāde [q.v.] and translated into Turkish with additions by Medjdi of Edirne and Kḫāki of Belgrad; also an extensive biographical literature among which the biographies of the Turkish mystic sheikhs are of considerable historical interest. A similar interest is contained in a few light works of badinage (*mesāḥ*) like the *Nafs al-amr-nāme* of Lāmi'ī and of Nīksārī Zāde (cf. *Millī Tettebbu'lar Medjmu'ası*, N° 3).

Among historical works, those which deal with literary history occupy an important place. The first Ottoman *tedhkiye* is the *Heshi Behishi* written in 945 (1538) by Sehī, in imitation of the *Maḏjālis al-Nafā'is* of Newā'i. He was followed by Laṭīfī [q.v.], 'Ashīk 'Āli Celebi [q.v.], 'Aḥdī of Baghdād and Ḥasan 'Āli Celebi [q.v.]. 'Ālī also gives important notices of poets in his *Kunh al-Aḫḫbār*. The compilation of collections of *naẓā'ir* on poems of other poets, like the *Djāmi' al-Naẓā'ir* written in 918 (1512) by Ḥādīdjī Kemāl, containing poems by 266 poets, and others, is a custom which is also found in the xvth century and has contributed greatly to our knowledge of Turkish poets.

It is in this century that we find geographical works and travels beginning to appear. In the xvth century we have only translations and excerpts from Kaḫwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī as well as a translation from the Greek of Ptolemy. In the xvth century, these two works are again translated, as well as those of Abu 'l-Fida' (by Sipāhī Zāde) and Iṣṭakhri (by Sherif Efendi) and 'Alī Kūshdjī's work on mathematical geography, and geographical descriptions of Egypt. A *Cin Siyāhat-nāmesi* written in Persian by the merchant 'Alī Ekber Kḫāṭayī was translated into Turkish for Murād III. The celebrated *Bahriye* of Piri Re'is [q.v.] written in 935 (1529) was a result of the maritime policy of the Turkish empire. It is based in part on older cartographers like Şafā'ī and

on Italian maps. As a result of Suleimān's campaigns by land we have Mitrākđjī Naṣūh's work, full of admirable little sketches. Seiyidī 'Alī Re'is wrote his *Muḥiṭ* as a result of his unfortunate exploit in the Indian Ocean, although the book is based entirely on earlier Arab works. The *Mir'at al-Mamālik* by the same author is much more original. After it we have the *Siyāḥat-nāme* in verse of the merchant Aḥmed b. Ibrāhīm, describing his voyage to India. The *Manāẓir al-'Awālim* of Meḥmed 'Aṣḥik of Trebizond is very important; based on the old Arab geographies, it gives valuable new information about Ottoman lands. Finally we may mention a *Ta'rīkh-i Hind-i Ḡarbi* on the discovery of the New World, translated in 990 (1582) from a European language by Meḥmed Yūsuf al-Herewī (on this literature cf. Taeschner in the *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvii, 1923).

Alongside of classical Turkish literature, we find the literature of the people increasing, the knowledge of which was spread by the *ḥiṣṣa-khwan*, the *meddāḥ* and the *ḥaragöndji* in the popular cafés and in the barracks of the Janisaries. Many classical poets also wrote *türkü* [q. v.] intended for the masses. These *türkü* are in the 'arūd metre and in the form of *mürebbā'*; later they were called *sharkī* [q. v.]. This form of poem goes back to the earliest forms of verse among the Turks. But the works of unlettered poets, like Enwerī, Thiyābī, Rāyī, Raḥikī and others, written in imitation of the classical poets, were more to the taste of the people. In popular gatherings such themes as *Abū Muslim*, the *Ḥamza-nāme*, *Battāl Ḡhāzī* etc. were enthusiastically received. This encouraged Ḥāshimī of Stambul to write the *methnewī*: *Barḳī we-pūlāa* taken from the *Ḥamza-nāme* and inspired several authors and poets to write similar works. Sulṭān Suleimān had the story of *Firūz-shāh* translated into Turkish in 8 vols. by Ṣāliḥ Efendi, translator of the *Djāmī' al-Hikāyat*. There were *ḥiṣṣa-khwan* even in the palaces of the sultāns. Alongside of old Muslim and Iranian subjects we find also collections of stories of everyday life like the *Bursalī Khwādja* 'Abd al-Rē'ūs Efendi *Hikāyesi* by the poet Waḥdī, also called *Ana Badī' Hikāyesi*. The stories of everyday life by Muṣṭafā Djinānī of Brusa in an unaffected style give us a valuable insight into different aspects of the life of the people in these days. Another poet of this kind is Medḥī, whose real name was Derwish Ḥasan, who was the *meddāḥ* of Murād III (cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. MSS.*, p. 42).

In the xvth century we are a little better informed regarding the activities of the *ozan*, although they are now generally known as '*āshik*' or '*öğürdjü*'. These wandering musicians were to be found wherever the people congregated and used to recite their poems in syllabic metres, love-songs, heroic tales, *merthiyes* and *türkü*. At the beginning of this century we have a portion of Bakhshī's epic on the Egyptian campaign of Selīm I and at the end of the century we have the names of Kul Meḥmed (d. 1014 = 1605), Öksüz Dede, Khayālī and Kōr Oghlu, and, in the garrisons of the Maghrib, Ćirpanlī, Armudlu, Kul Čulḳha, Gadāmuṣlu (cf. also Köpr. Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Türk Saz Shā'irleri*, 1930). The influence of the various classes of society on one another had even the result that syllabic

metre was sometimes used among the cultured classes (but especially in the *hazel*) and the 'arūd metre in popular poems, just as had been the case formerly for poems of a religious character. The mystic poets however, following the tradition of Yūnus Emre, wrote their *ilāhis* in syllabic metre. We may note the names of Ummī Sinān (d. 958 = 1551), Aḥmed Sārbān (d. 952 = 1545), Idrīs Mukhṭefī (d. 1024 = 1615) and Seiyid Seif Allāh Khālwetī (d. 1010 = 1601). But the greatest successors of Yūnus and Kaighusuz were found among the Bektāshīs and Kizilbash's, such as Kul Himmet and his pupil Pīr Sulṭān Abdal, a native of Siwās who was executed in 1600 by order of Khidr Pasha (cf. Sa'd al-Din Nūzhēt, *Pīr Sulṭān Abdal*, 1929). Other products of the popular literature of the period were *Hasan Oghlu Türküleri*, *Ḳara Oghlan Türküsü*, *Geyik Destānī*.

xvith Century.

In spite of the political decline of the empire we still find intellectual and literary life pursuing its normal course. The knowledge of the Ottoman literary language spread among the Muslim lower classes generally and also through districts with a non-Turkish population or speaking a non-Ottoman Turkish dialect like eastern Anatolia (Ādhari dialect) and the Crimea. The Crimea began to produce a number of Ottoman poets, among them actually some of the Khāns. The influence of Turkish literature and culture is found as early as the xvth century in the use of Arabic characters by the Muḥammadan Hungarians and Croats (cf. *Ungarische Bibliothek*, 1927, No. 14). There is also a Turkish-Serbian dictionary in verse, called *Potur Shāhidīye*, composed by Hawāyī (*Bull. de la Soc. scient. de Skoplje*, iii, 189—202), a similar Turkish-Bosniak vocabulary by Uskūfi and several rhymed Turco-Greek glossaries.

Stambul was always the centre to which men of letters and learning flocked from all parts of the empire and from beyond its frontiers. With the exception of Murād IV, no sulṭān took an interest in literature, and among statesmen there were relatively few patrons of literature like Ilyās Pasha, Muṣāhib Muṣṭafā Pasha, Rāmī Pasha and the *Sheikhs* al-Islām Yahyā and Behāyī. In spite of this and of the decline in the medreses this century saw scholars of ability like Ṣarī 'Abd Allāh [q. v.], Ismā'il Anḳarewī, Isḳāḳ Khwādjasī, Aḥmed Efendi, and others. The various branches of religious learning and Arabic philology have however no great representatives in this century, and the conflict between the *medreses* and the *tekes* known as the "question of the Kādi Zāde's" shows what a narrow point of view still prevailed in the *medreses*. The persecutions of the mystical orders, which sometimes had a political object also, did not however prevent these orders from continuing to prosper throughout the empire.

The "classical" Turkish poetry of the xvith century was in no respect below the level of the Persian models. But in place of devoting themselves to imitations and translations the Turkish poets were now working on original subjects. It is true on the other hand that the influence of contemporary Persian and Indo-Persian poets is still felt. Nef'ī shows the inspiration of 'Urfī, Nābī of Ṣā'ib and Nā'ilī-i Ḳadīm that of Shawḳat.

Nef'î [q. v.] may be regarded as the greatest Turkish master of the *kaşide*, on account of the power of his imagination, the richness of his language and the harmony of his style. His *ghazels* and his *hidjw* on the other hand are less successful. The influence of Nef'î was always great on his successors, although his period saw several eminent *kaşidedjî*, like New'î Zâde 'Aṭāyî, Kāf Zâde Fā'idî, Riyādî, Şabırî and Rîdāyî. The greatest representative of the *ghazel* is the *Shaiḫ* al-Islām Yaḥyā [q. v.] who may be regarded as the successor of Bākî, especially on account of his great power to express feelings and emotions. His fame likewise survived into the following centuries. Other representatives of the school of Bākî and Yaḥyā are the *Sheiḫ* al-Islām Behāyî and Wedjdi. In contrast to the latter, the poets Fehim [q. v.], Nā'ilî-i Qadîm [q. v.], Shehri and even the poet Nābî [q. v.] were under the influence of contemporary Persian poetry. Nābî on whom can be noticed the influence of Sā'ib became renowned for his *methnewî khairiyes* and his *ghazels*. His poems are characterized by the preponderance of intellectual conceptions but this has not affected his popularity. In many of his poems he describes and criticises the social life of his time. His young contemporary Thābit [q. v.] endeavours to show his originality by mingling proverbial expressions with his poetry. Among the masters of the *ghazel* in the xviii century we may also mention Nishāṭî Mewlewî, Djewrî and Rāmî Mehmed Pasha.

'Azmi Zâde Hāletî [q. v.] excelled in all poetical genres and is best known for his *rubā'î*. The *laghẓ* and the *mu'ammā* became very popular as did the *ta'riḫ* (chronogram.). The *hidjw* and *mezāḥ*, composed in different forms, caused poets of the first rank to write very coarse things. Some products of this genre however can be appreciated, like the *tedhkere* in the form of a *methnewî* by Güftî in which the author depicts contemporary poets; the *hidjw* of Fehim and of Djewrî, written in the form of *mulamma'*, are curious because the text is scattered with passages in non-Turkish languages.

Some *methnewîs* of the first half of the century show a remarkable perfection. The subjects of the old *khamsas* are gradually replaced by more topical subjects. The greatest representative of the style is New'î Zâde 'Aṭāyî [q. v.] who acquired his great reputation with his *Khamsa*, the subjects of which are taken from the life of his time. This poet reveals the influence of his Turkish predecessors like Yaḥyā of Tashlîdja and Djinnānî (cf. xvth century). After him we may note the following authors of *methnewîs*: Kāf Zâde Fā'idî, Ghānî Zâde Nādirî and Riyādî. It was mainly in this century that it became fashionable to write *Sāḫi-nāmes* in imitation of the Persian poet Zuhūrî, although this genre is already found earlier, as is shown by the *'Ishret-nāme* of Rewānî (xvth century). Among the *Sāḫi-nāmes* we may specially note those of 'Aṭāyî, Riyādî and Hāletî; all are tinged with mysticism. The *methnewî* thus served for all sorts of subjects taken from daily life, stories, descriptions, speculative works, tales of actual events etc.

The number of religious and mystical works, lives of saints and didactic works connected with the different *ṭarîḳas* is very great in this century. Poetical forms were often used for them. Very well known is the *Mî rādjiye* of Nādirî. Then there were

panegyrics of the Prophet (*na'î*), translations in verse of the *Ḥadîth-i arba'in*, of *mawliids* etc. Among the mystic poets there were some who used the syllabic metre; we may note Niyāzî-i Mişrî, founder of the Mişriye division of the *Ḳhalwetîye* order, whose poems were long popular; the Bektāshîs also numbered several poets in their ranks. There are also a large number of historical works in verse, *Shāh-nāmes*, *Ghazānāmes*, etc., like the *Shāhnāme* of Nādirî of the time of Othmān II and others. The *Shehînshāhnāme* written by Mülhemî by order of Murād IV has only the preface in Turkish; the rest is Persian in keeping with the old tradition. It is in this century also that the custom begins of writing brief Ottoman histories in verse; we have that of Tālîbî, written in 1017 (1608), of Nihāri (d. in 1075 = 1664) written for Mehmed IV and the *Fihrist-i Shāhān*, dedicated to Mehmed IV by Şolāḫ Zâde Hemdemî, and continued by a series of poets down to Ziyā Pasha in the sixteenth century. This kind of work has neither much historical nor literary value.

Literary prose follows the same lines as in the preceding century. The great stylists (*münshî*) like Weisî, Nergisî, Oḳḍu Zâde and others carried affection of language to a still more advanced degree. A fine specimen is given by the official documents addressed to the Persian court and written by *münshîs* like Hükmi; this same style, devoid of any taste, was sometimes used even in private correspondence. The works which were considered to have no literary value in their day are those which are now most appreciated, like those of Koçî Beg, Kātib Çelebi, Ewliyā Çelebi and Na'imā. Histories, in this century also, take first place among prose works. There are several which have the character of semi-official chronicles like the *Shehnāme* written in prose by Tashköprüzâde for 'Othmān II. Murād IV appointed Kābilî as *wak'a-nuwîs* for the Eriwan campaign. In 1074 (1664) the nishāndjî 'Abd al-Rahmān Pasha was appointed by Mehmed IV to chronicle events, as was Mehmed *Ḳhalîfa* of Fındıklî by Mustafa II. It is only later that Na'imā was appointed *wak'a-nuwîs*. The historical works of this century are translations of the general histories of Islām, original works on the same subject, general and special works and monographs on Ottoman history. From the historical point of view, the most important are the *Djāmi' al-Duwal*, written in Arabic by Müneddjim Bāshî, the *Fedhlike* of Kātib Çelebi, the *Ta'riḫ* of Peçewî and the best that of Na'imā. The great encyclopaedist Kātib Çelebi [cf. HÂNDJÎ KHALİFA] also reveals himself in his *Mizān al-Haḳḳ* and *Dastūr al-'Amal* as a historian of penetrating insight. Peçewî [q. v.], who made use of Christian sources, is also very valuable for his sound judgment and impartiality. Na'imā [q. v.] who possessed descriptive powers of the first order, gives vivid psychological analyses of historical characters. Koçî Beg [q. v.] examines in his celebrated *Risāle* the causes of the decline of the empire. Kara Çelebi Zâde is a *münshî* rather than a historian. We must also mention chroniclers like Wedjihi, Hasan Bey Zâde and Şolāḫ Zâde, as well as the *dhiil* to the *Shāḫā'ik-i nu'nūniye* by New'î Zâde 'Aṭāyî and the continuation by 'Ushshāḳî Zâde.

The *tedhkere* is much below the level of the xvth century; the most notable is that of Riyādî written in 1018 (1609). The *Riyād al-Shu'arā'* of

Ḳāf Zāde Fā'īdī composed in 1030 (1621) also contains specimens of the work of the poets dealt with in it. There is also the *dheil* to this work by Mehmed 'Āṣim (d. 1086 = 1675), the concise *tedhdere* of Ridā and of Güftī already mentioned. The *Maṭālāt al-Naẓā'ir* by Khīṣālī (d. 1062 = 1652) is a collection of *maṭāl's*.

In the field of geography the most important works are those of Kātib Čelebi and Abū Bakr Dimashķi. They use European as well as Muslim sources. The *Siyāhat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi [q.v.] is important for the history of all aspects of social life. In spite of its defects it is a work without an equal in Turkish literature. In this century also the first *sefāret-nāmes* appear.

The great popularity of the *shehnāmedjī*, *meddāh*, *karagözdjī* etc. continued in this century in all classes of society. At Brusa we have Derwish Kāmili, Ḳurbānī 'Alisī and others, at Erzerüm Kaşşāb Ḳurd, Ḳāndillī Oghlu etc. At Stambul there were eighty *meddāh*, who were organised in a gild (*eşnaf*); the best known is Tiflī [q.v.] who was *nedim* to Murād IV. Towards the end of this century the *meddāh* Ḳīrimī (d. 1120 = 1708) flourished.

The musician-poets (*sāz shā'irleri*) became very numerous in the xviiith century. We find them among the Janissaries, the sipāhis, the lewends, the dželālis, and in the religious bodies like the Ḳızılbaş and the Bektāshis. They were always to be found in military retinues. The writer has succeeded in collecting and identifying the works and names of about thirty musician-poets of this century. The most notable are Gewherī and 'Āshīḳ 'Ömer; the latter has almost become the patron saint of the *sāz shā'irleri* (cf. Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Türk sazşairlerine ait metinler ve tetkikler*, I—V, Istanbul 1929—1930). The influence of this popular literature is felt even among the upper classes, as in the poems of the Ḳhān of the Crimea, Mehmed Girāy, who wrote under the *makhlaṣ* of Kāmīl, and a *merthiye* of 'Āfife Sultān, one of the favourites of Mehmed IV. Several "classical" poets also wrote *sharḳī* for the masses. The poem on the hero *Genç Othmān* by Kayıḳḳıdjī Muştafā has actually given rise to a folk-tale which still survives in Anatolia (Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Kayıkcı kul Mustafa we-genc osman hikayesi*, Istanbul 1930). It is probable that several other folk-tales originated in this century, like those called '*Āshīḳ Kerem*', '*Āshīḳ Ghārib*', and *Shāh Ismā'il*. Lastly we see from the statements of Ewliyā Čelebi that it was in this century that the *Orta Oyunu* [q.v.] began to be popular with the people.

xviiith century.

Literature and culture continued in this century to follow the same lines as in the preceding centuries. There was a vast output in prose and poetry, while the intellectual links with Persia and Transoxania continued to exist. Persian poets, especially *Shawḳat* and *Sā'ib*, exercised a great influence on Turkish poetry. But in spite of all this, the tendency to a more individual development gained in strength and was shown in the endeavours to simplify the language. It is mainly due to the great poets of the beginning of this century that classical Turkish poetry entered on a path entirely independent of contemporary Persian poetry.

The period of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Paşa [q.v.] is a very important one. Many works were written

and translated by his orders or those of Sultān Ahmed III. Committees were appointed to translate important works rapidly. Among the poets of this period we may mention 'Othmān Zāde Tā'ib, who was called the king of poets, Seiyid Wehbī, Sāmī, Rāshid, Neilī, Selīm, Kāmī, of Edirne, Durri, Thāḳib, 'Ārif, Sālīm, Čelebi Zāde 'Āṣim, and 'Izzet 'Alī Paşa. Nedīm [q.v.] in particular acquired a great reputation in the second half of the century and later. His *ghazels* and his *sharḳī* recall the period of Sa'd-ābād and by his original subjects, rich imagination and harmonious language, he surpasses his predecessors and his contemporaries. In the *sharḳī* he reached a level which neither Nāzīm before him nor Fāḍil Enderūnī after him attained. It was also through the patronage of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Paşa that Ibrāhīm Muteferriḳa [q.v.] was able to inaugurate Turkish typography; but for several reasons printing remained confined to a very restricted sphere throughout this century and did not exercise any particular influence on intellectual or artistic life.

Among the great poets of this century we must also make special mention of Ḳodja Rāghib Paşa [p.v.], the greatest representative of the school of Nābī, and Sheikh Ghālib [q.v.], the last great poet of the classical period. In the *ḳaṣīde* it was the influence of Nef'ī that dominated, while in the *ghazel* there was a rivalry between the disciples of Nedīm and Sāmī on the one hand and admirers of Nābī on the other. But towards the end of the century a decline in both schools became apparent; poets like Fāḍil Enderūnī [q.v.] and Sünbülzāde Wehbī [q.v.] are only mere imitators. The poets of this century practised all forms of poetry and special attention was devoted to genres characteristic of an epoch of decadence, like the *hidw*, the *hezal*, the *mu'ammā* (enigma) and the *ta'rikh* (chronogram), while immorality and a general decline in good taste increased. On the other hand, true religious inspiration still continued, as may be seen from the *munādijāt* and the *na't* of Nāzīm, the *Mirādjiye* of poets like Nāyī 'Othmān Dede, Naḥīfī and 'Ārif Suleimān Bey and the verse translation of the *Methnewī* of Mewlānā by Naḥīfī. The *methnewis* of this period are numerous but of little literary value, the old subjects of the *ḳhamsa* are entirely dropped, with the exception of the *Husn-u 'Ishḳ* of Sheikh Ghālib, the last masterpiece of this class. Finally, the rhymed historical works of this period and the mystic poems by initiates of the various orders are of little importance.

Literary prose tends to become gradually simpler, although we still find imitations of the style of Nergisī and Okḳī Zāde. A well-known stylist like 'Othmān Zāde Tā'ib openly declared against exaggerated artificiality in prose. Historical works occupy the first place. Among authors serving as *wak'a-muwis* [q.v.] we may mention Rāshid, Čelebi-Zāde 'Āṣim and Wāṣif, but none of them can be compared to their predecessors like Na'imā, although hundreds of people were writing biographical and historical works. The political and military decline of the empire caused a large number of *tayyha* ("memoirs") to be written investigating the causes. The most remarkable of these memoirs is that of Ḳodja Segbān Bāshī. From the point of view of geography we may note a number of important *sefāret-nāmes*, of which

the *Fransa Sefâret-nâmesi* of Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi is a typical example; these works were occasionally, although rarely, written in verse. The *sür-nâmes* written to celebrate the splendid festivals held by the sultâns are important sources for sociological research. Those best known are the *Sür-nâmes* of Seiyid Wehbi and of Hashmet. The collections of biographies of poets are even more numerous than in the preceding century. We may mention the *tedhkeres* of Safâ'î and Sâlim and that of Belîgh; the *tedhkeres* of Esrâr Dede is specially devoted to Mewlewî poets; to this century belong also the *Wak'î' al-Fudalâ'* of Sheikhî, which is the final continuation (*dheîl*) of the *Shak'î'îk*. Lastly the *Tuhfe-i Khattâtîn* of Mustakîm Zâde — whom we may regard as the greatest encyclopaedist of this century — is the most important source for the Muslim and Turkish calligraphers (*khattât*). In the field of geography we have only translations and excerpts from European works.

The *meddâh*, *karagözdji* and *orta oyundju* continued to enjoy the same popularity among all classes of society. The works of the musician-poets were also known everywhere; we may mention Kîmetî, Nûrî, Lewnî, Kaba Sakal Mehmed and Faşîhî, but the popularity of Gewherî and 'Ashîk 'Ömer continued; some of these poets were of Armenian origin, like Medjûn and Warţan who lived at the beginning of the century. This influence of Turkish musician-poets on the poems of the Armenian *ashûgh* perhaps begins as early as the xvth century (cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'ad in *Edebiyât Fakultası Medjmu'ası*, 1922, N^o. 1, p. 1—32). The best example of the way in which the literary taste of the people had penetrated among the upper classes is the fact that the great poet Nedim also wrote a *türkü* in the popular metre. This tendency became more marked as the century advanced.

xixth century.

At the beginning of this century, Ottoman literature had sunk to a very low level which continued till the period of the "Tanzîmât". Wâşif Enderûnî [q. v.] and 'Izzet Molla [q. v.] alone show some originality. Wâşif appeals to the popular taste and shows the influence of Nedim as well as that of Fâdil Enderûnî. 'Izzet Molla, while strongly influenced by Nedim and Shaikh Ghâlib is, however, a much greater poet than Wâşif, especially as regards the purity of his language and his poetical technique; in addition to *kasîdes* and *ghazels* he wrote quite good *methnewîs*; he is the last "master" of classical poetry before the "Tanzîmât". It is true that even after the "Tanzîmât", many poets wrote *kasîdes* and *ghazels* in the ancient style and among them the great advocates of literary innovations like Nâmîk Kemâl and Ziyâ Pasha; to this period also belong Ghâlib Bey of Leskofça, 'Awnî Bey and 'Arîf Hikmet Bey, all imitators of Nâ'îlî and Fehîm-i Kadîm. They had, however, no influence on the course of literary development. It was only natural that the old literary tradition could not disappear at one stroke; Shinâsî and his school had to maintain a long and hard struggle against the old school.

The prose of the period before the "Tanzîmât" is not of much value, although the production was not less than in preceding centuries. In history,

the *Ta'rikh* of Müterdjim 'Âşim is remarkable for its style and critical ability; the author uses even simpler language in his translation of the *Burhân-i Kâfî* and of the *Kamûs*. The *waḡ'amuwwis* Es'ad Efendi, translator of the *Mustatraf* and author of the well-known *Üss-i Zafer* on the extermination of the Janissaries, is far below 'Âşim, with his insipid language and confused style. The same writer edited the *Takwîm-i Wek'î'* and Sultân Mahmûd II reproached him with the obscurity of his language in an account of a journey of the sultân which he had drawn up in this capacity. On the other hand, in his translation of the *Mustatraf*, he recommends the use of Turkish instead of Arabic and Persian words and the simplification of literary style, which shows to what an extent the movement to simplify the language had made progress. Lastly we must not forget the celebrated poet and stylist 'Âkîf Pasha [q. v.] who, in spite of several poems written in the popular metre and some works in simple prose, ought not to be regarded as the first to spread literary innovations. 'Âkîf Pasha, indeed, remained entirely unaffected by European culture and is one of the last representatives of the old literature.

Among the representatives of the popular literature we have information about the *maddûhs* Piç Emîn, Kîz Aḥmed, Hâdjî Mû'eddhîn, Kôr Hâfîz and others, as well as of some writers of shadow-plays (*khayaldji*) like Sherbetdjî Emîn, Hâfîz of Kâsim Pasha, Muşâhib Sa'id Efendi; it is only towards the end of the century that Kâtib Şâlih in breaking with the ancient tradition began to imitate the modern theatre.

The best known musician-poets of this century are Dirdli, Dhihnî of Baiburt and Emrah of Erzerum, who acquired a great and well merited popularity in Asia Minor as well as in Constantinople among all classes (cf. Köpr. Z. M. Fu'ad, *Erzurumlu Emrah*, Istanbul 1929). Down to the end of the reign of 'Abd al-'Azîz these *ashîks* used to assemble in a café in Ta'uk Pazarî. They had an organisation of their own with a chief (*re'îs*) at their head, recognised by the government. This organisation was broken up later on, but in the xxth century we still find musician-poets in Asia Minor.

This classical Turkish literature and especially the poetry had lost almost all its vigour and originality by the time the Tanzîmât began. Classical poetry had lost the ability to create anything new within its narrow limitations, and the poets could only produce imitations (*naşîre*) of the great masters of the past, or in their efforts to show a little originality fall into artificiality and platitude. As a result of continually repeating the same conceptions by the same limited means of expression, all the vitality of Turkish poetry was destroyed. Even great artists like Nedîm and Sheikh Ghâlib had not been able to escape the rigid rules of the old models. On the other hand, the attempts to draw upon the language and literature of the people and to appeal more to popular taste and language, efforts such as we observe in Fâdil Enderûnî and Wâşif, only resulted in vulgarity and banality. In spite of the political and economic connection with Europe which had existed for centuries, the social structure of the Ottoman people had never emerged from the frame of

Islamic civilization, which kept it imprisoned in a mediaeval system of ideas. It is true that the continual military defeats and the gradual economic decline had impressed upon thinking people the material and technical superiority of Europe and that, as early as the xviiith century, they had begun to take advantage of European skill to reorganise the army and the fleet. But it was much more difficult to admit the superiority of Europe in the field of culture. The *medreses*, which were in a very backward state compared with earlier centuries, still clung tenaciously to the mentality and tastes of the middle ages. Modern science was beginning to be introduced only in institutions founded for the army, like the Engineering School (*mühendis-khāne*) and the Medical School (*tibb-khāne*). These innovations owed a great deal to a few individuals, who had studied western languages and modern sciences, like Kh o d j a I sh ā k Efendi, Gelenberī and Sh ā n i Z ā d e. It was the need felt by Selīm III and especially by Maḥmūd II to reorganise the army and navy and to establish a central administration to prevent the empire being parcelled out between feudal chiefs, that led them to consent, in spite of the opposition of the *medreses*, to the reform of the teaching of mathematics and natural sciences.

From the end of the xviiith century, there were in Turkey men who knew French and recognised the cultural superiority of Europe. In bringing teachers from France and sending students to Europe, the movement of Europeanisation was encouraged in Turkey. It was natural then that as a result of all these needs, European influence began to show itself little by little, as in every branch of life, also in the field of thought and art.

b. "European" Turkish Literature.

Period of the "Tanẓīmāt" and the New Literature.

The great industrial and capitalist development in Europe as well as the political expansion and rivalry of the imperialist Great Powers could not long ignore so vast and rich a field of exploitation as Turkey. At the same time the mediaeval institutions of the empire had lost their power of resistance and the revolutionary movements in France had propagated the principle of nationality among the non-Muslim elements. All these circumstances made the urgent need felt of introducing reforms in the social and administrative institutions of the empire. These reforms were to meet with considerable resistance, not only among the lower classes but also among those members of the educated classes who had been educated in the *medreses*. It was due to Reshīd Pasha and his little group of followers that the reforms were gradually introduced into the country. In Turkish history these reforms are known as "Tanẓīmāt" [q.v.].

The Tanẓīmāt were not confined to the fields of administration, justice and finance; with the object of securing the progress of education among the Muslim Turks, primary and secondary schools were opened and plans made to found a university. An *Endjümen-i dānīsh* was formed to prepare schoolbooks (1269 = 1853) and students were sent to Europe. The *Endjümen-i dānīsh* was soon replaced by the *Djem'iyet-i 'ilmīye-i 'otmāniye* (1277 = 1860), which began to publish its own organ: *Medjmu'a-i Fünūn*. In the following year,

the Girls' School was opened and in 1279 (1862) University courses were begun. In 1282 (1865) was formed a *Terādjeme Djem'iyeti*, in 1284 (1867) the Civil School of Medicine (*Tibbiye-i mülkiye Mektebi*) began its lectures, and in the following year, the Lycée of Galata Serāy was opened, the curriculum of which was adapted from western secondary schools and French was used for teaching alongside of Turkish. The University (*Dār al-Fünūn*) was opened in 1286 (1869) but the intrigues of the conservative elements forced it to be closed two years later. In 1287 (1870) the School of Law (*Hukuk Mektebi*) was opened and in 1294 (1877) a School of Political Sciences (*Mekteb-i mülkiye*). At the same time museums and libraries were founded as well as technical schools like the engineering, agricultural and commercial schools. Thus there was gradually created an educated class outside of the *medreses*. All this activity was accompanied by a gradual development of the daily press. In 1247 (1831) the official publication *Takwīm-i Wekā'i* began to appear which was followed by the *Djeride-i Hawādith* in 1256 (1840), the *Terdjüman-i Ahwāl* in 1276 (1859) and the *Taşvir-i Efkār* in 1278 (1861) [cf. DJARIDA]. These two last mark an important stage in the history of modern developments for it was through them that Shīnāsī, founder of the new literary school, and his disciple Nāmīk Kemāl addressed the public. Down to the period when the absolutism of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd prevented any kind of publication, the Turkish press developed very rapidly. Many scientific and literary works were translated from European languages, especially from French, and the Turkish language began to be simplified, at the same time enriching itself with a large number of scientific expressions.

The three great figures of the new literature are Shīnāsī [q.v.] who had been educated in France, his great disciple Nāmīk Kemāl [cf. KEMAL] and Ziyā Pasha [q.v.], both of whom had lived in France as exiles. Through these circumstances the new school was imbued with the French literature of the xviiith and xixth century, and the principles proclaimed during the political revolutions in France. The innovators wished to exterminate the old feudal literature and proclaim the ideas of "fatherland" (*watan*), "liberty" (*hürriyet*), "democracy" (*khalqıdjıllık*) and "constitutionalism" (*meshrūfiyet*); they aimed at creating a "bourgeois" literature. It was in this way that journalism, political and literary criticism, the theatre, the translation of western literary works, the novel and the philosophical and sociological essay began. Shīnāsī was neither a brilliant stylist nor a great poet, but his programme was well defined; he wished to free himself from the trammels of the old unintelligible language; although he was not able to realise all this programme, his theories exercised a great influence on those around him. Ziyā Pasha, by his translations of Rousseau and Molière and by his literary and political criticism, gave great support to this movement. He was well versed in the classical literature, yet he went so far as to allege that this literature had no relation to the Turkish character; he upheld the thesis that one ought to follow nature, i. e. borrow from the popular language and literature. In reality Ziyā Pasha had neither the strength nor the courage to put these theories into force.

It was undoubtedly Nāmīk Kemāl who assured

the definite success of the new school. He was a great artist, a keen fighter, a prolific author and a great patriot. For him art was a means of provoking a revival in the land and he contributed vigorously to the cultural and political revolution in Turkey by his political articles, his dramas, his novels, his patriotic poetry, his historical works, his critical essays and even by his private letters. He exercised a profound influence. The presentation of *Watan* was a great political event in the country. He attacked the old literature even more bitterly than Ziyā Pasha and thought that it was impossible to write Turkish poetry in the 'arūd metre. However, not even Kemāl could cast off the old traditions entirely, nor could his friends. It is for this reason that Sa'd Allāh Pasha was able to write in 1297 (1880) in an anonymous article in the journal *Wakf*, that pupils should only be given literal translations of western works because the "new" writers had not been able to produce in reality any really new.

Abd al-Haḥḥ Hāmid [q.v.], a pupil of Nāmīk Kemāl, brought about a great revolution in the field of poetry, which hitherto had not been able to free itself from ancient forms. This extremely prolific poet introduced into Turkish the lyric and the drama in which his models were Dante, Racine, Corneille and Shakespeare. Even Nāmīk Kemāl acknowledged that the new Turkish poetry begins with Hāmid. Other important figures were Ridjā'ī Zāde Ekrem [cf. EKREM] and Sāmī Pasha Zāde Sezā'ī [q.v.], but in proportion as the pressure of despotism increased, the second generation of the period of the Tanzīmāt began more and more to pursue purely artistic ends.

Many other thinkers or writers have contributed to the cultural evolution of the country. We may mention the famous historian Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [q.v.], Aḥmed Wefīk Pasha [q.v.], Suleimān Pasha, and the great writer and encyclopaedist Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi [q.v.], as well as the lexicographer Shāms al-Dīn Sāmī Bey [q.v.]. Djewdet Pasha, well versed in oriental learning and author of a Turkish grammar in collaboration with Fu'ād Pasha, has written beautiful prose in Turkish. Aḥmed Wefīk, animated by western ideas, wished to revive national culture, and proclaimed the fact that the Turks of Anatolia were a branch of the great Turkish nation. He compiled the first dictionary of Anatolian Turkish, collected proverbs and translated the *Shadjara-i Turk* of Abu 'l-Ghāzi. By his adaptations of the comedies of Molière he played a great part in the development of the Turkish theatre. Suleimān Pasha, who reorganised the military schools, was a great patriot. He claimed that the language and literature should be called "Turkish" and not "Oṭhmanlī"; in his *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam* he devoted a special chapter to the early Turks, taking his material from Deguignes and other sources.

Lastly Aḥmed Midḥat wrote and translated hundreds of volumes of a popular nature, beginning with books of the alphabet; he thus trained the people to read and contributed to raising the level of education, which was his only aim, for his books have no scientific or literary value. Sāmī Bey showed himself a worthy successor of Wefīk Pasha in his *Ḳāmūs al-A'ṭām* and *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*.

At the end of the xixth century appeared

Mu'allīm Nādjī [q.v.], who obtained great fame under the protection of Aḥmed Midḥat. Nādjī was well versed in eastern culture and wrote *ghazels* in the classical style alongside of good poems in the new style. The followers of the old school expected from him almost a resurrection of classicism, although Nādjī was not at all a champion of such a reaction, as is shown by his beautiful simple prose (as in *Ömeriñ ödjüklüğü*). His quarrels with Ekrem Bey originated rather in personal reasons. At the same time Nābī Zāde Nāzīm, who died very young, came to the front; his novel *Zehrā* makes him a figure of first importance in literary history.

The most important event at the end of the xixth century is the literary movement begun by a group of youthful men of letters who had associated themselves, at the instigation of Ridjā'ī Zāde Ekrem, with the periodical *Therwet-i Fünūn*; this movement marks the second and last stage of the Europeanisation of Turkish literature. It is dominated by the figures of Tewfīk Fikret [q.v.] and Khālid Ziyā and is very much under the influence of the literary movements in France at the end of the xixth century. Started in a period of absolute despotism and having only a short life of five or six years, this movement produced works of a neurotic and pessimistic sentimentality. Its motto was "art for art's sake". If we except Djenāb Shihāb al-Dīn, who acquired after the revolution the reputation of a great prose writer, Sulaimān Nazīf, who may be considered a pupil of Nāmīk Kemāl with an originality of his own, Fā'ik 'Ālī, an imitator of Abd al-Haḥḥ Hāmid, and Ismā'il Şafā, an independent figure, who finds his subjects in everyday life, all the poets who wrote in the *Therwet-i Fünūn* were imitators of Tewfīk Fikret. Khālid Ziyā, who has a very choice style, is the true founder of the literary novel in Turkish. He takes his subjects generally from the upper middle classes, but some of his short stories describe the life of the people. The latter genre has been more successfully treated by the novelists Aḥmed Hikmet and Hüsein Djāhid, in more simple language. Mehmed Re'ūf is a novelist who makes excellent psychological analyses, but his language is incorrect. In the field of science, philosophy and criticism, the collaborators on the *Therwet-i Fünūn* did no more than translate. But the severe censorship and the short life of the group did not enable them to show greater vitality.

While the school of Tewfīk Fikret and Khālid Ziyā reflected only the life of the upper classes, Hüsein Rahmī [q.v.] depicted in his novels various aspects of the life of the people; and at the same time the notable publicist Aḥmed Rāsim [q.v.] was dealing in several of his works with the same subject. Among the poets of this period, we may further mention Rizā Tewfīk [q.v.] who has written the finest lyrics in the style of the 'ashīk poets and Bektāshī, but in syllabic metre, the poetess Nigār Khānīm and lastly Mehmed Emīn Bey [q.v.] who suddenly became celebrated during the Turco-Greek war by his *Türkçe Şi'rler*. Mehmed Emīn employed a very simple language in the syllabic metre and wished to reach the people directly (*khalḳa doḡru*), although the existing popular literature with its mentality, tastes and traditional forms were entirely unknown to him. As a man of letters he was entirely of the school

of Fikret; he was not however an individualist like his contemporaries but imbued with the democratic spirit (*khalkdşılılık*). This was the first occasion on which a Turkish poet had descended to the level of the people. Perhaps it is right to charge him with a lack of lyrical feeling, but this does not prevent us from regarding him as an interesting figure in literary history. At the same time the movement to simplify the language continued and even gave rise to an exaggerated purism. By the translation of the works of European scholars the early history and culture of the Turks became known, while the journalistic activities of the young Turks abroad began to envisage Turkish nationalism from the political point of view. These were the main elements in the cultural and literary life of Turkey before the Revolution of 1908.

xxth century.

The revolution of 1908, having brought about the abolition of the censorship, caused an extended literary activity. The patriotic pieces of Kemāl and Hāmid re-appeared on the stage and a large number of works of a sociological, philosophical and historical nature were translated into Turkish. At the same time, great improvements were made in education and the relations with Europe raised the general cultural level to a height never before reached.

The most important literary organisation after the Revolution was "Fedj-i Ati", although it was a literary circle which lasted only a short time; its members began by following the school of Fikret and Khālīd Ziyā, but the majority of them ended up as members of the national literary movement. Ahmed Hāshim alone continued to develop in the way he had first chosen. He never abandoned the 'arūd metre, nor the conception of "art for art's sake" in its strictest form. Besides, he had ideas of his own on the relation between music and poetry (cf. H. Duda, *Ahmed Hāshim* in W. I., ii., 1928, N^o. 3—4, p. 200—244). The poet Yahyā Kemāl who had a great influence after 1912 had literary views entirely different from those of Ahmed Hāshim for he sought music rather in the exterior elements of his poems, while he retained the motto "art for art's sake". Another poet, who remained outside of the national literature is Mehmed 'Ākif, the advocate of Panislāmism and unrivalled master of the 'arūd metre; in simple language he describes the life of the people in its most realistic aspects. 'Ākif, whose lyrics sometimes rise to great heights, has remained quite uninfluenced by western poetry; he is a democratic poet, born of the people. In the work of these three poets, very different from one another, we see Turkish poetry striving to free itself from the too limited sphere of Tewfiq Fikret and his school; but under the stimulus of the great development of the nationalist movement which manifested itself in the whole domain of art, poetry also has ended by entering on new paths.

a. The National Literature.

After the Revolution of 1908, it was the ideal of Ottomanism (*otkmanlılık*) that animated the governing classes. But the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus

needed a new ideal; this was the national ideal, which had already revealed itself in the period of the Tanzimāt and which had existed through the Hāmīdian period in a cultural form. After the revolution also, this movement began by assuming a cultural aspect. On December 28, 1908, the society *Türk Derneği* was founded, the object of which was to study the past and present of the Turkish peoples, to simplify the Turkish language and to make it a language of science. This society had not much power, but in November 1911 the periodical *Türk Yurdu* began to appear and on March 12, 1912, the *Türk Odjaghı* was founded. This movement was not confined to a few Turkish patriots: associated with it were a number of Turkish intellectuals from other countries who had fled from the oppression of Tsarism, like Agha Oghlu Ahmed, Husain Zāde 'Ali and Ak Çora Oghlu Yūsuf. The movement was violently opposed by the followers of a badly understood occidentalism (*gharbdşılılık*) on the one side and by the partisans of Panislāmism (*ittihād-i Islām*) on the other. At the same time, the periodical *Gendj Kalemler*, published at Salonika, again started, under a pretentious name, a campaign to purify the Turkish language, and Ziyā Gök Alp, a member of the Committee of Union and Progress (*ittihād-u terekki*), began his activities. With the transfer of the central office to Constantinople, Ziyā Gök Alp joined the *Türk Yurdu*. Later, after the disastrous conclusion of the Balkan War, the younger generation also rallied to the national movement. The time was very opportune for the success of the national ideal; it only required a man capable of directing the national idea and laying down a programme and giving it a philosophical basis. It was Ziyā Gök Alp who did this. He exercised a great influence on the youth by his university courses, by his lectures and by his articles and poems; all his life, from the time of the Balkan War to the Armistice, when he was exiled to Malta, and later during his sojourn in Diyār Bakr and Ankara, he displayed an uninterrupted activity: the résumé of his teaching is contained in his book *Türkçülüüün Esasları* (Angora 1339 = 1923). His death, soon after, was a cause of general mourning throughout the land.

As in all branches of life, the national movement made its influence felt in literature: the syllabic metre attained the dominant position in poetry; the language was simplified; the motto "art for art's sake" was replaced by "art for life"; writers began to borrow from popular literature and its traditional forms; literature began to reflect the life and characteristics of all branches of society. Philological and historical studies were made on the works of the musician-poets, on the popular literature, the music of the people. In brief, the science of Turkology was founded. [It is to Köprülü Zāde Mehmed Fu'ad, the author of this article, that almost all the credit of these important studies is due. Edd.] All this contributed greatly to give a definite direction to the new literary movement.

Among the poets of this movement we may give first place to Fārūk Nāfidh, who in his last poems depicts the scenery of Anatolia, then Orkhān Seifi, Enis Behidj, Yūsuf Ziyā, Khālīd Fakhrī, Nedjib Faḍil. All these show the influence of Ziyā Gök Alp and Yahyā Kemāl rather than of Mehmed Emin. In prose, the

progress is still more marked and the writers in it have still greater force. The greatest figure of the period is Khālide Edib Khanım. After the stories of love and passion which are characteristic of her first period she wrote books in the style of *Ateşden Gömlek* in which she describes the struggle of Anatolia for independence. Ömer Seifeddin, who died young, has left a number of very good little stories, some of which, like *Bombā*, are masterpieces of national literature. Refik Khālid, who is perhaps the best writer of simple Turkish, describes in his *Memleket Hikāyeleri* realistic scenes of Anatolian life, hitherto unknown to literature; his realism however is expressed in a merciless sarcasm, quite devoid of sympathy and feeling. Ya'qūb Kadri, even in his novels, is rather a stylist and a mystic poet than a story-teller. Other well-known figures in the new prose are Fālih Rifki, who describes in *Ateş ve Güneş* episodes of the war in Palestine and Rūshen Eşref. Among the novelists Reshād Nūri achieved fame by his novel *Çalı Kuzu*. The evolution of the Turkish theatre is being hampered by the interminable adaptations of worthless French vaudeville. But the fact that the Turkish woman has appeared on the stage, that there are many good actors and that important western pieces are now being played gives good hope for the future.

By the foundation of the Turkish nationalist republic, nationalist principles have entered into the things of everyday life. The government is devoting much attention to the simplification of the language and to the creation of a scientific terminology in Turkish. The adoption of the Latin alphabet will contribute a great deal to the simplification of the language. But there is no resting. While the nationalist literature is still in its beginnings, we already see announced an internationalist literature. The young and vigorous Marxist poet Nāzim Hikmet, who has returned to Turkey after a long stay in Russia, is endeavouring to create a proletariat literature with poems without metre and without rhyme, at the same time launching his thunderbolts at the capitalists and the literary men who defend them. Several young poets and novelists have gathered round Nāzim Hikmet, while others are trying to spread futurist ideas. It may be doubted if this new seed, brought by wild winds from beyond the Black Sea, will find a fertile soil in this country, where industry and capitalism are only beginning to develop. It is impossible to say if the young national literature will be capable of resisting these foreign influences. In any case, future developments will take a course parallel to that of the country's destiny.

Bibliography: a. Methodology: Köprülü Zāde Mehmed Fu'ād, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usul* (in the periodical *Bilgi*, i., 1329, p. 1-52); do., in *Millî Tetteb'at Medî-muası*, i., 1331, p. 35-46.

b. Texts: The majority of the texts of the old literature are still in manuscript. Some have been printed at Cairo and Constantinople but not in critical editions. For the manuscripts, the catalogues of libraries in east and west may be consulted. Very few texts have been translated into European languages. For details, see this article and other articles relating to the subject.

c. Chrestomathies. The most important

manuscript selections are mentioned in the article. In Europe there have been published: E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. v., vi.; W. D. Smirnov, *Müntakhabât-i Âthâr-i 'othmāniye*, St. Petersburg 1903; M. Wickerhauser, *Wegweiser zum Verständniss der türkischen Sprache*, Vienna 1853; A. Fischer and Muhieddin, *Anthologie aus der neuzeitlichen türkischen Literatur*, i., Leipzig-Berlin 1919. *La Muse ottomane* by Servan de Sugny, publ. in 1855, gives translations in verse. For the classical poetry we have *Kharabāt* by Ziyā Pasha (3 vol., 1291), and *Müntakhabât-i Mir Nazif* (Bülāk 1261). For prose: Ebuzziyā Tewfik, *Nümüne-i Edebiyat-i 'othmāniye* (6th ed., Constantinople 1330). Lastly there are a number of chrestomathies for Turkish schools; the most recent is *Türk Edebiyatı Nümüneleri* by Hifzi Tewfik, Hammāmī Zāde İhsān and Hasan 'Alī (vol. i., Constantinople 1927).

d. Biographies of poets. The most important *tedhker-i shu'arā'* have been mentioned in the text. A large number are not yet printed. For bibliographical information see the introduction to Ibn al-Amin Mahmūd Kemāl, *Soñ 'Asr türk Shā'irleri* (publ. by the T. T. E., vol. i., Constantinople 1930). There one will find information about old and new bibliographical works on literary history. In addition, there are important notices of the poets in all the historical sources, the *siyāhatnāme*, and books of legends (*menākib-nāme*) etc..

e. General Works. There is not yet a literary history on really scientific lines, either in Turkey or Europe. J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst* (4 vols., 1836) is a collection of biographies taken from the *tedhker-i shu'arā'* which were known to the author. The works of Smirnov, Krymski and others are defective as regards the information and the judgment of their authors. For the bibliography of these works see Th. Menzel, *Die türkische Litteratur* (in *Kultur der Gegenwart*), who however has omitted to mention Krymski, *Istoriya Turciyi i yeya literaturı*, 2 vols., Moscow 1916. The most important work on the early poetry of Turkey is E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols., London 1900-1909; this work is still of great value, although the account of the xiiith-xvth century is very inadequate. It is rather a collection of biographies of poets, which is complete only down to the Tanzimāt; also P. Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig; M. Hartmann, *Aus der neueren osmanischen Dichtung*, M. S. O. S., xix.-xxi.; O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Litteratur des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig. As to the value of the literary histories publ. in Turkey (cf. also Menzel, article here quoted), we may mention: Shihab al-Din Süleimān, *Tārikh-i Edebiyat-i 'othmāniye*, Constantinople; Fā'ik Reshād, *Tārikh-i Edebiyat-i 'othmāniye*, Constantinople 1913; İbrāhīm Nedjmi, *Tārikh-i Edebiyat Dersleri*, 2 vol., Constantinople 1338-1341; İsmā'il Hābib, *Türk Tedjeddüd Edebiyatı Tārikhi*, Constantinople 1340; İsmā'il Hikmet, *Türk Edebiyatı Tārikhi*, 4 vols., Baku 1925-1926. But these works are superficial in method and in information supplied. Köprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād's *Türk Edebiyatı Tārikhi* endeavours to gather together in a systematic fashion the literatures of the various Turkish peoples. So far only

the first volume has appeared (Constantinople, Dewlet Matba'ası, 1926—1928). The most important monographs on the different figures and subjects in the literary history of Turkey are mentioned in this article and in the special articles. (KÖPRÜLÜ ZÂDE MEHMET FUD))

IV. HISTORY.

1. General Features.

The Ottoman Empire is the largest and most lasting state that has been formed in Islāmic times by a people of Turkish tongue. At the same time it is the largest state formed in the later centuries of Islāmic history. Its original centre was Asia Minor, situated in the north-westernmost angle of the Islāmic world, a country that had seen four centuries less of Islāmic domination than most of the lands of the ancient 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. It was founded about A.D. 1300, at a time when everywhere in the Islāmic world the earlier political traditions were broken and none of the existing governments seemed to give much guarantee of durability, while Muslim civilisation itself was passing through a critical period of weakness.

These circumstances are not sufficient in themselves to account for the rising of a new strong Muḥammadan empire. It is right, therefore, to seek the explanation of the birth and the part played by the Ottoman Empire in the general course of political events in the world history of the later Middle Ages. It has been observed that the rise of a new strong power in the Mediterranean world had only become possible after the extinction of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate and its political traditions, in 1258, and after the excessive weakening of the Byzantine Empire by the Latin occupation of 1204 (cf. R. Tschudi, *Vom alten Osmanischen Reich*, Tübingen 1930). This enabled a new state, to come into existence that continued at the same time a somewhat changed Islāmic tradition and a good deal of the already much easternized Byzantine civilisation.

The process of interpenetration of these two cultural spheres had already been in action a long time before the nucleus of the Ottoman state was formed, during the epoch of the Seldjūk empire of Rūm. Consequently the rapid conquests of the Ottomans in the xivth and xvth centuries were not the elementary invasions of a wild horde or barbarians, but the realisation of a scheme that may have been in some degree present to the mind of great conquerors like Bāyezīd I, Muḥammad II, Suleimān I and some of their statesmen. The conquest spread at the time a type of civilisation that took its definite shape in the xvth century. As history advanced, this Ottoman civilisation came into an ever more pronounced contrast with its eastern Muḥammadan neighbours, thus giving a new political meaning to the Sunna-Shi'a controversy while the ancient relations with Turkish Transoxania gradually slackened. At the same time the gap between the Ottoman and the western European civilisation — which in the xvth century did not yet seem unbridgeable — became constantly wider, as Turkey did not join in the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. All the more firmly was Ottoman civilisation rooted in the many countries that had been subjected to the rule of the Turkish sultans, and this Ottoman tradition became most perceptible

at the very time of the weakening of the Ottoman political power; a very good example is Egypt [cf. KHEDIV]. It is a curious fact that, when after the revolution of 1908 the Young Turks tried for a brief period to make this Ottomanism once more a political reality, these endeavours proved to be a complete failure, owing to the political decomposition caused by the penetration from the west of nationalist feelings.

Born in a religious sphere that was far away from orthodox Islām, the Ottoman Empire soon took a definite turn towards official orthodoxy after the Hanafite *madhhab*, but with remnants of older tradition. The claim to the Islāmic Caliphate, however, and to the hegemony of the Muḥammadan world, as well as the panislāmic policy of 'Abd al-Ḥamid II do not belong to the primary features of the Ottoman Empire; they were more a part of its outward politics, especially towards Christian powers [cf. KHALIFA].

The influence of western civilisation began in the xviiith century, at a time when the Ottoman Empire, having acquired its own cultural type, began to feel its political inferiority towards Europe. Ancient relations made France the first European country to provide Turkey with some technical (military) innovations; this tradition remained stable until the first part of the xxth century. The introduction of western reforms and institutions has never had a revolutionary character; it consisted chiefly in government measures and its programme was successfully carried out during the period of the *Tanzimat* [q. v.]. A more indirect result of western ideas was Turkish nationalism, which new ideal the war of 1914—1918 has enabled Turkey to realize in a most unexpected manner. Modern Turkey has become a state of much smaller territory than the Ottoman Empire, but continuing a great deal of the traditions of the Ottoman Empire.

2. Historical survey.

First period. The founding of the state and its first expansion until the temporary dissolution by the invasion of Timur.

'Othmān I	1299—1326
Orkhān (son of 'Othmān I)	1326—1359
Murād I (son of Orkhān)	1359—1389
Bāyezīd I Yildīrm (son of Murād I)	1389—1402

The dates of 'Othmān and Orkhān cannot be established beyond doubt. Bāyezīd's reign was closed by his capture in the battle of Angora (July 20, 1402); it was followed by a period of 11 years, during which Bāyezīd's sons 'Isā, Muḥammad, Suleimān and Mūsā disputed with each other the crown. This period ended by Mehmed's victory over Mūsā in July 1413 at Čamurlı near Sofia.

Second period. The restoration of the state and its rapid growth until its greatest expansion.

Muḥammad I (son of Bāyezīd I)	1403—1421
Murād II (son of Muḥammad I)	1421—1451
Muḥammad II Fātih (son of Murād II)	1451—1481
Bāyezīd II (son of Muḥammad II)	1481—1512
Selim I (son of Bāyezīd II)	1512—1520
Suleimān I Kānūnī (son of Selim I)	1520—1566

Third period, during which the state maintained its territory, until the loss of Hungary.

Selim II (son of Suleimān I)	1566—1574
Murād III (son of Selim II)	1574—1595

Muḥammad III (son of Murād III)	1595—1603
Aḥmad I (son of Muḥammad III)	1603—1617
Muṣṭafā I (son of Muḥammad III)	1617—1618
‘Oṭhmān II (son of Aḥmad I)	1618—1622
Muṣṭafā I, 2nd time	1622—1623
Murād IV (son of Aḥmad I)	1623—1640
Ibrāhīm (son of Aḥmad I)	1640—1648
Muḥammad IV (son of Ibrāhīm)	1648—1687
Suleimān II (son of Ibrāhīm)	1687—1691
Aḥmad II (son of Ibrāhīm)	1691—1695
Muṣṭafā II (son of Muḥammad IV)	1695—1703

Fourth period, during which the state gradually loses its strength and is broken up at the hands of powerful vassals.

Aḥmad III (son of Muḥammad IV)	1703—1730
Maḥmūd I (son of Muṣṭafā II)	1730—1754
‘Oṭhmān III (son of Muṣṭafā II)	1754—1757
Muṣṭafā III (son of Aḥmad III)	1757—1774
‘Abd al-Ḥamid I (son of Aḥmad III)	1774—1789
Selim III (son of Muṣṭafā III)	1789—1807
Muṣṭafā IV (son of ‘Abd al-Ḥamid I)	1807—1808
Maḥmūd II (son of ‘Abd al-Ḥamid I)	1808—1839

Fifth period. Cultural and administrative renaissance of the state under the influence of western ideas.

‘Abd al-Medjīd (son of Maḥmūd II)	1839—1861
‘Abd al-‘Azīz (son of Maḥmūd II)	1861—1876
Murād V (son of ‘Abd al-Medjīd)	1876
‘Abd al-Ḥamid II (son of ‘Abd al-Medjīd)	1876—1909
Muḥammad V (son of ‘Abd al-Medjīd)	1909—1918
Muḥammad VI (son of ‘Abd al-Medjīd)	1918—1922

The national Turkish state, since October 29, 1923 a republic under the presidency of Ghāzī Muṣṭafā Kemāl Paṣha.

A good general view of the history of the Ottoman Empire is given in Khalīl Edhem, *Düvel-i İslāmiye*, Istanbul 1927, p. 320 sqq.

3. Conditions in Asia Minor at the end of the xiiith century.

The more recent researches on the subject of the founding of the Ottoman state have made clear many things that formerly had been seen mainly through the medium of Ottoman historical tradition as reflected in the sources belonging to the xvth century and later. Epigraphic and numismatic discoveries, combined with a critical study of older historical sources (the different versions of the chronicles of the Āl-i ‘Oṭhmān) and half legendary sources (*menākıb-nāmes* and *wilāyet-nāmes* of mystic orders) have cleared up many historical relationships, hitherto unsuspected.

The nucleus of the state of the dynasty of ‘Oṭhmān was a far advanced outpost (*uḍī*) on the north-western frontier of the territory once ruled by the Seldjūk dynasty of Konya, which had gradually relapsed into anarchy after the victory of the Mongols over Kaikhusraw II in 1243. Asia Minor, at that time, had already been turcized to a large degree; the greater part of the Anatolian Turks belonged to the Oghuz tribes who had been introduced during and after the Seldjūkian invasion; there were also groups of Christian Turks, who had come by way of the European part of the Byzantine Empire, besides Turkish elements from Russia. Moreover the Mongol conquests in the east had brought crowds of fugitives into the country, especially from the former Khwāriz-

mian sultanate; many of these immigrants were Iranians. We do not know the relative strength of the graecized original population of Asia Minor; they probably were found chiefly in the towns. In Konya the original inhabitants no doubt were already considerably islāmized. But the Christian element was still largely represented in the areas under Byzantine rule in the west and in the north-west in the Empire of Trebizond, where many of the population were Lazes, in the mountains of central Armenia and in the Cilician Armenian Kingdom (1080—1375). It does not appear that, within the former frontiers of the Seldjūk empire, there existed a sharp social controversy between Muḥammadans and Christians. Much sharper, at any rate, had become the antithesis between the townspeople and the still nomadic Turkish tribes or Turkomans (*tarākime-i Rūm*), who were roving all through Asia Minor, as they did also in the adjacent territories of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. The Turkish tribes had still preserved many pre-islāmic religious traditions within the particular form of Islām they had adhered to. This form of Islām was the result of the preaching of wandering derwishes, known under the name of Kālenderiye and Haidariye, who spread from the xith century all over northern Iran and Transoxania; their preaching was imbued with mystical doctrines containing a large amount of Shi‘ite elements. After their immigration into Asia Minor the Turkomans had remained under the same influences and those who exercised religious authority amongst them, called *babas*, had still much resemblance to the pre-islāmic *bakšis*. Under these religious leaders in 1239 the fearful revolt of the Bābā’is under Bābā Ishāk had taken place. The government, at that time, had been able at last to suppress the revolt, but the heterodox opposition among the lower classes in Asia Minor has still deeply influenced the history of the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire. These Turkomans were indeed far more numerous than the governing classes and the townspeople, as is shown by the present geographical nomenclature of Asia Minor; the names of numerous villages, rivers and mountains are now pure Turkish and we meet among them ancient tribal names as such Kay, Salur, Bayat and Čepni (cf. Köprülü-Zade Fu‘ād, *Oghuz Etnolojisi-ne İvrikkhı Noṣlar, Türkiyat Medjmu‘ası*, i. 185 sqq.). As far as the Turkoman tribes were still militant, the best use that could be made of them was as frontier guards and as conquerors of new territory. After settling down, they may have mixed with a good deal of the original rural population and by this mixture is to be explained the curious religious, half-Christian, views and customs that are reported in later times as existing among the lower classes in Anatolia, and that were especially current among the mystic order of the Bektāshī’s in the time of the Ottoman Empire. The Bektāshīs derive their name from Ḥādjī Bektāsh Welī, who is reported to have been a disciple of the above mentioned Bābā Ishāk (Köpr. Z. Fu‘ād, *Les origines du Bektachisme, in Actes du Congrès International de l’Histoire des Religions, tenu à Paris 1923*).

The government and the higher classes of society had followed in Seldjūk times the orthodox Islāmic tradition, just like the other Seldjūk dynasties, and this tradition is to be traced back to the times of the Sāmānid empire in Khurāsān and Transoxania. These were also the regions with

which the Turkish element in Asia Minor has been, since its immigration, in constant relations; in the Seldjûk period, the higher culture of Asia Minor was mainly Iranian in character. These relations explain also how the Hanafi *madhhab* became officially predominant in Anatolia and afterwards in the Ottoman Empire. But the upper classes of society were not free themselves from a strong mystic influence of a higher order. It had likewise its source in Khurāsān, whence had come Djalāl al-Din Rūmī [q. v.] himself, who lived at the Seldjûk court in Konya, and who influenced for centuries Ottoman-Turkish culture through the Mewlewī-order. So the townspeople were likewise familiar with formations of fraternities on mystic lines, entering within the category of the *futuwa* [q. v.]; on the fraternity of the Akhi's we are now fairly well informed (F. Taeschner, in *Islamica*, iv., 1929, fasc. 1); a similar fraternity was formed by the Ghāziyān.

On this basis of religious and social controversy is to be understood the development of events since the end of the xiiith century. In the many small principalities that appeared (*javā'id-i mulūk*) we see sometimes the influence of the orthodox element and sometimes of the heterodox Turkoman element predominant. This last was especially the case with the powerful principality of the Karamān Oghlu [q. v.], at least in the beginning.

As the date of the foundation of the state of 'Othmān in Bithynia the year 1299 is generally accepted. About the same time sprang up the principalities of the Karasi Oghlu [q. v.] in Mysia, of the Şarukhān Oghlu [q. v.] in Lydia, of the Aidin Oghlu [q. v.] in Ionia, of the Menteshe Oghlu [q. v.] in Caria and of the Teke Oghlu [q. v.] in Lycia. All these dynasties had this in common with the 'Othmān Oghlu, that they held large parts of the western coast of the Peninsula; their territories were on the outskirts of the former Seldjûkian empire and the dynasties were the descendants of the chiefs of the Turkoman frontier guards (*udj begleri*); these regions were the most remote from the Islāmic cultural centre of Anatolia; on the other hand they entertained relations with the Greeks of the coasts and with the Italian colonists on the islands; some of these principalities (Şarukhān, Aidin, Menteshe) even had coins with images and Latin letters. But the most important feature of these principalities of the coast was the possession of fleets, by which they were able to undertake raids on the Greek isles and on the European continent from Morea as far as the Dobruča. Especially the Aidin Oghlu Umur Beg (died in 1348) is famous for his maritime expeditions as ally of the Byzantine emperor Cantacuzenos. It was this opportunity of westward expansion, which has been most favourable for the 'Othmān Oghlu and secured them in the end the superiority over the other principalities.

To the east of the maritime principalities had risen at the same time the Germiyan Oghlu [q. v.] in Phrygia and the Hamid Oghlu [q. v.] in Pisidia, together with the less important Eshref Oghlu in Bey Shehir (later incorporated in the dominions of the Hamid Oghlu) and the Deñizli Oghlu in Ladik (later incorporated in the territory of the Germiyan Oghlu). The important dynasty of the Djandar Oghlu — later called Isfandiyyār Oghlu [q. v.] — in Paphlagonia held the Black Sea with Sinüb, but had less opportunity of maritime ex-

pansion, although these regions too were in relation with the European continent, especially the Dobruča. A similar position on the south coast was held by the Karamān Oghlu [q. v.], whose origin can be traced back to about 1256, and who, by their geographical position on the main road to Syria, were able to develop more power and stability than the other principalities (cf. Khalil Edhem, *Düvel-i Islāmīye*, p. 270 sqq.).

The regions enumerated can be said never to have been a part of the territory administered by the Mongols in the xivth century. The Mongol governors, appointed by Uldjaitu (1304—1316) and Abū Sa'īd (1316—1325), resided principally in Kaişariye and governed the central plateau of Asia Minor as far as Anğara. The last of these governors was Timur Tash, who, in 1327, had to fly to Egypt, leaving as his lieutenant Ertenā. This Ertenā made himself independent in 1325 and founded the dynasty of the Ertenā Oghlu [q. v.]. About the same time, in 1391, originated in Mar'ash and Elbistān the dynasty of the Dhū 'l-Qadriye [q. v.]. In these south-eastern parts of Asia Minor the Mamlūk power of Egypt was at that time an important political factor and both the Karamān Oghlu and the Dhū 'l-Qadriye had many dealings, friendly and unfriendly, with state state.

The social and religious conditions in all the principalities enumerated were much the same. The military power of the Beg or Emir depended on still more or less nomadic tribesmen, and to this class are to be reckoned the half religious and half military chiefs that in several regions bear the title of Pasha [q. v.], as for instance with the 'Othmān Oghlu, Teke, Aidin, Deñizli and Djandar Oghlu. In several regions we meet also with the *ghāzīs*; these apparently were akin to the more orthodox *futuwa*-organisations of Seldjûk times. The court of the beg became also a gathering place of more orthodox scholars and of literary men who now began to write their works in Turkish [cf. LITERATURE, *supra*, B, iii.]. The bigger towns had often retained older social forms; this is especially known for Anğara, situated at the extremity of the Mongolian territory; the government was here really in the hands of the corporation of the Akhi's.

On the religious history of this pre-Ottoman period are to be consulted the works of Köpr. Zāde Fu'ād, *İlk Muteşavvirler*, İstambul 1918, and *Anadoluda Islāmīyet, Edebiyāt Fakultası Medj.*, 1922—1923.

4. The first period (1299—1402).

The historical tradition of the Ottomans has preserved reminiscences of the Turkoman nomadic origin of the founders of the state. The father of 'Othmān, Ertoghrul [q. v.], is said to have established himself with his little tribe in the neighbourhood of Söğüd [q. v.] as an *udj begi*; the pedigree given for Ertoghrul and his father Suleimān Shāh shows them as belonging to the Kāyi [q. v.] division of the Oghuz Turks. The various reports, however, about Ertoghrul and his clan have a good deal of a legendary character and this is also the case with what is told about the youth and the first exploits of 'Othmān himself. The different sources allow a historical reconstruction according to which 'Othmān — or 'Othmāndjīk, as the oldest known form of the name is given — was not even a real son of Ertoghrul, but rather belonged to the non-

nomadic element of the population, with whom the orthodox Islāmic tradition was stronger than with the Turkomans (J. H. Kramers, *Wer war Osman?*, in *A.O.*, vi. 242). He was, at any rate, one of the *ghāsiyān-i Rūm* and, together with other *ghāzi*s (Turkish *alp*), he possessed, after Ertogh̃r's death (about 1265?), the leadership of the clan. He likewise was surrounded by people belonging to the fraternity of the Akhi's, and it is probable that even 'Othmān's father-in-law, the Shaikh Edebalı, whatever his extraction may have been, belonged to the same fraternity. As a result of the collaboration of these various elements the clan was transformed into a territorial state with the fortress Karama Hışar as centre; in this state gradually the more orthodox Islāmic tradition became predominant, though the popular religious leaders (*baba, dede, abdal*) remained in high esteem.

During his reign and that of Orkhan the history of the small principality was not different from that of the contemporary Anatolian principalities. With the aid of his tribesmen, but also by stratagem and personal relations, he succeeded in extending his territory, so that at his death, the Sakarya was practically the eastern boundary of the state; to the south 'Othmān's power had probably reached Eskişehir. The Greek towns near or on the coast, however, Izniq, Izniqmıd (Izmıd) and finally Brusa were only taken in the beginning of Orkhan's reign; forthwith Brusa became the capital. All these new territories had been conquered from the Byzantines, mostly local commanders of garrisons; the Turks were seldom (in 1301 and 1329) opposed by a regular Byzantine army. Under Orkhan there was also added other Turkoman territory to his dominions, namely the principality of the Karasi Oghlu [q. v.]; by this territorial acquisition the 'Othmān Oghlu became at once the most prominent maritime power among the Anatolian principalities.

It is a noteworthy fact in the history of 'Othmān and 'Orkhan, that there apparently existed close relations with Christian chiefs and commanders in the neighbourhood. Köse Mıhal, lord of the fortress of Khirmendjik, is said to have been a constant friend to 'Othmān; and after the acquisition of the Karasi principality, Orkhan was joined by Ghazi Ewrenos [q. v.], also of Christian descent. The descendants of both become afterwards notable feudal families in the Ottoman state. This early collaboration with Christian Greek elements makes it probable that in this way Byzantine traditions and customs early entered the Ottoman state, in the same way as was the case in some other contemporary maritime principalities. Both the Christian and the Turkoman-nomadic element were gradually assimilated by the growing influence of the orthodox mollahs, often indicated in the older sources as *dānışmend*; some of these belonged to the Akhi-circles, as is said of the Kādı Djandarlı Kara Khalil, later vizier to Murād I under the name of Khashir al-Din Pasha; many of them had also come from the more eastern parts of Asia Minor. To them may have belonged also 'Alā' al-Din Pasha, Orkhan's vizier and, according to tradition, his elder brother.

So, during Orkhan's on the whole peaceful reign, these very different elements contributed to the foundation of a typical form of administration and civilisation, from which the later development of the Ottoman state must be explained. The details are little known. The administration was a military

one and probably followed Saldjūk tradition; the division of territory among feudal chiefs may have reposed on earlier Byzantine institutions [cf. TİMĀR]. Fiefs were given under Orkhan to the newly created cavalry called *müsellem*. During Orkhan's reign was also formed the new regular infantry called *yaya*, as the irregular force of the *aķındjı*, originally composed of the Turkoman tribesmen, was no longer adequate. In this time also the title *pasha* [q. v.], originally peculiar to militant derwishes, began to be given to statesmen (e.g. Sinān Pasha under Orkhan) and military commanders.

The natural extension of the young state was towards the west, in keeping with the naval raids of the Şarukhan Oghlu and Aidin Oghlu on the isles and on the Greek coast. Already under Orkhan there had been several military expeditions on the other side of the Hellespont, mostly in connection with his alliance with the emperor Cantacuzenos and the latter's civil wars. In 1353, however, begins the military occupation of towns on the European side by the famous expedition of Orkhan's son Suleimān Pasha, followed in 1357 by the capture of Gallipoli. This was the prelude to the military operations of Murād I and Bāyazid I, which took place nearly entirely in Rūm-ili. At first all the Byzantine territory to the west of Constantinople was taken; Adrianople (Edirne), conquered in 1361, became in 1365 the European capital of Murād. Then followed the wars against the Bulgarians and the Serbians, which assured the Ottomans the greater part of the present kingdom of Bulgaria. The Serbian power was crushed in the battle of Kossowo in 1389, where Murād I was killed, and Wallachia became tributary. Bāyazid's military expeditions extended over a still wider range, including Hungary, Bosnia and southern Greece, but in these regions the Ottoman conquests were not yet permanent, notwithstanding the victory won at Nicopolis in 1396 over the allied Hungarian, French and German armies. Constantinople became a mere vassal town where the Ottoman sultan could exercise his influence as he pleased; it did not come yet to a real occupation, although Bāyazid's attitude towards the town was little less than a continuous siege [cf. F. Giese, *Türkische und abendländische Berichte zur Geschichte Sultan Bajezids I., Ephemerides Orientales*, No. 34: April 1928]. The Ottoman policy in Asia Minor had another character. Anḳara, in 1359, fell to them in a peaceful way; Murād acquired a large part of the Germiyan Oghlu territory as a wedding present to his son and the country of the Hamid Oghlu by sale; even the expeditions against the Karaman Oghlu in 1386 and 1391 were conducted with much leniency, and it seems that the definite conquest of Konya, Siwas and Kastamuni in 1392 was a mere consequence of political necessity, felt perhaps through the conquests of Timur, who finally crushed the impetuosity of Bāyazid in the battle of Anḳara (1402). Many of Bāyazid's conquests, indeed, were as ephemeral as those of Timur himself.

While the sultans conducted the military operations, the organisation was in the hands of their statesmen, among whom Djandarlı Kara Khalil, later known as Khashir al-Din Pasha, is the most notable (cf. F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, *Die Vizierfamilie der Gandarlısade und ihre Denkmäler*, *Der Islam*, 1929, p. 61 sqq.). To him is attributed the institution of the Janissaries in con-

nection with the reservation of a fifth part of the war booty for the sultan. The Janissaries [q. v.] were taken from the captured Christians, and there is no indication that in the xivth century the *dewşirme* [q. v.] was already applied. Their organisation on the lines of a fraternity after the model of the *akhi*'s or the *ghāzī*'s, and their connection in this respect with the derwish-order of the Bektāshī's, shows again the influence of the peculiar religious tradition of the state.

The first begs of the 'Othmān Oghlu, in the older sources generally bearing the title of *khunkār*, had originally taken over some of the Saldjūk customs and traditions, such as the bearing of *lağab*'s composed with *din* and *dunyā*, but from the time of Murād I this custom was abandoned. Murād is also the first to take the title sultan in inscriptions. These first rulers followed also the traditions of other Anatolian rulers by marrying high born Christian ladies: Orkhān was the first to take a Byzantine princess for his wife. On the other hand, the proper names of some of the first Sultans (Murād, Bāyazīd) have preserved older, mystic-Shī'i, traditions; to the same early time is to be traced back the investiture of the sultan by the girding on of a sword, which perhaps symbolized originally his admission to the order of the *ghāzī*'s [cf. *ḳılıç alayı*]. An important fact of the first century of Ottoman history was the enforced migration of populations, which ancient oriental custom was particularly applied by Bāyazīd I, mostly from the east to the west. This general drift towards the west may have occasioned also the increasing estrangement between 'Othmān Oghlu and Karamān Oghlu and, together with other influences, the religious opposition in Anatolia.

On this first period of the Ottoman Empire are particularly to be consulted: H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundations of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, and F. Giese, *Das Problem der Entstehung des Osmanischen Reiches*, Z. S., vol. i. (1922), p. 246 sqq.; Köpr. Zāde Fu'ad, 'Othmānī İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu Mes'elesi, in the weekly review *Hayāt*, No. 11 and 12 (February 10 and 17, 1927).

5. Second period.

When Timur left Asia Minor again, he left the peninsula as divided as it had been hundred years before; the principalities on the west coast, as well as Kastamuni and Karamān, had been given back to their former dynasts, one of whom was replaced in 1403 by the enterprising İzmīr Oghlu Djuneid [q. v.]; two sons of Bāyazīd, 'Isā and Muḥammad, were residing at Brusa and at Amasia respectively. Although the European possessions, where Suleimān resided, had been left untouched by the Tatars, the restoration of the Ottoman state had again its centre in Anatolia, where Muḥammad had been able in a short time to establish himself as master of a considerable territory, including the old capital Brusa. After that his first move was the reconquest of the European possessions that were held first by Suleimān and afterwards by Mūsā. Only after 1413 was Muḥammad I in a position to begin the gradual incorporation of the other Anatolian principalities into the newly restored state; this policy was followed by Murād II and by Muḥammad II. This time again the rounding off of the Anatolian territory was effected without much bloodshed, with the exception of the Karamān Oghlu state, the old rivals of the 'Othmān Oghlu. But even here the Ottomans began

by following a remarkably conciliatory policy. The descendants of these dynasties were generally granted high military posts in Europe. Muḥammad II finished the conquest of Anatolia proper by the conquest of the empire of Trebizond in 1461 and when, at last, the Karamān dynasty was extinguished in 1468, the Ottoman Empire stood face to face with the Ak Koyunlu dynasty in the north and the Egyptian state in the south-east. The dangerous raid of the Ak Koyunlu Uzun Ḥasan, in 1472, had not, however, the disastrous consequences of Timur's campaign, the Ottoman Empire being now more firmly established; under Bāyazīd II this neighbour was succeeded by the young Şafawid dynasty of Persia; still, until the end of the reign of this Sultan, the Ottoman territory was not enlarged on the Asiatic front, though there were several inglorious frontier wars with the Mamlūk forces in Syria.

All through the reigns from Muḥammad I to Bāyazīd II the chief military activity of the Ottomans was given to the establishing of the Ottoman power in Europe. The sultans themselves resided most of the time in Europe, where they led many campaigns in person. Already under Muḥammad I there broke out a conflict with Venice with the advance of the Turks in Albania and Morea, and under Murād II Hungary became the other chief Christian opponent, as a consequence of the Turkish raids and conquests in Serbia and Wallachia. These raids and conquests, as well as those in Albania and Morea, frequently were not ordered by the sultans themselves, but they were undertaken by the frontier chiefs. The first results were more often the occupation of a few towns, where a *şu bashı* was appointed as chief of the garrison; most of the territory was left under the administration of the local rulers, who were responsible for the payment of the *khurādj* in the form of a tribute. Also Constantinople and the rest of the other Byzantine possessions kept for a long time their semi-independence in this way and succeeded even several times in defying a siege. Gradually these strongholds of Christian political and cultural independence were taken; the capture of Constantinople in 1453, which made such a profound impression among the Turks as well as in the Occident, was only the realisation of a part of the political scheme of Muḥammad II, of bringing the whole Balkan peninsula under the direct government of the Ottoman state; at his death this scheme had nearly become a reality. There were still Venetian enclaves in Morea and Albania, and in the north Belgrad was still held by the Hungarians, but even Bosnia was ruled by Turkish beys. The isles of the archipelago, except Rhodes, were incorporated in the same manner. Only the Danube principalities Wallachia and Moldavia and, since 1475, the Crimean Khanate had remained vassals.

During all this time the Christian powers had been scheming and planning crusades to expel the Turks from Europe, while trying also alliances with the Asiatic opponents of the Ottomans. But no really great enterprise was ever undertaken; only temporary damage was done by the Hungarian Hunyádi, the Wallachian Wlad Dracul, the Albanian Skander Beg [q. v.] and by some Venetian naval expeditions.

All these military successes in Europe would not have been possible without the strong base in Turkish Anatolia. Still more astonishing is per-

haps the permanence of the Turkish occupation. The reason may be sought mainly in the lack of any sufficiently great political Christian power in the much divided Balkan peninsula.

After the relatively peaceful reign of Bāyazid II, there is no more question about Asia Minor or the Balkan Peninsula. The struggle continued in Albania and Morea, but had on the whole a local character. The empire was now strong enough to face its new Asiatic neighbours. The war waged against Persia by Selīm I was in a way a continuation on an international scale of the former internal struggle against the *Shī'ī* opposition in Asia Minor itself. This war secured Turkey the temporary possession of Ādharbāidjān and the lasting domination over Kurdistan and Northern Mesopotamia. Very soon afterwards the Egyptian state of the Mamlūks, with whom the Ottoman Empire had clashed under Bāyazid II in a rather unglorious way, was incorporated by Selīm I in one single campaign. The consequence was the extension of Turkish overlordship to the holy cities of Islām and soon to Yaman. Finally, under Suleimān I the Magnificent, the empire obtained its greatest extension by the conquest of the greater part of Hungary, one of the two great mediaeval opponents in Europe; in the same campaign the Turks went even so far as to besiege Vienna. Only the other old rival, Venice, was not broken by the victorious empire. After Muḥammad II's death, official wars with Venice had become rather an exception. The Ottoman empire never had acquired an absolute maritime superiority, and this weakness appeared almost immediately after the great period of conquest was over, in the battle of Lepanto. Rhodes was conquered, but Malta has never been Turkish and the maritime exploits of Kemāl Re'is [q. v.] under Bāyazid and those of Barbarossa Khair al-Dīn and others, which assured Turkey's political authority in the Suleimānian era on the North coast of Africa and in the Indian Ocean, never wholly lost the character of piracy. On the Asiatic front the continuation of the conflict with Persia led for the time to the conquest of Baghdād and 'Irāk, so that the sultan was now in reality *sulṭān al-barrain wa 'l-bahrain*.

In the course of this second victorious period the inner religious and social evolution of the state had not been less astonishing than the enormous expansion of its territory. The originally somewhat dubious Islāmic orthodoxy had gradually converged towards an unimpeachable orthodox attitude of life among the higher classes; many Muḥammadan jurists had found their way from eastern countries to the new cultural centres of the Ottomans and the jurists of Christian extraction (as e.g. Molla Khusrav) joined without reserve the leaders of the official form of Islām. Under this orthodox cover the sympathies for mystic organisations and doctrines continued to exist; the mystic orders and the derwishes were generally favoured and the ancient mystic traditions continued to be reflected in many points, such as in the proper names of persons. Very probably we must see a reminiscence of the older influence of mystic religious leaders in the state in the remarkable institution of the *Shaikh al-Islām* [q. v.] which first appears distinctly under Murād II and was gradually sanctioned by the *kānūns*. On the other hand, the controversy with the more extremist *Shī'ī* under-current of mystic feelings, which existed of old in Asia Minor, has

several times taken the form of open revolts against the government, such as the rebellion connected with the name of Simawna Qādī Oghlu Badr al-Dīn (cf. IBN QĀDĪ SIMAWNA and F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi.) in 1415, and the revolt of Shāh Quli or Shaitān Quli and his Kīzıl Bash under Bāyazid II. This last revolt was intimately connected with the contemporaneous political-religious movement that led to the establishment of the Şafawid dynasty in Persia. For this reason the Kīzıl Bash rebellion was also a grave danger to the existence of the Ottoman state itself, and this explains the ferocity with which under Selīm I the adherents of the *Shī'a* were persecuted. The attitude of the Muḥammadan rulers towards the Christian and Jewish population followed the tolerant tradition; no one was compelled to embrace the Muḥammadan faith, with the exception of the Christian children levied by the *devushirme*. It is true that many churches were converted into mosques — like Aya Sofia —, but the constitution of the Greek-Orthodox and of the Jewish *millet* as autonomous communities, immediately after the capture of Constantinople, is the most famous example of a policy that was constantly applied. Muḥammadan fanaticism began only in the end of the xvth century.

The overwhelming importance of the person of the sultan for the existence of the state is still more accentuated during this period. This is shown by the menace of military revolts after the death of nearly every sultan and the artifices by which his death was kept secret until the arrival of his successor; also by the grave disturbances caused by pretenders [cf. *DJEM*] and the tradition of fratricide, inaugurated by Bāyazid I, which was the necessary consequence of it. The supporting of Ottoman pretenders was justly considered as one of the most effective means at the hands of the Christian enemies of the empire. For the Christian subjects the conquest made little difference; after Muḥammad had taken the Byzantine capital, he had taken for them all the attributes of their legitimate "basileus".

The wars of Timur had again caused great racial movements in Asia Minor, and in the times that followed it remained the policy of the sultans to transplant contingents of the population from one part of the empire to the other. In this way Constantinople — to which town now all the main military roads in Asia Minor were directed — was deliberately peopled with the population of different parts of Anatolia (Istanbul = Islambol), and in the same way Adrianople had become earlier an Islāmic town. Still the Turkish settled population in Rūm-ili has always lived side to side with the Christians, the relative proportions varying considerably in the different territories. The islāmization of large parts of the population in Bosnia and Albania had other causes.

Now it is especially this state of affairs in European Turkey that has been important for the development of the Ottoman political system that has found its highest achievement in the reign of Suleimān I. The beginnings of this new inner evolution of the Ottoman civilisation are to be sought in the reign of Murād II, parallel with the consolidation of the Ottoman type of religious orthodoxy. The new leading men in the state and in the army were now for the greater part Christian renegades of Albanian, Slav, Greek or even more western origin; the older families that had

come from Asia Minor, such as the Mikhāl Oghlu and the Ewrenos Oghlu, ceded to the second place as owners of large fiefs on the Danube and in Thessalia; the high position of the Djandar Oghlu as viziers ended with the execution of Khalil Pasha shortly after the fall of Constantinople. The newly converted Christians served the state to their best, but the all-dominating authority of the sultan and perhaps also the democratic tradition of Islām prevented the formation of a hereditary nobility; statesmen and military commanders (as beglerbegs and sandjaks) were the slaves (*kul*) of the sovereign and much less independent than they had been in a former century. Less dependent was the class of the scholars and jurists who provided the ecclesiastical hierarchy with the *Shaikh al-Islām* at the head; among them there are signs of an ecclesiastical nobility. So there was formed an Ottoman ruling class composed for the greater part of non-Turkish elements; they were continually recruited from the ranks of the Christian renegades that were taken in war or by the *dewshirme*-levy. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that the administrative institutions should show the influence of Byzantine ideas, as was also the case with the court organisation. By *Kānūn-nāmes*, of which those of Muḥammad II and Suleimān I are the best known, the hierarchy of officials was minutely regulated.

Besides the older troops of irregular *akīndjis* and *‘azabs*, the army consisted chiefly of the *sipāhī*'s — whose organisation was intimately connected with the military administration of the territory [cf. *TİMĀR*] — and of the Janissaries who, in the time of Murād II, were for the first time (probably 1438) levied by the method of the *dewshirme* [q. v.]; guns were for the first time used during the siege of Constantinople by Muḥammad II. The fleet [cf. *KAPODAN PASHA*] was mainly manned with *‘azabs*, besides Christian prisoners as galley-slaves, but had not by far the importance of the army.

The revenues of the state or rather of the sultan consisted for the most part of the constantly increasing *khavādjī* levied on non-Muḥammadan subjects and of the tributes paid by the semi-independent states. The different kinds of customs-duties were equally considerable. Trade remained mainly in the hands of Greeks and, so far as foreign commerce was concerned, it was in the hands of the colonies of Venetian, Genoese and Florentine merchants. These colonies were treated in the same way as the indigenous non-Turkish communities; they were allowed considerable autonomy under their consuls, including consular jurisdiction. These privileges were granted by the sultans in the well-known form of "capitulations", in which were prescribed also the commercial duties to be paid by the foreigners, who, in accordance with the principles of Muḥammadan Law, were considered as *muste'min*. On account of the various wars, those with Venice had to be renewed after each peace concluded (1454, 1479, 1502, 1540). Only afterwards the capitulations took the character of bilateral international treaties. It was after the same model that the famous capitulation of 1535 was granted to France, but the political side of this instrument was much more important than in the capitulations with the Italian republics; it is the beginning of the normalisation of Turkey's international position in the following period.

The civilisation of the Ottoman Empire of the later Middle Ages was not yet separated from central and western Europe by the wide gap that became characteristic for later centuries. It has even been pointed out that the friendly relations between Muḥammad II and Italian princes and artists and his liking for pictorial art entitles him in a way to a place among the renaissance rulers of the time (Tschudi, *op. cit.*, p. 19). Soon afterwards, however, the Muḥammadan attitude to life began to be again more predominant.

6. Third Period (1566—1699).

At the end of the reign of Suleimān I the Ottoman Empire found itself between two powerful continental neighbours: the Austrian monarchy in Europe and the Ṣafawid empire in Asia. In Europe the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Hungary were the bulwarks against Austria, while farther to the east the half independent principalities of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Tatar Crimea were allowed to exist; from the Turkish point of view also Poland with its Cossacks, and even Muscovy held similar intermediate positions between the two empires; during this period Turkey raised more than once claims to the suzerainty of the last-mentioned countries. In Asia the geographical situation did not allow for the existence of this intermediary kind of state, with the exception of Georgia, which was invaded and brought under Turkish authority in 1578. In Asia, however, the Turkish feudal system left places for a number of petty local rulers who were given the title of Pasha. They were found on the Persian frontier in Kurdistān (the princes of Bitlis), but also in Syria (the Druse emirs). The *sharif* of Mecca occupied likewise a vassal position, while Yaman, after its reconquest in 1568—1570, was again partly a more direct Ottoman possession. After 1550 the Turks had even obtained a footing in Maṣṣawā on the African coast and had begun to interfere with Abyssinian affairs; the opportunities here came to an end after the unlucky war of 1578. Egypt was at this time still somewhat under the control of the Turkish Pasha [cf. *MAMIUKS*]; the Barbary states were nearly independent; the *sharif* of Morocco recognized in 1580 the authority of the Turkish sultan.

This general political system of the empire was maintained throughout the third period, a kind of equilibrium being established between the Ottoman Empire and the great continental powers.

Under Selim II, or rather under the administration of Mehmed Sokollī Pasha, Cyprus was conquered (1570—1571), but this conquest occasioned immediately the naval defeat in the battle of Lepanto [q. v.] in 1571, considered to be the first great military blow inflicted on the Turks. The impossibility of further military expansion brought about an inner weakening of the Empire that was marked on the whole by unsuccessful campaigns against Austria (defeat of Keresztes in 1596) and against Persia (loss of Tabriz and Eriwān in 1603 and 1604) and found its expression in the unfavourable peace treaty of Zsitvatorok with Austria in 1606 and the peace of 1612 with Persia, then under the strong rule of Shāh 'Abbās the Great. In the last decade of the xvth century, Transylvania and the Rumanian principalities even made themselves for some time independent; from 1572

Poland also played often an active role in the complicated political and military course of events on these northern frontiers of the Turkish Empire. The raids of the Cossacks in the Crimea had not yet the dangerous aspect of a century later, when the Muscovite power began to appear on the horizon. A favourable circumstance for Turkey was the weakening of Central Europe by the Thirty Years War; among the west-European countries the already existing friendly relations with France, followed in 1580 by England and in 1603 by Holland were on the whole profitable for the Empire, while Spain had ceased since the end of the century to be a serious maritime danger. In view of the never very strong maritime position of Turkey, the relations with Venice remained subject to surprises on both sides, such as the annexation of Cyprus; during the xviith century this was followed by the not less astonishing conquest of Crete (1645–1666) and about 1655 by the important Venetian conquests in Morea and in the archipelago, so that for a moment even Constantinople was threatened. Still the relations with Venice were on the whole friendly, Turkey being the stronger power on account of its continental position. On the Asiatic frontier Turkey's weakness led temporarily to the loss of Bagh^hdād in 1623 and a renewed Persian danger. But here the old position of the Empire was restored by the revival of its military strength under Murād IV; under his reign and after Shāh 'Abbās' death Persia was invaded by Ottoman troops, Eriwān and Tabriz, and finally Bagh^hdād reconquered (1638); in 1639 there began a long period of peace with Persia. After 1640 the stronger position of the Empire was used, as well as for the conquest of Crete, for strengthening the authority of the Porte in Transylvania and the Danube principalities, and for a fortification of the frontier to the north of the Black Sea, where Azov was taken from the Cossacks, now under Muscovite authority, and fortified in 1660. In this same year the hostilities with the now recovered Austria began again and took at first a crusading character; even France was this time an ally of Austria (Turkish defeat of St. Gothard 1664). But this was only a prelude to the final struggle with Austria that began in 1683 with the unsuccessful siege of Vienna and finished in 1688 with the loss of the Ottoman province of Hungary, and the invasion of the Balkan peninsula by Austrian armies, followed at last by the peace of Carlowitz (1699) in which Turkey, considerably weakened again, had to give up nearly the whole of Hungary and its claim on Transylvania, while it had to recognize the authority of Venice in Morea.

The weakening of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of this period was mainly due to domestic reasons. During the xviith century it had already been observed that the Empire in this form could only subsist by continuous warfare; it had to be adapted now to peaceful conditions and this went beyond the possibilities of the personal rule of the sultan, which was based essentially on military conquest. The successors of Suleimān the Great were not equal to the task of meeting these new conditions; it is true that Muḥammad III, 'Othmān II and Muḥammad IV occasionally accompanied their armies, but Murād IV was the last sultan to revive the military traditions of his dynasty, the last real ghāzī. So the sultans, whatever their personal qualities were, became less directly concerned

in the administration of the state, though their personality remained surrounded with the traditional veneration. This did not prevent, however, the deposition and murder of 'Othmān II in 1628, nor the deposition of Ibrāhīm in 1648 and of Muḥammad IV in 1688. Instead of the sultans, the statesmen and generals became now more prominent, first in time and in importance Mehmed Sokollī Pasha [q.v.] under Selim II, Sinān Pasha [q.v.], the great enemy of the Austrians, under Muḥammad III, Murād Pasha [q.v.] and Khalil Pasha [q.v.] under Aḥmad I and 'Othmān II; and in the second half of the century the great members of the Köprülü family: Mehmed Pasha, his son Aḥmad Pasha and their cousin Muṣṭafā Pasha; to the same period belonged also Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha [q.v.], the besieger of Vienna in 1683. These military statesmen belonged to the numerically feeble renegade class and were supporters of the typical Ottoman government system as it had been perfected under Suleimān I, but they did not represent any considerable group of the strongly diverging population of the empire. There was not yet an Ottoman-Turkish nation. Several other groups were competing with them in the direction of the state affairs; the most formidable being the military corps of the Janissaries and the Sipāhī's, who several times, especially after serious military defeats as at the time of the enthronement of Murād IV in 1632 and of Muḥammad IV's deposition in 1688, were masters of the political situation. The Janissaries were now even less recruited in the ancient way from the Christian populations, while many abuses had ruined the former discipline of their corps. Several grand viziers fell victims to their fury. Another powerful group, that made occasional use of these military elements, was the court circle, led several times by a powerful Wālide Sultān or by a Kızlar Aghası. Finally the 'ulamā' with the Shāikh al-Islām succeeded repeatedly in playing a decisive part in the direction of the state affairs (e.g. the mufti Sa'd al-Dīn under Muḥammad III); the deposition of Sultan Ibrāhīm was sanctioned by *fatwā* of the Shāikh al-Islām. These symptoms of decay were truly analysed in Koçī Bey's [q.v.] famous *Risāla*. Only Murād IV was able to suppress, often by violent means, the influence of these different groups; he succeeded even in raising a new military force (the Segbāns) alongside of the Janissaries. In the capital there were several times outbursts of religious fanaticism directed against the Christians, as happened under Ibrāhīm I, but it cannot be said that political events were influenced by them; the great statesmen showed on the contrary a remarkable tolerance.

The non-Muslim element, though excluded from all direct influence on the government, had adapted itself to the circumstances. A new Greek aristocracy had arisen in Constantinople, which by wealth and intrigue had powerful relations in Turkish circles, as well as in the leading circles of the Christian principalities on the Danube; they likewise were able to control the nomination of the Greek patriarchs. To this time belongs also the definite turn of the Ottoman Greeks towards Greek orthodoxy under the influence of the patriarch Cyrilus Lucaris (executed in 1638); the consequence was a decisive rupture with the Roman Christian world and indirectly a strengthening of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Turks had still many religious traditions in common with the Greeks, and Christian

saints were also venerated in Turkish circles. Next to the Greeks the Jewish element, considerably strengthened since the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews under Bāyazid I, played a great social role, chiefly as bankers; the best known representative of this group was Joseph Nassy, the favourite of Selīm II.

The lower classes in Asia Minor participated as little in the direction of the state as those of European Turkey. Some dangerous revolts proved, however, that the old religious traditions of the xiiith and xivth century had not wholly disappeared. In 1599 began the movement of *Ḳara Yazıdjı* [q.v.] in Urfa; much more dangerous for the unity of the Empire was the revolt of *Ḳalender Oghlu* in *Şarukhān* (1606), who ruled for some years independently over a great part of western Anatolia, until he was crushed by *Murād Pasha*. Soon afterwards, 1623—1628, took place the insurrection of *Abāza* [q.v.], the relentless persecutor of the Janissaries. Farther to the east the movement for independence under the *Kurd Djanbulat* [q.v.] in Northern Syria like that of the *Druse Fakhr al-Din* [q.v.] in the Lebanon had to be tolerated to some extent. The inclination to mysticism and veneration for mystic *shaiḳhs* (such as *Maḥmūd* of *Skutari*, where several grand viziers found asylum under 'Oṯmān II) continued its hold on all classes of the population; several new mystic orders were founded during this period. The foreign trade remained as before in the hands of foreigners, Venetians and other Italians; of Italian origin were also many of the leading personalities of the Turkish navy that was rebuilt after the battle of Lepanto, such as *Çiğhale Zāde Sinān Pasha* [q.v.].

7. Fourth period (1699—1839).

During the xviiith century the inevitable action of the elements of decay began to be felt more and more in the empire and brought about a situation that has been, too superficially, described as decadence. The causes of the decline were to be sought mainly within the body politic; they were still the consequences of the transition from a conquering state to a peaceful administration, but they were now ever more exploited by foreign powers. Among these Austria was in the beginning still a formidable opponent; after the war of 1716—1718 the peace of Passarowitz meant the loss of what had been left to Turkey of Hungary and Transylvania, and even of Belgrad, but the peace of Belgrad in 1739, in which this town itself was restored, proved that from the Austrian side the real danger had ceased. Moreover, in 1715, Morea had been reconquered from the Venetians by the grand vizier *Djinn 'Alī Pasha*, which success had shown that Venice also was no more to be feared. A new and formidable enemy had risen, however, in the form of the now much enlarged Russia, which, to the Orthodox Christians of Rumania and Serbia, seemed a more welcome liberator than even Austria had ever been. The war of 1711 with Peter I, intimately connected with the coming of Charles XII of Sweden to Turkey, ended with a Turkish victory at *Poltawa* and brought back *Azov* to the Empire in 1712, and the war of 1732, equally successfully closed by the already mentioned treaty of Belgrad in 1739, was not yet disastrous for Turkey; Russian navigation in the Black Sea was even formally prohibited. After 1739 there followed a period of peace for the empire in Europe. The military and

peaceful relations with Persia during this time were mainly influenced by the political events in that empire, by which the Turks sought to profit. The successes of *Nādir Shāh* in 1730 were for a moment threatening; they even occasioned the deposition of *Aḥmad III*, but at last the peace of 1736 restored the frontiers of the time of *Murād IV*. The real military weakness of the Ottoman Empire was finally revealed in the conflict with Russia that had begun in 1768 with a Turkish declaration of war; this war brought the Russian armies deep into Bulgaria and was ended by the memorable treaty of *Küçük Ḳainardji* in 1774, by which the Crimea became wholly independent (to be annexed in 1783 by Russia), while Turkey had to recognize the Russian protectorate in the Danube principalities. The right of religious protection accorded to the sultan with regard to the *Muḥammadans* in the Crimea, was the beginning of the religious claims of Turkey, that were to acquire such importance in its international relations in the xixth century. After an equally unhappy war with *Ḳerīm Khān* in Persia (1776), in which *Baṣra* was temporarily lost, the Ottoman Empire again suffered serious losses to the Russians by the war of 1784—1792, closed by the peace of *Jassy*; this time the *Dniepr* became the frontier between the two Empires. Austria also had tried to profit by this war and occupied *Bukarest*, but in the separate peace of *Zistowa* (1791) Austria did not gain the expected profits.

During all this time the friendly relations with the western countries, France, England and Holland, to which Sweden was added in 1737, Denmark in 1756 and Prussia in 1763, had often been of great value to Turkey by the services rendered by them as intermediaries in the peace negotiations; especially France, which obtained in 1740 its well-known final capitulation, had considerable influence by its right to protect the Roman Catholics. At the end of the century, however, the Ottoman Empire began to be a factor in the new imperialistic schemes of the western powers, in connection with their colonial acquisitions and political influences in Southern Asia. These colonial interests did not show at that time any wish to possess Ottoman territory, but the rising colonial powers needed between themselves and their possessions a state over which they could exert control, since they saw the necessity of communicating with the Persian Gulf and India by a more direct way than the southern sea-route. The more immediate cause of the occupation of Egypt by the French in 1798 was the rivalry between France and England; this made for the moment England and even Russia allies of Turkey. But in 1802 peace with France was restored, to be followed some years later by a new war with Russia and hostilities with England (the English fleet before the capital in 1807). By the peace of *Bukarest* (1812) the Ottoman Empire again lost territory (*Bessarabia*) to Russia, while England, after the elimination of France's colonial power in India and the weakening of the Ottoman authority in Egypt, was for the moment satisfied. The Empire was again severely affected by the ups and downs of the Greek insurrection, that began in 1820 and ended in 1830 with the recognition of the independence of Greece, not, however, before a disastrous war with Russia — that had played from the beginning an important part in the Greek

troubles — had obliged Turkey to conclude the peace of Adrianople (1829). Still, the action of the other European powers had prevented Russia from realizing its territorial aims; it had to be contented with a strong political ascendancy over Turkey, as was proved in 1833 by the treaty of Hunkîâr Iskelesi, which, in a secret article, forced Turkey to become Russia's ally in the matter of the navigation in the Black Sea. This unnatural alliance with Russia was occasioned by the action of Mehmed 'Alî of Egypt (begun in 1831), who threatened for a moment to deprive the Empire of Egypt, Syria and Cilicia, but led at the end only to the recognition of Egypt as a privileged part of the Empire under a hereditary dynasty (1840). This time again the intervention of the European powers had been decisive for the territorial status of the empire. The existence of the Ottoman Empire was justly considered as a political necessity; already in 1789 there had been a treaty between Prussia and Austria to guarantee the northern frontiers of the Empire. About the year 1830, moreover, Turkey concluded several new treaties, on the lines of the capitulations, with the United States of America, Belgium, Portugal and Spain. The conquest of Algiers by France (1827—1857) could hardly be called a loss to the empire.

The administrative system of the empire remained much the same during this period; in every direction the central authority was however losing its influence. In the beginning of the xviiith century this was not yet very perceptible. Constantinople was still the brilliant capital of a powerful empire, where the court of Aḥmad III set the example of a luxurious life; to this time falls the curious passion for the cultivation of tulips, that makes the epoch known as *lâle dewri*. To this period also belongs the expansion of higher literary, specifically Ottoman, culture beyond the class of the *ulamâ*; a new class of literates came into existence, who were the precursors of the intellectual Turkish middle class that originated in the beginning of the xixth century. The beginning of Turkish printing in 1727 is likewise intimately connected with the new cultural orientation of the higher classes. Most of them served the government in higher or lower functions, and from this class have come forth grand viziers, such as Dāmād Ibrāhîm and Rāghîb Pasha. This changed considerably the ancient military character of the government system; the home and foreign affairs of the empire were now treated in a more statesmanlike way by the Sublime Porte (Bāb-i 'Alî), and the modest office of the Re'îs al-Kuttāb [q. v.] now became more and more important since the holders began to act as competent ministers of foreign affairs; one of them, Aḥmad Rasmi, is well known as one of the first Ottoman ambassadors. Still this new class of functionaries was, according to tradition, the sultan's slaves; only under Maḥmūd II was their position regulated in a more liberal way. The new cultivated upper classes had manifold relations with the cultivated Greek Phanariots of their time, many of whom occupied high offices in the government service, especially as dragomans (as e. g. Nikusios and Mavrocordato); there were no ties with the lower Muḥammadan classes. Under these governing functionaries the Janissaries and Sipāhî's, now that their discipline was loosened, more than once interfered in a dangerous way. The Janissary rebellion under Patrona Kḥalîl in 1730, which cost Aḥmad III

his throne, seems to have been directed mainly against this new aristocracy. After Aḥmad III court life became much more sober. The ruling classes and most of the sultans with them had begun to realise the weakness of the empire and sought now a remedy in the introduction of military reforms, in which they were aided by several foreigners, of whom the Frenchman Bonneval (died in 1747) is the best known. Another French officer, de Tott, worked in the same direction under Muṣṭafā III, but the Russian war that broke out under this sultan showed how little effective the measures had been. Selîm III undertook the army reforms with much more energy, but even in his time very few leading people had real understanding for these things; the institution of the new troops (*niẓām-i dîdîd*) provoked another formidable rebellion of the Janissaries, seconded by a large percentage of the *ulamâ*. Maḥmūd II, finally, took up the question of reforms with more deliberateness; this sultan finally concluded there was no other way of imposing the reforms than by the famous massacre of the Janissaries in Constantinople on June 16, 1826; at the same time the Bektāshî derwish order was persecuted. The events showed, however, that so far more destructive than constructive work had been done; still this sultan succeeded at least in subjecting a number of powerful semi-independent local dynasts. The weakening of the central authority had indeed been characteristic of the Ottoman Empire of the xviiith century. Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli were ruled by hereditary Beys; only Tripoli was brought by Maḥmūd again under the direct authority of the Porte. Egypt had seen in 1767 the usurpation of 'Alî Bey. In Rûm-ili some powerful vassals had come forth from the ranks of the great timariots: they were called *a'yân*. Under Selîm III and Maḥmūd II the most noteworthy were 'Alî Pasha of Yanina and Pazwân Oghlu at Widdin. In Anatolia there had been in 1739 the dangerous insurrection of Şarî Beg Oghlu, after which the so-called dere-beys were as good as independent, as was also the case in Kurdistan. In Mesopotamia and 'Irāk the same conditions were prevalent; in 1706 was formed in 'Irāk the powerful Bedouin confederation of the Muntafîk, and under Selîm III Baghdād was ruled autocratically by Suleimân Pasha (died in 1810). In Syria the Druses of the Lebanon had their own emîrs, and on the coast ruled, in Selîm III's time, Djazzār Pasha [q. v.] of 'Akka. In Arabia the Wahhābis had taken Mecca in 1803, and Yaman and 'Asir could hardly be called parts of the Turkish empire. On the islands of the archipelago hardly any Turks were to be found; here as in Syria there was strong European influence. Still, although the Ottoman real power had sunk everywhere, the Ottoman type of administration had put its seal on the cultural life of all these different regions; the great Ottoman tradition held them together and enabled Maḥmūd II and the statesmen who, after him, continued the centralisation of the Empire, to keep together their political unity for a century more to come.

8. Fifth period (1839—1922).

In this period the transition of the Ottoman Empire to a national Turkish state was completed, but in a way not intended by the Christian powers, nor expected by the Turkish ruling classes themselves. The new course followed in the admini-

stration by the gradual application of the *Tanzimât* [q. v.] had meant to establish, mainly after the French model, a modern state where all citizens, whatever their religion, had equal political and civil rights, under the direct authority of the Ottoman Government; only Egypt, the Danube principalities and Serbia (since 1815) and in Asia the *Hidjâz* were allowed a privileged position. The ideal of the new Ottoman State was, however, far from the democratic ideals that worked in Europe and which by now began to show their effect, especially among the Christian populations. The democratic revolutionary movement of 1849 in Moldavia and Wallachia was equally opposed by Turkey and by Russia, but had as result the convention of Balta Liman, by which the Turkish authority in these principalities was reduced to a negligible point. When Russia, as a result of a conflict over the holy places in Jerusalem, invaded again the principalities, in 1853, the Ottoman Empire found England and France at its side; this was the beginning of the Crimean war. By the peace treaty of Paris (1856) the integrity of the Empire seemed secured. In reality the intervention of England and France and soon again of Russia was now more firmly established than ever. This was not only the case in political questions, as for instance the armed intervention in the Syrian troubles of 1845 and 1860, after the troubles of Djidda in 1858, and in the international regulation of the position of Crete in 1866. For the influence of the foreign powers was likewise extended to many points of inner administration, which kind of intervention was made possible by the capitulations. These originally unilateral privileges were looked upon now as bilateral treaties, but their contents had become incompatible with the new state conception that the *Tanzimât* tried to realize. From 1856, indeed, the Porte had tried in vain to get rid of this international servitude, which, at the end of the sixteenth century, had taken the character of a collective tutelage of all countries possessing capitulations. Not till 1914 did the conflict between the European powers enable the Turkish government to put the capitulations aside.

In 1862 the Ottoman government was able to restore its authority in Montenegro and the Herzegovina, while, on the other hand, Serbia, and the two Danube principalities, since 1861 united in one state, recovered a nearly complete independence in 1865. Twelve years later the Bulgarian troubles again brought about an armed conflict with Russia, which country, in 1870, had already broken the conventions of 1856 about the Black Sea. The preliminaries of San Stefano (1878), mitigated by the Treaty of Berlin (1879), brought the definite loss of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania, while Bulgaria was constituted a semi-dependent principality; on the Caucasian frontier Turkey lost *Çars* and Batum, and Great Britain obtained the administration of the isle of Cyprus. This abandonment of England's policy hitherto followed of respecting the integrity of Ottoman territory was followed in 1882 by the occupation of Egypt [cf. *KHEDIW*]. The remaining dates in the dismemberment of Turkey in Europe are the Greco-Turkish war (1897), by which the Greek territory was enlarged towards the north, the autonomy of Crete (1898) and, after the deposition of 'Abd al-Hamid, in 1909 the declaration of independence of Bulgaria and the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina

by Austria. Then, after Tripoli had been lost in the war with Italy (1912, peace of Lausanne), the Balkan war of 1912—1913 reduced the territory of Turkey in Europe to Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople, which town had even been occupied for some time by the Bulgarians.

During the sixteenth century the relations with Persia had been on the whole peaceful; conflicts were only occasioned by frontier questions, such as the dispute about the authority over the Kurdish territory of *Suleimāniye*, which was settled in 1847 in favour of Turkey. The territory round the Persian Gulf had come more and more under the control of the British, but the territorial status in Asia remained for a long time unchanged. In the meantime Turkey had been drawn gradually into the economic expansion schemes of the German Empire as manifested by the project of the Baghdad railway; this diminished England's interest in the territorial integrity of the Ottoman State. So, when in the first year of the world war, Turkey was not able to maintain its neutrality and joined the central powers, Russia and England co-operated for the first time to take away Turkish territory. The attempts of the Allies to enter the Dardanelles by sea and by land failed however during the war; but the combined action of the French and English troops in Palestine and Syria, and the different English campaigns in *Irāk* and Mesopotamia succeeded at last in conquering these provinces from the Ottoman armies. In Syria they were aided by forces of the *Sharif* of Mecca, who had made himself independent in 1917 as King of the *Hidjâz*. The Russians, in the meantime, had made considerable progress in north-eastern Anatolia, but from this side the danger came abruptly to an end with the Russian Revolution, and the peace of Brest-Litowsk (August 3, 1918) gave back to Turkey the lost territory, besides *Çars*, *Ardahan* and Batum. Soon afterwards the war with the other powers came to an end by the armistice of Mudros (October 30, 1918). Subsequently Constantinople was occupied by Allied troops; France occupied the whole of northern Syria and Cilicia, England occupied the not yet conquered parts of northern Mesopotamia, including *Mōsul*, and Italian troops landed in Adalia. Greece was allowed to occupy eastern Thrace and Smyrna in May 1915. All this the Constantinople government had to witness passively. The Turkish parliament, convoked in January 1920, took for a moment a firmer attitude by adopting the so-called National Pact (*mithak-i milli*); but when in March the occupation of Constantinople was rendered more severe, the parliament was dissolved. Finally, in August, the Ottoman Government was compelled to sign the Treaty of *Sèvres*, by which large parts of the remaining Ottoman territory, including Constantinople and Smyrna, were brought under the control of one or more foreign powers. In the meantime another, interior, enemy had risen against the Ottoman Government as a result of the organized national opposition against the foreign occupations, especially the Greeks' landing in Smyrna. In the course of 1920 the Constantinople government lost gradually all control over Anatolia and the measures undertaken with Allied help to restore its authority failed. Under the growing successes of the nationalists the authority of the Sultan's government dwindled down ever more, and the Great National Assembly of Angora was able at last to pronounce on November 1, 1922 the abolition of the Constan-

tinople Government and the deposition of Sultan Muhammad VI Wahid al-Din. This meant nothing less than the extinction of the Ottoman Empire and its dynasty. Constantinople and eastern Thrace were occupied by nationalist troops and the last Sultan left his capital, that now ceased to be the capital of Turkey. The only remnant of the dynastic tradition was that 'Abd al-Medjid, son of Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz, continued to reside in Constantinople as *Khalifa*. This dignity was abolished by decree of the Great National Assembly of March 2, 1924; 'Abd al-Medjid, as well as all other members of the dynasty of 'Othman were at the same time banished from Turkey.

Such was the outcome of a long series of events, in which the inner development of the empire played no less a part than the outward political circumstances. The "tanẓimāt" period, in fact, was a no less powerful factor in the dissolution than the political interest of foreign powers. The "tanẓimāt" was a more deliberate continuation of the reforming measures under Selim III and Mahmud II and it was by no means the execution of a programme supported by a large group of the population. Rashid Pasha, 'Ali Pasha and their helpers wanted to turn Turkey into a modern state ruled by a council of ministers, whose president kept the title of *ṣadr-i a'ẓam*, but their methods were those of an absolute government in the name of the sultans, who did not in the beginning interfere. When, however, the first real constitution was elaborated by Midhat Pasha, it happened that the new Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid preferred to govern himself, and with the same absolutist methods as his predecessors; only his aim became ever less the copying of a western European state, but rather the strengthening and the securing of the position of the sovereign, to which end there was finally developed the notorious system of censorship and espionage which has made known this period in Turkish history as *dewr-i istibdad*. This period cannot be called reactionary in that it abolished the institutions of the "tanẓimāt"; it opposed only some consequences of the reforms. The reforms had brought into existence a middle class of intellectuals of Turkish speech and Islāmic religious tradition, mostly divided between the army and the state functionaries and, in a less degree, the 'ulamā'. These intellectuals, of very different extraction, had developed a new ideal of patriotism, as reflected most eloquently in Nāmilik Kemāl's *Watan*, and they had begun to form a public opinion that claimed a certain influence in the government of the state. About this time was also born the Turkish daily press [cf. DJARIDA]. Gradually, as this social group took more definite forms, it became ever more separated from the different groups of the Christian and Jewish population, and also from the non-Turkish speaking Muhammadans in the Asiatic provinces. At the same time, however, the general religious controversy between Christianity and Islām had been deepened since the beginning of the 19th century as a result of the subjection of many Muhammadan countries to the rule of Christian powers. By this process was generated the pan-Islāmic feeling and Constantinople, as the capital of the relatively most powerful independent Islāmic state, became the political capital of Islām. With a great many of the Turkish intellectuals, and among them chiefly the 'ulamā', the pan-Islāmic feeling surpassed the still somewhat vague patriotism.

Moreover the Islāmic sentiment found sympathy with the lower classes of the Turkish population, still strongly imbued with mystical traditions and with the non-Turkish Muhammadans of the Empire. 'Abd al-Hamid, while emphasizing his dignity as *Khalifa*, relied mainly on Islāmic sentiment, though, in course of time, the persons who surrounded the ever more suspicious monarch came to be of the worst kind. Utterances of patriotism were opposed in the most drastic way and many intellectuals had to take refuge abroad. The growing opposition against the *istibdad* found at last a means of organizing itself in the province of Macedonia, since 1906 governed by a Turkish governor under European control. Saloniki became the centre of the new patriotic, more conscious, Young Turkish movement, led by the Committee of Unity and Progress (*ittihād u-terakki*) and supported to a great extent by the army. Its influence obliged the sultan to promulgate again the constitution of Midhat Pasha on June 24, 1908 and to abolish at once the onerous system of censorship and espionage. In November the first Ottoman parliament came together, but in the troubled years that followed this parliament never had the opportunity to exert a real influence on the government. On April 13, 1909, followed an attempt to reestablish the Sultan's former authority; this time the Young Turkish cause could only be saved by the occupation of the capital by the Macedonian army and the deposition of the Sultan (April 27). Then, for a time, Ottomanism became the political ideal, meaning the equality of all Islāmic and non-Islāmic elements in the state. But it soon appeared that these elements were already too much estranged from each other, so that the foundation of a strong state on these principles became impossible. The Young Turks, under the influence of the ideas of Panturkism, began now a policy with the final object of making the Ottoman Empire a state where the Turkish element should be predominant; they turned to the lower Turkish speaking classes, especially in Anatolia, to form a real Turkish nation. Panislāmism, too, was propagated again by several persons as a way of attending this aim, but this course was gradually abandoned, although used occasionally for outward political manifestations. The very unfavourable international development after the revolution, however, brought the Young Turkish rulers to measures that certainly were not originally on the programme, such as the Armenian massacres during the war and the severe government in Syria. And as a consequence of the final loss of nearly all non-Turkish territory in the war, Turkish nationalism was born at last, the simplest and at the same time the most effective form of Turkish patriotism, not hampered by any ideas of religion or original racial connections.

The statesmen who had carried out the "Tanẓimāt" programme had been careful not to offend the religious scruples of the leaders of orthodox Islām. In spite of the remonstrances of foreign representatives no measures were taken that were in direct conflict with the *shari'a*, though the application in practice might have been changed. The *shari'a* was also the basis of the new Civil Code or *Medjelle* [q. v.]. In Midhat's constitution, Islām was declared the state religion and the Shaikh al-Islām was given a rank as high as the grand-vizier. This wise religious policy could not prevent, however, occasional religious outbursts of which

Christians were the victims, as in 1858 at Djidda and in 1860 at Damascus, both places situated outside the purely Turkish provinces. Under 'Abd al-Hamid religious activity was mainly under the influence of panislāmism, shown in the various attempts to enter into relations with Muḥammadans in all parts of the world. Even the Young Turkish government did not refrain from proclaiming the Holy War on its entering into the world war. In their inner administration the Young Turks clearly opposed the influence of the religious authorities, as was proved by their attempt in 1917 to bring the medreses under the administration of the ministry of Public Instruction. Another break with the Islāmic tradition was the reform of the calendar. In 1789 the Greek Julian calendar had already been introduced officially for the financial administration but by a curious compromise the era of the Hidjra (*sene-i mālīye*) was preserved; and in 1917 the Gregorian calendar was adopted. The Christian era came gradually into use after the war.

It was also by the "Tanẓīmāt" that domestic administration was separated from the military by the laws concerning the *wilāyets*. The chief occupation of the home department was still for a long time the tax-gathering. The europeanisation and centralisation of the financial system proved to be one of the chief difficulties, as a reliable corps of functionaries had to be created at the same time. After the Crimean war, Turkey was able to conclude a number of foreign loans, but the money was not well administered nor well used. In 1876 a state bankruptcy had to be declared with foreign intervention as a consequence and the establishment of the service of the Public Debt, which was very much resented in all Turkish circles. A serious hindrance for the recovery of the finances was also the antiquated custom rules of the capitulations, although the original dues of 3% were several times raised. After the Revolution, however, the greatest difficulties seemed to have been overcome.

The new Turkish army created gradually by conscription, after the extinction of the Janissaries, had during this period many occasions to show its valour. It contributed considerably to the strengthening of the patriotic Turkish spirit and played an important role in the Revolution. After 1856 it was theoretically admitted that Christians and Jews also could be enrolled, but in practice they always liberated themselves by paying an exemption tax. It was only after the revolution that these non-Turkish elements also became Turkish soldiers.

9. The national Turkish state (since 1922).

The nucleus of the new Turkish state was the opposition to the foreign occupations after the armistice of Mudros. The organisation of the opposition began in 1919 under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, who had gone at first to Asia Minor as army inspector. The first stage was the Congress of Erzerūm (July 23, 1919), followed by the Congress of Siwās (September 11). Here a Representative Committee (*Hey'et-i temthīlīye*) was formed under the presidency of Muṣṭafā Kemāl, and this Committee was charged with the execution of the new national programme; the armed opposition of the *kuwāyī millīye* against the occupation of Smyrna was supported and the landing of English

troops in Samsūn, as well as the attack on Iznik from Constantinople were frustrated. In 1920, after the Constantinople parliament had been dissolved, many deputies escaped to Asia Minor, where in Anḳara, on April 23, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was convoked by the Representative Committee. The Assembly gave itself legislative and executive powers and appointed a governing committee (*hey'et-i vekīle*) under Kemāl Pasha's presidency. In 1921 began the struggle with the Greek troops (battles of İn Öñü on January 11 and March 31), followed in July by a Greek advance as far as Eski Şehir. This advance was ended by a Greek defeat on September 13. In the meantime, the new national government had entered into relations with the Allies; by the treaty of November 20, 1921, France restored Cilicia. As other negotiations did not lead to definite results, the Anḳara government decided in August 1922 on an attack on the Greek forces and gained a decisive victory at Dumlū Buṅar; on September 9 Smyrna was recovered and for a short time it seemed that Constantinople was threatened. By the armistice of Mudania (October 10) the national government obtained the right to occupy Thrace and Constantinople, which was effected in the following weeks. Therewith the war was finished, and after difficult negotiations the peace treaty of Lausanne (July 23, 1923) established peaceful relations between the Allies and the new Turkey, this country being recognized as a completely independent state. The peace treaty had left undecided the question of the wilāyet of Mōşul, the restitution of which was claimed by the Turks; after great efforts of the League of Nations, Turkey and England came at last to an arrangement by which Mōşul was left to 'Irāk (June 5, 1926). The new Turkey had already concluded a consular treaty with Russia in November 1922; after the peace of Lausanne relations of friendship and commerce were successively renewed with other countries. The relations with England and Russia are now the most important in Turkish foreign policy.

Since the Turkish constitution of April 20, 1924, Turkey is a Republic. Ghāzī Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha has been state president (*re'is-i dījumhūriyet*) from the beginning. Constantinople has fallen from the rank of capital and has been replaced by Anḳara, the Medīna of the new Turkey. The Grand National Assembly has displayed since 1922 a considerable legislative activity in order to adapt the country to its new conditions and to modernise its institutions. In religious matters the new rulers have taken deliberately the way of laicization, after the abolition of the Caliphate in March 1924. There is no longer a *Shāikh* al-Islām and no Minister of *Ewḳāf*.

In September 1925 the Tekkes of the mystic orders were closed and these orders themselves interdicted. These measures, directed against the traditional popular forms of religious expression, were a consequence of the great rebellion of the Kurds under *Shāikh* Sa'īd, which began at the end of 1924. Similarly in September 1925 the *fez* was abolished as head-dress; only the 'ulamā' were henceforth allowed to wear the turban. A noteworthy reform was the official introduction of the Latin alphabet and the abolition of the use of Arabic letters in 1928, which measure had also an anti-clerical aspect. The principal aim of these and other measures is, to raise the Turkish people to a higher cultural level;

their application has repeatedly provoked resistance in several parts of the country among circles attached to traditional institutions. Still the national evolution aimed at by the republican government has in any case more chances of success than ever before, as the large majority of the population is now really Turkish or turkicised. Many *muhâdjir*'s had returned already after the Balkan war to Asia Minor and the population exchanges with Greece have likewise increased the Turkish majority.

A comprehensive collection of the historical facts since 1918 is to be found in G. Jäschke and E. Pritsch, *Die Türkei seit dem Weltkriege, Geschichtskalender 1918—1928*, in *Die Welt des Islams*, x., 1927—1929, containing also extensive bibliographical notes on the new Turkey. An independent survey of this period is contained in the article *Türkiye Dümhuriyeti*, in *Khalil Edhem, Dünvül-i İslâmiye*, Istanbul 1927, p. 331.

Bibliography: Among the sources of Ottoman political history the historiographical literature of the Ottoman Turks themselves takes the first place. For this literature it is sufficient to refer to F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927. The study of documentary sources is still in its beginnings; historical documents have been published in various places, as in the *T. O. E. M.* (*T. T. E. M.*) and in the works of the Turkish historian Ahmed Refik. Some of the *Ḳānūn-nāmes* have been published in *T. O. E. M.* and other Turkish publications. For the treaties of the Ottoman Empire a most valuable collection is to be found in Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, iv. vols., Paris 1897—1903. On the epigraphical sources there are important monographs, such as those of Khalil Edhem and the more recent publications of Mubârek Ḡhalib. The chief work on Ottoman Numismatics is still Isma'îl Ḡhalib, *Takwīm-i Meskūkāt-i 'Othmāniye*, Constantinople 1307, besides other publications (such as Ahmed Refik, *'Othmānî Imperatorluḡunda Meskūkāt*, in *T. T. E. M.*, No. 6, 7, 8, 10; *British Museum Catal. Oriental Coins.*, vol. viii.).

Of non-Turkish literary sources the Oriental ones have been partly treated by Babinger in his bibliographical work. Among the Western sources the Byzantine historians are of extraordinary importance for the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles, Critobulos). Since the xvth century a very important place is also taken by the *Rrelazioni* of the Venetian bailos, to be consulted in the great publications of Albéri (Florence 1839—1863) and Barozzi and Berchet (Venice 1856—1877). To them were added in course of time the reports of the representatives of other governments that entered into relations with the Ottoman Porte. To the same category may be reckoned the numerous descriptions of travels in the Ottoman Empire by European travellers, beginning in the xvth century. Not sharply separated from the travel literature are the many descriptions of the Turks and of the Ottoman Empire, of which the best known is d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i.—iii., Paris 1787—1820. This kind of literature continued all through the sixteenth century (the important works of Ubicini) and the beginning of the xxth century.

The first great general work on Ottoman Turkish history was Josef von Hammer's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. i.—x., Pest 1827—1835; zweite verbesserte Ausgabe, vol. i.—iv., Pest 1834—1836 (French translation by J. J. Hellert, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i.—ix., Paris 1835—1843). This work is for the greater part based on Turkish literary sources and ends with the peace of Küçük Kainardji in 1774; vol. x. contains an extensive list of works concerning Ottoman History, that had appeared in Europe until 1774. A work of the same scope is J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. i.—vii. (until 1812), Hamburg 1840 and Gotha 1854—1863; Zinkeisen uses Western sources much more than von Hammer, but does not draw directly from original Turkish sources. The same is the case with N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. i.—v. (until 1912), Gotha 1908—1913. The *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* of de la Jonquière, vol. i.—ii., Paris 1914, is important for its historical treatment of the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Among the several works that treat only a certain period of Ottoman history may be mentioned G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei* (1826—1856), Leipzig 1866.

As a result of the greater interest in Turkish history after the war, there began to be published in 1922 the *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, by F. von Kraelitz and P. Wittek; it is much to be regretted that this publication has had to cease after only two years.

Ottoman history has begun to be studied more and more in Turkey itself since the revolution of 1908. Since 1910 was published the *Ta'rikh-i 'Othmānî Endjümeni Medjmu'ası*, the name of which was changed, after the war, to *Türk Ta'rikh Endjümeni Medjmu'ası*; the last number in Arabic script was No. 19 (96). This valuable publication contains a great number of historical contributions, but other publications too (such as the *medjmu'a* of the Literary Faculty and the two vols. of *Türkiyat Medjmu'ası*, Istanbul 1925 and 1928) contain important articles on historical subjects. The *Ta'rikh Endjümeni* has made possible, moreover, the publication of considerable historical monographs in its series *Külliyât*. A comprehensive survey of recent historical studies in Turkey is to be found in the series of articles by P. Wittek in *O.L.Z.* under the title *Neuere wissenschaftliche Literatur in osmanisch-türkischer Sprache* (since 1928). A complete new History of the Ottoman Empire has not yet been written in Turkey; there has already appeared, however, the first volume of an *'Othmānî Ta'rikh-i* by Nedjib 'Aşim and Mehmed 'Arif, Istanbul 1335 (1917).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TÜRKÜ is the usual name for the folk-song in Ottoman Turkish. It is to be distinguished from *mani* [q.v.] on the one hand and from *şarkî*, on the other. The distinction between *türkü* and *mani* lies in the fact that the former are polystrophic and the latter monostrophic. This distinction is not however always observed. In many districts of Ottoman Turkish the people know only the name *türkü* and use it without distinction in speaking of mono- or polystrophic songs. As to the distinction between *türkü* and *şarkî*, the

former are genuine folk-songs, the latter more artificial in character. The former go back to proto-Turkish models and have marked analogies among other Turkish peoples, while the latter belong to the sphere of Muslim culture and follows Arabic and Persian models. The language of the *türkü* is therefore as a rule much purer Turkish than that of the *şarkî*.

As to the form of the *türkü* it is written in a syllabic rhythm or accented syllable rhythm in rhymed strophes. The single lines contain 7 to 15 syllables; the seven (4-3, 3-4, rarely 2-3-2) and the eleven syllables (usually 4-4-3 and 6-5) are the most frequent. It is worth noting that the nine syllabled form, so popular among the Kasan Tatars, is not found among the Ottomans. The rhyme is in the great majority of cases purely grammatical and owes its origin, as in Turkish generally, to the combination of two factors: the construction of the strophe in two parts and the linguistic conditions of the Turkish language. The effect of the former was to cause the Turkish strophe to fall into two rigidly parallel sentences; of the latter that these sentences, especially towards the end, represent two series of grammatical forms corresponding to one another. With the agglutinative character of the Turkish language however such forms must rhyme with one another. Turkish rhyme is therefore as a rule polysyllabic. Rhymes extending over three or more final syllables are not at all rare.

The strophes of the *türkü* number two, three or four lines; three lined strophes are the most common and are the most characteristic of Ottoman poetry in general. The three lined strophe with the same rhyme *aaa* throughout seems to have arisen out of the quatrain common to all the Turkish languages rhyming *abab* by dropping the third unrhymed line. This as a rule destroys the bipartite character of the strophe. The single separate songs are as a rule made up of similar strophes: the only exceptions are the refrain strophes so common in love-songs and the final strophes sometimes found in longer songs. In songs collected from the lips of the people we may often find marked corruptions of the poetical form, a circumstance which points to the gradual disintegration of long poems that have been handed down for a considerable time.

As regards the subject, the *türkü* are predominantly lyrical poems. They include love-songs, soldier-songs, religious hymns, Ramadan songs of the *bekî* night-watchmen, which usually have a dash of humour in them, etc. Special mention may be made of one variety of love-songs, the poems in the popular romances, in so far as they are not artificial products (cf. D. Spies, *Türkische Volksbücher*, Leipzig 1929, p. 41 sqq.). The soldier-songs frequently contain allusions to historical events. We can observe how old songs are continually being adapted by slight alterations to new events as they crop up. In favourable circumstances one can trace these adaptations through many stages. The love-songs in the form of dialogue deserve special mention, such as for example, the ballad *Türkmen Kızı* ("The Turkoman maid") first made known by Kúnos. It is not necessary to assume that this form arises out of the Persian dialogue-ghazal (Jacob, *Die türkische Volksliteratur*, p. 19). Such poems in the form of a dialogue between a young man

and a maid, recited or sung, are common to all branches of the Turks. It is evidence of their independent Turkish origin that they are found in lands where the influence of Muslim culture is very weak or does not exist at all (cf. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i. 493 on singing matches in Kirghiz between a youth and a maid) and among the Altai Turks (cf. e.g. the Telegt dialogue poem *Myrat Pi* in Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur*, i. 200-204). The *türkü* are true songs, i.e. they are intended to be sung to music. It often happens however that the texts do not at all fit the melodies with which they now appear associated. In these cases the number of syllables in the text has to be adapted to the number of notes in the melody by artificial means. As the lines are usually too short, the equation is usually done by inserting superfluous exclamations like *vay vay, aman aman, validem, annem*, etc. or by quite nonsensical expletives like *gug gug, lilla tarilla*, etc. The texts of the *türkü* are often completely broken up by such parasitic intrusions.

Türkü songs are also used to accompany popular productions of trances.

Bibliography: G. Jacob, *Die türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901, p. 19 sqq.; T. Kowalski, *Ze studjów nad formą poezji ludów tureckich*, i., Krakau 1922, p. 61-102; Ahmad Tal'at, *Khalk şhi'rleriniñ shekil ve nev'i*, Istanbul 1928, p. 32 sqq. (cf. theoreon *Archiv Orientalni*, ii. 505 sqq.); Mahmüd Râghib, *Anadolu türküleri ve musikkî istikbâlimiz*, Istanbul 1928. The fullest collections of Ottoman Turkish folk songs have been made by I. Kúnos. The following of his publications may be mentioned:

Osmân-török népköltési gyűtemény, ii., Budapest 1889, *Nyelvtudományi közlemények*, xxii. (1890), p. 113-156 and 275-284; Radloff's vol. 8 of *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, St. Petersburg 1899; *Chrestomathia turcica*, Budapest 1899; *lanua linguae ottomanicae*, Budapest 1905; *Ada-Kalei török népdalok*, Budapest 1906. Shorter specimens by the same author: *Türkische Volkslieder*, W. Z. K. M., ii. (1888), p. 319-324; iii. (1889), p. 69-76; iv. (1890), p. 35-42; *Kisázsiai török nyelvjáráskok*, Budapest 1896; *Kisázsiai török dialektusairól*, Budapest 1896; *Chansons populaires turques*, Z. D. M. G., liii. (1899), p. 233-255. Shorter or longer specimens of Ottoman Turkish folk-poetry are also contained in: W. A. Maksimow, *Opyt izsledovanija tiurkskich dialektov w Chudawendgariie i Karamanii*, St. Petersburg 1867; A. Alric, *Fragments de poésie turque populaire*, J. A., ser. viii., vol. 14 (1889), p. 143-192; M. Bittner, *Türkische Volkslieder nach Aufzeichnungen von Schaken Efendi Alan*, W. Z. K. M., x. (1896), p. 41-54 and xi. (1897), p. 357-373; E. Littmann, *Türkische Volkslieder aus Kleinasien*, Z. D. M. G., liii. (1899), p. 351-363; W. Pisariw, *Nieskolko słow o trebizondskom dialektie*, Zap. Wost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arch. Ob., xiii. (1901), p. 173-201; B. W. Miller, *Tureckija narodnyja piesni*, *Etnografičeskoje Obozrenije*, iii. (1903), p. 113-155; also with introduction by Krymskij in *Trudy po wostokowiedieniju*, Moscow 1903; F. v. Luschan, *Einige türkische Volkslieder aus Nordsyrien*, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, xxxvi. (1904), p. 177-202; F. Giese, *Erzählungen und Lieder*

aus dem Vilajet Qonjah, Halle a. S.—New York 1907 [cf. thereon Wl. Gordlewski, *Iz nabludienij nad tureckoj pjesniju*, *Etnogr. Obozr.*, lxxix., Moscow 1909]; Hadank, *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder*, M. S. O. S. As., 1919; Wl. Gordlewski, *Obrazcy Osmanskogo tvorčestwa*, i., Moscow 1916; *Trudy po wostokowiedieniju izd. Łazarewskim Institutom*, part 34. A large collection of *türkü* songs with notes was published by the Stambul Conservatoire of Music under the title *Halk türküleri* (Istanbul 1926—1930, 13 parts). Texts of folk-songs have also been published in Turkish ethnological periodicals like *Halk bilgisi haberleri* (Istanbul 1929 sqq.) and *Halk bilgisi mecmuase* (Ankara 1928 sqq.).

On the musical aspect of the *Türkü* cf. O. Abraham and E. Hornborstel, *Phonographierte türkische Melodien*, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, xxxvi. (1904), p. 203—221; B. W. Miller, *Tureckija narodnyja piesni*; T. Kowalski, *Ze studjów nad formą poezji*, i. 97—102; Mahmūd Rāghib, *Anadolu türküleri*. (T. KOWALSKI)

TURSHIZ (Yāqūt: Turshish, Muḳaddasī: Turthith, Turaithith), a town in Persia, capital of the district of Bushit in the province of Nishābūr, four or five stages from the latter town. It was destroyed in 530 (1136); its hereditary governor at that time was al-ʿAmīd Maṣṣūr (or Maṣūd) b. Maṣṣūr al-Zūr Abādī; an enemy to the Bāṭiniya or Ismāʿiliya, he summoned the Turks to aid him to defend his lands, but the latter behaved with their usual greed so that, not being able to continue the struggle, he submitted to the Ismāʿiliya. His son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Maḥmūd recognised the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphs in 545 (1150); receiving no support from them, he fled to Nishābūr and the Ismāʿiliya established their authority in this region. The town was besieged and taken by Timūr (784 = 1382); it was regarded as impregnable on account of its deep moat and high walls, but the water of the moat was pumped out and a mine made a breach in the wall. The garrison was spared and served in Turkestan under the conqueror. Here Timūr received an embassy from Shāh Shudjāʾ, the Muẓaffarid ruler of Fārs, from whom he asked a daughter in marriage for his grandson Pir Muḥammad. During the campaign of ʿAbbās Mirzā against Herāt, Turshiz was taken by Khusrāw-Mirzā in 1248 (1832).

Celebrated natives were Kātibī of Nishābūr, born in a village in the vicinity, Ahlī (d. 934 = 1527—1528) and Zuhūrī (d. 1024 = 1615). In the vicinity was the village of Kishmar where, according to tradition, Zoroaster planted a cypress tree which became famous and was ordered to be destroyed by the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (Firdawsi, *Shāh-Nāme*, ed. Turner Macan, p. 1068, 6; ed. and transl. J. Mohl, iv. 364; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērān. Alterthumskunde*, i. 54, n. 2, 703; Muḥammad Maḍḍī, *Zinat al-Maḍālis*, in Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 390, n.).

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, i. 836; iii. 528; Ibn Ḥawqāl, *B.G.A.*, ii. 291; Muḳaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 318, 352; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 177; Abu ʿl-Fidāʾ, *Géogr.*, i. 443; P. M. Sykes, *J. R. G. S.*, 1911; do. *Hist. of Persia*¹, ii. 83, 201, 424; Edw. G. Browne, *Liter. Hist. of Persia under Tartar Dominion*, p. 186, 487, 488; do., *Liter. Hist. of Persia in Modern Times*, 233, 234, 253.

(CL. HUART)

TURSUN BEG, an Ottoman historian. Tursun Beg whose *makhlas* was Lebibi, is of unknown origin; his father was an uncle (*amūdja*) of the Brusa city bailiff Djubbe ʿAlī and also possessed a fief which soon passed to the son. Tursun Beg took part in the capture of Constantinople and the Rumelian campaigns of Meḥmed II and we find him in the campaign against Trebizond as a clerk in the *diwān* (*diwān kīātibī*); he later became *defterdār* of Anatolia and finally of Rumelia. He still held this office in the reign of Bāyazīd II. The date of his death is not known. Under the title *Tārīkh-i Ebu ʿl-Feth*, Tursun Beg wrote a history of the reign of Sulṭān Meḥmed II and of the first six years of Bāyazīd II. The work, composed between 903—905 (1497—1500), comes down to the year 893 (beg. Dec. 17, 1487). An edition of this *Chronicle* was published by Meḥmed ʿArif Beg as a supplement to *T. O. E. M.*, parts 26—38. On the MSS. cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 26 sq.

Bibliography: F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 26 sq., where further references are given.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

TURSUN FAḲĪH, an Ottoman jurist. Tursun Faḳīh was, like Sulṭān ʿOṯmān the husband of Malkhatun, a son-in-law of Sheikh Ede Balī who died in 726 (1326) aged, it is said, 120, and was buried in Biledjik. He succeeded him as *muderris* and *imām*. In this capacity he accompanied Sulṭān ʿOṯmān on his campaigns and preached the first Friday sermon in Kara Hışār in ʿOṯmān's name and the first Bairām sermon in Eski Shehir. The *Sidjill-i ʿoṯmānī* without any apparent reason gives 726 (1326) as the year of his death. He must therefore have died practically at the same time as Ede Balī and Sulṭān ʿOṯmān.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 56, 77; Tāshkōprüzāde-Medjdi, *al-Shakāʾik al-muʿmāniya*, p. 21; *Sidjill-i ʿoṯmānī*, iii. 254; J. Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm. Turc.*, p. 150, 45 sqq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-TURTŪSHĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-WALĪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. KHALAF B. SULAIMĀN B. AYYŪB AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-FIHRI, an Arab author, see IBN ABĪ RANDAKĀ.

TŪS (original Iranian form Tōs, in Arabic transcription Tūs), a district in Khurāsān.

In the historical period Tūs was the name of a district containing several towns. The town of Nawḳān flourished down to the end of the third (ninth) century. The form Nawḳān < Nōḳān is confirmed by the present name of the Meshhed quarter Noughān (where the diphthong *ou* corresponds to the old *wāw-i madjḥūl*, i. e. *ō*). At a later date, the other town Ṭābarān became more important and was considerably extended so that the original Ṭābarān seems to have become one of the faubourgs of the new town (cf. Idrisi) which then became generally known as Tūs. The name Meshhed, at first a simple sanctuary in the village of Sanābād, is already mentioned in Muḳaddasī. Meshhed first of all encroached upon the adjoining town of Nawḳān, the name of which disappears about 1330. In 1389 Tūs was destroyed and never rebuilt. The waters which supplied it were diverted to Meshhed. Under the Ṣafawids this, the sacred city of the Shīʿis, became the capital of the old district of Tūs (the valley of the Kashaf-rūd) and of all Khurāsān.

Situation. Two ranges of mountains stretch

along the north of *Khurāsān*. The one (Kopetdagh etc.) rises in the north of *Khurāsān* and runs through Transcaspiāna. The other (which is a continuation of the Alburz) is parallel to it in the south. To the south of *Kūcān*, the two approach one another and this narrowing forms the watershed. By the corridor which opens towards the northwest the Atrak descends to the Caspian. Through the plain in the southeast runs the river *Kashaf-rūd* "Tortoise river", a left bank tributary of the *Hārī-rūd* (river of Herāt). The district of *Tūs* lies on the upper part of it. The outer spurs of the southern range (binalūd, with peaks of c. 2,800 feet) separate it from *Nishāpūr*, the waters of which lose themselves to the south in the central desert.

Origins. The nomenclature of the region seems to suggest the presence in *Tūs* of old non-Aryan elements. Regarding the *Kashaf-rūd*, the *Bundahish* says: "The river of *Kāsak* comes out of a ravine of the province of *Tūs* and is there called the river of *Kasp*..." (transl. West, p. 81). Marquart (*Untersuchungen z. Geschichte v. Iran*, ii. 28) traces the names *Kasp* and *Ṭabarān* (town of *Tūs*) to the lost peoples of the *Κάσπιοι* and *Τάβριοι*, of whom traces are found in many places. The Pehlevi list of the towns of Iran (transl. Blochet, in *Recueil des travaux relatifs à la philol. et archéol. égypt. et assyriennes*, xvii., 1895, p. 165-176, §§ 14-15) relates in connection with *Tūs* that the hero *Tōs*, son of *Nōtar*, was *sipahpat* there for 900 years. In the *Shāh-nāma* (ed. Mohl, iv. 255) Kai *Khusrāw* when distributing fiefs gives *Khurāsān* to *Tōs*. Other more explicit stories (*Nushat al-Kulūb*) attribute to *Tūs* (*Tōs*) only the rebuilding of the town of which the actual founder was *Djamshid*, which reflects the pre-Sāsānid date of *Tūs*. According to *Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla*, i. 199, 277 and Sir P. M. Sykes, the ruins of the oldest inhabited place in the district of *Tūs* are at *Shahr-i Band* (or *Ḳahḳaha*) on the right bank of the *Kashaf-rūd* 4 miles S. E. (read S. W. ?) of *Tūs* and 10 miles N. E. of *Meshhed*. The ancient *Tūs* has been connected (Spiegel, *Eran. Altert.*, ii. 539; Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topogr. v. Persien*, i. 219; Marquart, *Untersuch.*, ii. 65; Sykes, *op. cit.*) with *Susia*, a town in the province of *Areia* to which Alexander the Great went from *Parthia* (Arrian, *Anabasis*, xxv., ed. C. Müller, p. 84: *Σουσίαν, πόλιν τῆς Ἀρείας*). As the province of *Areia* (Old Pers. *Haraiva*) was traversed by the *Hārī-rūd* (Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.*, 1878, p. 59) we may be permitted to add to this *Tūs*, situated on the tributary of the *Hārī-rūd*. On the other hand, the change in the original **Sōs* (*Shōs*?) to *Tōs* would have parallels in *Shūstar* > *Tustar* and perhaps in *Shāsh* > *Tāshkand*. [The identification of *Susia* with *Zōzan* by *Khanikov*, *Artacoana*, in *J.A.*, Aug. 1875, p. 235-242 is untenable].

[In his recent publication, *Archäol. Mitteil. aus Iran*, 1930, i./2, 110 and i./3, 182, Herzfeld interprets the Avestan *Taosa nastarānām* as "T. of the cadet branch" and explains it from the fact that *Vištāspa*, father of *Darius* and ancestor of the younger line of the Achaemenids, lived there. According to the Iranian *Bundahish*, the mythical *Vištāspa* removed the fire *Aturburzinmīhr* from *Khwarizm* to Mount *Rōshan* in the land of the *kanārang*].

Sāsānid period. In the Sāsānid period we have very little information about *Tūs*. Legend attributes the death of *Yazdagird I* (420) to a mortal

kick given him by a horse which came from the spring of *Saw*, near Lake *Shahd* (*Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v. 519-523). *Nöldeke*, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, 1879, p. 77-78, thinks that the topographical details have been added by *Firdawsī*. We have therefore to ascertain what the latter actually meant. *Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla* locates this spring at *Čashma-yi Gilās* (Gulasp), one of the eastern sources of the *Kashaf-rūd*, but the *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 241, more in keeping with *Firdawsī*, places it near Lake *Čashma-yi Sabz*, to the west in the mountains between *Tūs* and *Nishāpūr* (cf. *Maṭlaʿ al-Shams*, i. 241).

In 497 we find the first reference to a Nestorian bishop of *Tūs* and *Abarshahr* (= *Nishāpūr*); cf. *Chronicon orientale*, ed. Chabot, p. 311, 316 and Guidi, *Ostsyrische Bischöfe*, *Z.D.M.G.*, xliii. (1888), 410 (under year 499). On Christianity in the Mongol period, cf. below.

According to the Armenian historian *Sebeōs*, the general *Smbat Bagratuni* sent (c. 616-617) by *Khusrāw* against the *Kūshāns* encamped in the district of *Tos* of the province of *Apr-shahr* (= *Nishāpūr*; cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 66).

The Arabic sources are less explicit regarding the administration of *Tūs* before the conquest.

The Arab conquest. According to a story given by *Balādhuri*, p. 334, c. 29 (649) the marzbān of *Tūs* wrote simultaneously to the walis of *Kūfa* and *Baṣra*, inviting them to *Khurāsān*, on condition that the conqueror should put him in possession of this province. *Khurāsān* was conquered under *ʿOthmān* (in 29-31 = 649-661) by the wālī of *Baṣra*, *ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmir b. Kuraiz*. The marzbān of *Nishāpūr* after some resistance agreed to pay a tribute (*waṣīfa*) of 1,000,000 dirhems (another version 7,000,000 dirhems) while the Marzbān of *Tūs* (*Knāztk*; read *Kanārang*) appeared before *ʿAbd Allāh* and made peace by paying 600,000 dirhems (*Balādhuri*, p. 405). One would think that the two marzbāns were different individuals, and *Yaʿqūbī*, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 295, also speaks of a letter from the *malik* of *Tūs* and of *ʿAbd Allāh*'s reply which the descendants (*walad*?) of the *malik* still preserved in his time. According to *Ṭabarī*, i. 2886, however, when *ʿAbd Allāh* had established himself in *Nishāpūr*, the other half of the province, i. e. *Nasā* and *Tūs*, remained in the hands of *Kanārē* with whom *ʿAbd Allāh* had to make peace in order to be able to go on to *Marw*. As Marquart has shown, the title *Kanārang* (or *Kanārē*, in Greek *Χαναράγγης*, cf. *Procopius*, *De Bello Persico*, i., ch. 5, 7, 21 and 23) was that of the hereditary governors of all the province of *Abarshahr* (*Nishāpūr*, *Tūs*, *Nasā*, *Abīward*) probably descended from a pre-Sāsānid dynasty (cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 75; Christensen, *L'empire des Sasanides*, p. 27). The intrigues to which *Balādhuri* and *Yaʿqūbī* allude and which were to facilitate the conquest may have originated with some member of the family of the *Kanārang*, a rival of the lord of *Nishāpūr*.

In the period of Arab rule *Tūs* played no independent part but its name is however often mentioned in the records of civil wars. Under the Omayyad *ʿAbd al-Malik* (65-86) the citadel of *Tūs* was occupied by a body of *Banū Tamīm* (*Balādhuri*, p. 415) who still held control in 125 (*Ṭabarī*, ii. 1771). In 130, *Ḳaḥṭaba*, a lieutenant of *Abū Muslim*, inflicted a decisive defeat on the

Omayyad *wālī* Naṣr b. Saiyār near Tūs (Ṭabarī, ii. 2000; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, v. 282, 292, 295). In 184 a certain Abu 'l-Khaṣīb of Naṣā rebelled in Khurāsān and for a time seized Tūs, Nishāpūr etc. On the 3rd Djumādā II, 193 (March 24, 809) Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, who was operating in Khurāsān against the rebel Rāfi' b. Laiṭh b. Naṣr b. Saiyār, died at Tūs (Ṭabarī, iii. 733). On 1st Ṣafar 203, the 'Alid 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā died in the village of Sanābād of Tūs. According to Ibn al-Aṭṭir, vi. 203, al-Ma'mūn prayed to God for the deceased and interred him near the tomb of his father ["in the garden of Humād b. Kaṣṭaba", following Muṣ'ir b. Muḥalhil quoted by Yāqūt]. Sanābād is the modern Meshhed [q. v.]. The tomb of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, now completely disappeared, was beside that of the Imām 'Alī for, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 77, the 'Alid pilgrims who visited the latter used to kick the tomb of Hārūn (which however was still kept in good order in the 15th century).

According to Idrīsī, Muḳān (read Nawḳān) was the capital of the Ṭāhirids, but "after the siege" the capital was moved to Nishāpūr (between 213 and 230; cf. Ṭāhirids). The historical sources state that in 265 (878) Tūs was destroyed (*ukhribat*), evidently as a result of the rebellion of Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khudjastānī, an old servant of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir who had seized Nishāpūr in 262 (*ibid.*, iii. 1931; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, vii. 227; cf. Defrémery, *Mémoire... sur Ahmad, fils d'Abd Allāh*, in *J.A.* [1845], 345–362). Yā'qūbī (278 = 891) still mentions Nawḳān as the principal town of Tūs. In 283 the Ṣaffārid 'Amr b. Laiṭh reported to the Caliph that his men had defeated near Tūs the Amīr Rāfi' b. Harṭhama who had been asserting his independence in Khurāsān from 271 (884) (Ṭabarī, iii. 2160; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, vii. 334).

The Sāmānids. In 309 Laili b. Nu'mān, one of the generals of the 'Alid *dā'i* Ḥasan b. Kaṣim, came to Nishāpūr and had the *khutba* read there in the name of his chief. By orders of the Sāmānid Nūḥ I, Ḥammūya b. 'Alī left Bukhārā against Laili. He was at first defeated near Tūs but Laili later lost his life (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, viii. 91). In 336 (947) the governor of Tūs and its dependencies Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk rebelled against Nūḥ b. Naṣr. The latter sent Maṣṣūr b. Qara-tegin to Khurāsān. Muḥammad went from Nishāpūr to Ustuwā (= Kūčān). His brother Rāfi' was besieged in the fort of Sumailān and later in the fort of Darak (3 farsakhs from Sumailān). Sumailān was dismantled but Rāfi' succeeded in retaining what was left at Darak. Lastly in 339, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk, being pardoned by Nūḥ returned to Tūs (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, viii. 353, 361). The personality of Abū Maṣṣūr is particularly interesting on account of his friendship with Firdawsī (cf. *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, i. 20, ed. Vullers, i. 10–11). Abū Maṣṣūr beautified the cathedral mosque of the town of Ṭābarān which henceforth was the first in Tūs (Muḳaddasī, p. 319). In 349 Abū Maṣṣūr was appointed *sipah-sālār* but immediately dismissed in favour of Alp-egin. The latter settled in Nishāpūr and Abū Maṣṣūr retired to his fief of Tūs. In 350 (961) after the accession of the Sāmānid Maṣṣūr, Alp-egin fell into disgrace. Abū Maṣṣūr who had sent troops from Ṭābarān and Nawḳān towards Čāha (on the road from Nishāpūr to Marw; cf. *Čāhār Maqāla*, G.M.S., p. 51) did not succeed in stopping Alp-egin. Fearing the wrath of his master

Abū Maṣṣūr rebelled and was ultimately poisoned (Gardizi, *Zain al-Akhbār*, Berlin 1928, p. 41–44).

The Arab geographers to the end of the fourth (tenth) century. Ibn Khurdādhbih (232 = 846), p. 24 and Qudāma, p. 201, place the district of Tūs on the Nishāpūr–Sarakhṣ road: Nishāpūr–Baghīs 4 farsakhs (Ibn Rusta, p. 171; Faghīsīn 5 farsakhs); al-Ḥamrā 6 farsakhs (according to Ibn Rusta, the distance is 5 f.; this "red village", so called from the colour of its walls, is situated in the mountains); al-Muthakḳab (Ibn Rusta: Barda') belonging to Tūs 5 f.; al-Nawḳān 5 f.; Mozdūrān al-Aḳaba 6 f.; Abgīna (Awgīna) 3 f.; Sarakhṣ 6 f. This makes the distance between Nishāpūr and Nawḳān (= Meshhed) 20 f. (Yā'qūbī, 2 *marḥals*; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 3 *marḥals*) which shows that the road ran round the south side of the mountains which separate Nishāpūr from Tūs, for Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 331, says that one can "ascend" in a single *marḥal* from Nishāpūr to Tūs. 5 farsakhs before Nawḳān the land of Tūs began which evidently means the whole district.

Yā'qūbī (278 = 891), p. 277, says Nawḳān is the largest town in Tūs. Ibn Khurdādhbih valued the *khwarāj* of Tūs at 740,860 dirhams. Yā'qūbī says that the *khwarāj* of this district (*balad*) is included in that of Nishāpūr. The people of Tūs were mainly Persians but there were also some Arabs (Ṭaiy; cf. also p. 306).

Iṣṭakhrī (340 = 951), p. 257 mentions four towns of Tūs: Rādkān, al-Ṭābarān, Buzdighawr (?) and al-Nawḳān. The tomb of 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (like that of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd) was in the territory of Nawḳān in the village, of Sanābād 1/4 farsakh from the town (Nawḳān). Ibn Ḥawḳal adds that Sanābād was surrounded by a solid wall within which lived hermits (*mu'takifūn*).

Balādhurī (the passage quoted by Muḳaddasī, p. 331, is not found in the *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje) already mentions Tūs among the dependencies of Nishāpūr (Irānshahr, read: Abarshahr). Muḳaddasī, author of the most complete description of Khurāsān, emphasises the subordinate character of Tūs. "If some said that Nishāpūr has eclipsed Tūs, one would reply that Tūs has never been a large town to be eclipsed". Muḳaddasī repeats several times that Tūs, like Naṣā and Abīward, is only a *khizāna* ("granary, depot") of the *kūra* of Nishāpūr (p. 50, 295, 300, 301^b). Among the towns of the district of Tūs, Muḳaddasī mentions al-Ṭābarān, al-Nawḳān, al-Rādkān, Dīnabd, Ustūr-kān, Trūghbdh (the last three are uncertain). The largest of these at this time was Ṭābarān (375 = 985). It had a citadel and from the distance resembled Medīna. Muḳaddasī mentions its busy market in which there was the cathedral mosque which Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk had embellished (*sakhrāfa*). The water ran in shallow subterranean canals; fruits and firewood were abundant and the prices of merchandise moderate. In spite of all this, Ṭābarān was a wretched little town (*bulaida*) the outskirts of which were in ruins, the water bad and the climate cold. The inhabitants professed the Shāfi'i rite and were capable of being very troublesome in times of turmoil. Tūs produced stone cooking vessels (*bīrām*), mats and wheat as well as striped materials and *tikak* (cords for supporting trowsers) of good quality. Nawḳān was below Ṭābarān (*dūna*, perhaps "lower down the river"). In Meshhed there was a citadel with houses and a market; the mosque built on the

tomb by 'Amīd al-Dawla Fā'ik was the best in Khurāsān (*ibid.*, p. 319, 323, 324—325, 333).

The Ghaznawids. In 385 (995) when Maḥmūd b. Subuk-egin was installed in Nishāpūr by the Sāmānid Nūh II, Abū 'Alī Simdjūrī and Fā'ik (a former Sāmānid general, builder of the mosque of Meshhed; cf. Muḥaddasī, p. 333), refugees in Djurdjān, attempted to reconquer Khurāsān but Subuk-egin defeated them near the village of Andarakh (?) of Tūs (Gardizi, p. 56; Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 75; Barthold, *Turkestan, G.M.S.*, p. 262). In 389, Maḥmūd sought to reassert his rights over Khurāsān. His rival Bek-Tuzun was driven from Tūs and in his stead Maḥmūd appointed his chief amir Arslān Djādhīb, who is still mentioned as lord of Tūs in 401 and 420 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 103, 155, 267). In 397 however, the Kara-Khānids of Transoxiana sent an expedition which took Tūs and Nishāpūr but the tables were soon turned when Maḥmūd returned from India (Barthold, *Turkestan, G.M.S.*, p. 272). Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 283, without giving a date, records that Maḥmūd as a result of a dream rebuilt the sepulchral building of Tūs (i.e. Meshhed) which his father Subuk-egin had destroyed, and prevented the people of Tūs (i.e. Shāfi'is?) from harassing the pilgrims ('Alids).

The Seldjūks. In 421 the Seldjūks making short shrift of the attempts at conciliation made by the Ghaznawid Mas'ūd penetrated into Balkh, Nishāpūr, Tūs and Djurdjān. In 425 their strength increased, which had repercussions on the situation generally. Turbulent elements gathered round the people of Tūs who declared war on Nishāpūr. The wālī of this town fled but the amir of Kirmān, who was on his way to Mas'ūd, arrived with 300 horsemen. The people of Nishāpūr defeated those of Tūs and Abiward. The amir of Kirmān massacred 20,000 people of Tūs. He crucified them on trees and along the roads. The landlords of the villages (*zu'ama' kura' Tūs*) had to give hostages.

In 428 Mas'ūd's commander-in-chief (*su-bashī*), defeated by the Seldjūks near Sarakhs, was driven back to Tūs. In 430 Khurāsān became the arena of the struggle between Mas'ūd and the Seldjūk Tughril. The latter from Ustuwā (Kūcān) took refuge in "the inaccessible mountains and difficult passes" of Tūs. As from there Tughril went to Abiward the reference is probably to the district of Kalāt [q.v.]. Some people of Tūs who had been intriguing with Tughril entrenched themselves on an inaccessible summit but in spite of the winter these positions were taken by Mas'ūd who personally directed the attack.

In 465 (1072) Malik-Shāh conferred on Nizām al-Mulk a number of fiefs including Tūs, the native city of the great vizier (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 54). Nizām al-Mulk is said to have built there two cathedral mosques, one at Tūs and the other at Nawkān (Ṣanī' al-Dawla, i. 190).

In 510 a disputation at Tūs on the 'Ashūrā' day (10th Muḥarram) between an 'Alawī and the Sunni doctors ended in great riots. The Sunni inhabitants laid siege to Meshhed and did great damage there. To protect Meshhed against such attacks again, a wall was built around the town in 515 (*ibid.*, x. 366). In 548 the Ghuzz having captured Sultān Sindjar invaded Tūs, this "mine of learned and pious men", slew the men, carried off the women and destroyed the mosques. Of all the wilāyet of Tūs, only the place (*bālad*)

where the Imām 'Alī was buried was uninjured. Ibn al-Athīr gives a list of individuals of note slain on this occasion.

The family of al-Mu'ayyid. In 548 (1153) a slave of Sultān Sindjar Ay-Ābā al-Mu'ayyid carved out for himself a small kingdom including Nishāpūr, Tūs, Nasā, Damghān etc. Sindjar's successor, his nephew Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (the Kara-Khānid; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, text, p. 27), had to be content with the payment of tribute by Mu'ayyid. In 552 Mu'ayyid's rival Aithāk (Ay-tak?) devastated Tūs and its townships, after which the district was left waste (*ibid.*, xi. 150). In 553 the Ghuzz, having defeated Mu'ayyid near Marw followed him up and sacked Tūs. In the same period a quarrel broke out in Khurāsān between the leader of the Shāfi'is Mu'ayyid b. Ḥusain and the 'Alawids. The people of Tūs, Isfārayin and Djuwain supported this other Mu'ayyid but the Shāfi'is were vanquished. These internecine struggles brought about fresh devastation (*ibid.*, xi. 155). In 555 Mu'ayyid Ay-Ābā after a quarrel had a reconciliation with Maḥmūd and as soon as he was reestablished in his post began to harass the 'Alawis. In 556 his suzerain Maḥmūd who was dependent on the Ghuzz quarrelled with them. The Ghuzz sacked Tūs (*nahban fāhishan*) including Meshhed but did not touch the sanctuary. In 557 (1161) Mu'ayyid blinded Sultān Maḥmūd and had the *khutba* said in his own name (*ibid.*, xi. 180; Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 335). He laid siege to the fortress of Waskarah-Khūy (?) which belonged to Tūs, where a certain Abū Bakr Djāndār had installed himself. Mu'ayyid took the fortress and Karastān (?) also. In 558, Mu'ayyid recognised the suzerainty of Sultān Arslān (of the 'Irāk). Ibn al-Athīr gives a list of his lands which included Kūmis, Nishāpūr and Tūs and extended from Nasā to Tabas-Knkli (?). In 568 Mu'ayyid, who had taken the side of the Khwārizmshāh Sultān Shāh Maḥmūd, was taken and executed by the latter's brother Sultān Takash. Under Tughan-Shāh, son and successor of Mu'ayyid, his slave Kara-Kush in 568 took Tūs and Zām (= Djām; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 248; according to the *Masārib al-Tadjarib* of Abū 'l-Ḥasan Baihaqi). According to another source used by Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 253, the Khwārizmshāh Takash (in 568?) before his final struggle with Mu'ayyid advanced as far as Tūs. In 576 (1181) Sultān-Shāh having received the support of the general of the Kara-Khitai Fūmā defeated Tughan-Shāh and seized Sarakhs and Tūs. Tughan-Shāh died in 581 (cf. Djuwainī, ii. 19—22; Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 339).

The geographers of the xiith century. Sam'ānī (d. 562 = 1166), *G.M.S.*, p. 373, mentions in Tūs two towns (Tābarān and Nawkān) and over 1,000 villages. Idrīsī (548 = 1154), transl. Jaubert, ii. 184 (= MS. f. 164 b) puts the distance between Tūs and Nishāpūr at 4 days' journey (*marḥal*?). Tūs was a considerable town, well built and thickly populated. In the vicinity were a number of towns with minbars: Rātkān (*sic*!), Brdgūr, Dūdān, Mihrdjān (according to Yāqūt a town of Isfārayin) and Mūkān (*sic*!), "a most noteworthy town" with a good citadel and earthwork. On "the mountain of Mūkān" there were quarries for stone out of which were made mortars and cauldrons (*birām*), and also mines of silver, copper, iron, turquoises, *dahandj* and rock crystal. A number of inaccuracies were inevitable in Idrīsī who was writing in Sicily.

The *Kh̲wārizmshāhs* and the *Gh̲ūrīds*. In 594 Takash, who had risen against the *Gh̲ūrīds* with the help of the *Kara-Khitai*, went by Tūs to Harāt. In 597 the *Gh̲ūrīd Ghiyāth al-Dīn* seized the lands of the *Kh̲wārizmshāh* in *Khurāsān*. Tūs surrendered after a siege of three days and was sacked (*Djuwainī*, ii. 48). In the next year, the *Kh̲wārizmshāh* 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad reconquered *Khurāsān* and laid siege to Harāt, but the *Gh̲ūrīd Shihāb al-Dīn* drove him back. Takash before returning put to death the lord of Nishāpūr, the amir Sandjar b. Tughan-shāh b. al-Mu'ayyid, suspected of plotting against him. Shihāb al-Dīn came to Tūs and spent the winter there (*Ibn al-Athīr*, xii. 89, 108, 116—118).

The Mongols. At the beginning of Rabi' al-akhīr 617 (1220), the generals of Čingiz-Khān Yeme (*Djebe*) and Subutai pursuing the *Kh̲wārizmshāh* came to Nishāpūr. Subutai left for *Djām* and Tūs. The eastern township of "Tūs-Nawkān" submitted but the inhabitants of the town (i.e. Tūs-*Ṭabarān*) did not give a satisfactory reply. Subutai ordered a great massacre (*katl-i ba-iṣṣāṭ*) in the town and vicinity. Rādkān, the situation of which Subutai liked, was spared (*Djuwainī*, *Djihān-gushā*, *G.M.S.*, i. 114—115). After the two generals had gone, the people were able to breathe again (*ibid.*, p. 117). The chief of the militia of Tūs (*hashariyān*) was bold enough to kill the Mongol *shukna*, but the Mongol general Kīshimur, hastening from Ustuwā (= *Kūcān*) arrested the culprit and began to dismantle the fortifications. In the meanwhile, the advance guards of the army of Tuluy (*Tūli*), son of Čingiz-Khān, had arrived in *Khurāsān*. The last forts of Tūs were occupied. Nawkān (and *Kār*?) resisted vigorously; but Nawkān was taken on the 28th Rabi' al-Akhīr 617. In the spring of 618 (1221), Tuluy himself arrived from Marw. At one stroke the army occupied all places in the wilāyet of Tūs and the last remnants of the population (*baḳāyā-yi shamskīr*) were put to death (*ibid.*, p. 136—138). The first wālī of *Khurāsān* appointed by the Mongols (under Ügedei, 624—639) was the *Kara-Khitai* Khamīdbūr (*Djantimur*?, reading uncertain; cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 37). The citadel of Tūs was occupied by an adventurer, *Tādj al-Dīn* Farīzānā'i, who submitted to Külbulat (?) who was sent by Khamīdbūr (*Djuwainī*, ii. 220). In 637 (1239) the Uighur Buddhist Kūrkūz ("the Long") was appointed to *Khurāsān* and made Tūs his headquarters. In all the town (the old *Ṭabarān*) there were only 50 houses still inhabited. Kūrkūz began to build government offices (*imārat*). "Contrary to the Mongol custom" he built a solid treasury (*khiṣāna*) in the centre of the citadel (*hiṣār*). The town began to recover rapidly and the prices of municipal plots went up a hundredfold in a week (*Djuwainī*, ii. 238, 240).

Kūrkūz was succeeded by the famous amir Oyrat Arghūn. On returning from his journey to the *ordu* in 643, he saw that the Maṣūriya palace and the forts (*ḡuṣūr*) were completely in ruins and gave orders to rebuild them (*ibid.*, ii. 245, 247). Confirmed in office by Möñke-kā'ān (649) Arghūn entrusted the government of Nishāpūr and Tūs to Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Alī (*ibid.*, p. 255). Arghūn then entered the service of Hülāgū and in the reign of Abaḳa died in 673 (1275) at Rādkān of Tūs (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 559). The place of death of Arghūn suggests that his own estates were in the district. The activities of his

son Nawrūz (who converted *Gh̲hāzān* to Islām but was executed by his orders at Harāt in 696 [1297]; cf. d'Ohsson, iv. 190) were closely associated with *Khurāsān* and thus paved the way for the later successes of his family.

Christians in Tūs. Traces of Christianity must have survived in Tūs from the Sāsānid period (cf. above). In the biography of *Shaikh* Abū Sa'īd (967—1049), *Asrār al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Żukowsky, p. 70, we have a curious story of his meeting with the child who was later to become Niẓām al-Mulk (born in 1017—1018) at Tūs (= *Ṭabarān*) "at the beginning of the street of the Christians" (*bar sar-i kūy-i tarsāyān*). In the Mongol period the Christians enjoyed greater freedom. When in 1278 the future patriarch Yahballāh III was on his way from Mongolia to Jerusalem, he went to the monastery of Mār Ṣehyōn "near the town of Tūs" and there received the blessing of the bishop and of the monks. In the year 1590 of the Greeks (= 1279) the bishop of Tūs, Simeon, was ordained metropolitan of China (Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.*, ii. 449).

The geographers of the xiiith—xivth century. Yāqūt, iii. 560, gives few details about Tūs and only reproduces the fables of Miṣ'ār b. Muḥallil about a powerful stronghold on the road between Tūs and Nishāpūr built by a Ḥimyar king (*ṭabābī'a*). Under *Ṭabarān* (iii. 486) and Nūkān (iv. 824) Yāqūt says: "Tūs consists of two towns of which the larger is *Ṭabarān*". At Nawkān Yāqūt mentions the manufacture of pots and cauldrons of stone (cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, xiv. 311 on the stone pots which the pilgrims bring from Meshhed). A village of *Ṭabarān* also existed at Buḡḡārā and there was a village of Nawkān at Nishāpūr. Zakariyā Kazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, p. 275, seems to have been the source of many confusions (cf. their excellent analysis in Ṣanī' al-Dawla, i. 196—199) by saying that Tūs was "a town of which the two parts (*muḥallatain*!) were *Ṭabarān* and Nawkān". In reality these are two towns separated by a distance of 4 farsakhs, as Ḥamd Allāh Mustawī (*G.M.S.*, p. 151) rightly points out.

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 77, Tūs (= *Ṭabarān*), which he reached from *Djām*, was one of the largest towns in *Khurāsān*. From Tūs he went to Meshhed which at this time must have encroached upon Nawkān for of the latter the traveller says nothing and from this time the name disappears completely.

The *Djūn-Ghorbān*. These rulers were the direct descendants of Nawrūz b. Arghūn. Their name which was probably that of one of the sections of the Mongol tribe of Oyrat (**dsunghurban* = "the three [detachments] of the left [wing]"), was later given a Persian dress as *Djān-ḡurban* ("those who sacrifice their souls"; cf. Dawlat-Shāh). After the extinction of the Mongol dynasty of Persia, the son of Nawrūz, called Arghūn-Shāh, won for himself a kingdom in *Khurāsān* which, according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (quoted in Barthold, *Istor. geogr. obsor Irana*, p. 70), included Tūs, *Kūcān*, Kalāt, Abiward, Naṣā and Marw. Dawlat-shāh (Bombay edition 1887, p. 121) calls Arghūn-Shāh "*pādshāh* of Nishāpūr and Tūs", but in 738 Nishāpūr was taken from him by the Sarbadār Maṣ'ūd. Arghūn-Shāh played a considerable part in the election of Tughā-Timūr [q.v.]. After the latter's death (754), his possessions were divided among the Sarbadārs, the Karts and Arghūn-Shāh, but the Sarbadār Karābī at some time took Tūs from

Arghūn-Shāh [cf. SARBADĀR; one of the gates of Kalāt now called Darwāza-yi Arghawan-Shāh (*sic*!) owes its origin to this prince rather than to the Ilkhān Arghun who was never called Shāh].

The successors of Arghūn-Shāh were his sons Muhammad-beg and 'Alī-beg. When at the beginning of 783 (1381), Timūr came to Tūs, 'Alī-beg went to pay homage to him but in the winter of 1381 he shut himself up in the fortress of Kalāt. After many vicissitudes, 'Alī-beg surrendered to Shaikh 'Alī Bahādur in 784. As a reward Timūr gave the latter Rādkān. 'Alī-beg was deported to Andijān and executed there towards the end of the year. Others of the Djūn-Ghorbānī were exiled to Tāshkent (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 324, 335, 351, 385). But in 791 (1389) a rising took place in Khurāsān which was joined by the Sarbadārs, Hādjdji-beg (younger brother of 'Alī-beg) and the troops of Kalāt and Tūs. The *Zafar-nāma* briefly records the suppression of the rising by Mirān-shāh (i. 468—469). A much more detailed account is quoted by Šanī' al-Dawla (*op. cit.*, p. 208—209). Timūr is said himself to have appointed Hādjdji-beg to Tūs (in 789?) where he amassed great wealth. The rumours of Tokhtamīsh's successes turned Hādjdji-beg's head and he stopped the *khutba* for Timūr and proclaimed his desire for independence. He fought for several months with the amir Aḳ-buḳa who remained faithful to Timūr. On the arrival of Mirān-shāh, Hādjdji-beg fled but was captured and put to death. The town was taken in Rādjab 791 (1389): 10,000 men were killed and towers of skulls (*manāra*) erected at the gate of the city. "No trace was left of Tūs". In 807 again, Timūr had executed near 'Ishkābād (Ashkābād) the Djūn-Ghorbānī Aḳ-buḳa and Kara-buḳa, who had been plotting in his absence (*Zafar-nāma*, ii. 592). At the present day, the country north of Meshhed (from Čolay-khāna to Kalā-yi-Yūsuf-khān which is 4 farsakhs north of Kūčān) is called the encampment (*yurt*) of the Djūnī-Ghurbānī tribe (Šanī' al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, p. 158).

End of Tūs. Tūs (i.e. Tābarān) never was able to recover from the events of 791. It is true that Shāhrukh after his accession to the throne of Khurāsān in 807 sent to Tūs the amir Saiyid Khwādja with orders to rebuild the town. In 809, Tūs, Kūčān, Kalāt etc. were given to prince Ulugh-beg. In the period of the decline of Timūr's line, some members of it exercised more or less independent power at Tūs: in 862 Mirzā Shāh Maḥmūd, in 905 Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusain (son of Sultān Ḥusain Baiḳara).

In 918 'Ubaid Allāh-khān Özbek, having raised the siege of Harāt, came to Tūs and Isfarāyīn but after some months evacuated Khurāsān on the approach of Shāh Ismā'īl. In 927 the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* mentions a governor "of Tūs and Meshhed". Khan'kow found at Tūs a funerary inscription of a shāh-zāde Ibrāhīm dated 983. The argument of the same traveller from the fact that the name Tūs does not disappear from Persian astrolabes till the xiith century A. H. is by no means conclusive, for we know how tenacious geographical memories are in the East. Amin Aḥmad Rāzī in the *Haft-Iklim* (Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. suppl. Pers. 356 sq., f. 264—274) no longer mentions Tūs; in speaking of Meshhed he says: "this wilāyet was at one time called Tūs". At the beginning of the xixth century, Zain al-'Ābidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-Siyāḥat*, Teherān 1315, p. 354, says: "This was a well-known town

in Khurāsān. Destiny has so destroyed it that all that remains is a village of 30 houses".

Two causes have contributed to the disappearance of Tābarān-Tūs: the weakness of its geographical situation in the plain, open to every invader, and the popularity of Meshhed which is protected by the renown and sanctity of its sanctuary, and attracts crowds of pilgrims. The Indian traveller 'Abd al-Karīm who visited Meshhed with Nādir-Shāh in 1153 (1741) rightly observes that the splendour of this town caused the ruin of Tūs (transl. Langlès, 1797, p. 74).

Antiquities. Fraser, Khan'kow, O'Donovan, Żukowsky, Jackson, Diez und notably Šanī' al-Dawla and Sykes have described the ruins of Tūs, i.e. of the town of Tābarān. They are situated on the left bank of the Kashaf-rūd about 15 miles (4 farakhs) north of Meshhed (Nawḳān). The walls of the town are of brick and form an irregular circle a farsakh in circumference. Their thickness at the base is 5 *dhār*^c (about 15 feet). The remains of 106 towers and 9 gates can still be traced. The area occupied by the old town according to Sykes is about 2,300 yards each way.

On the north side of this area are the ruins of a square fortress each side of which measures 200 *dhār*^c (= yards). It has 12 towers. The ditch surrounding it is 15 *dhār*^c broad. In the middle of this *ark* on an artificial mound was a fort, oblong in shape 80 × 50 paces (*ḳadam*). It had 9 towers. Two little villages, each of 25 houses, lie at the foot of the wall inside: to the west Tūs-i Karīm-khānī and to the east Tūs-i Bahādur-khānī. To the N.E. outside the wall are the fields of a third village (*mazra'*) Islāmīya.

In spite of all the lack of attention on the part of the authorities, popular memory, even after the lapse of nine centuries, has not forgotten the site of Firdawsī's tomb. It is shown inside the town near the N.E. wall. Nizāmī-yi 'Arūdī, who visited the tomb in 510 (1116) locates it in the garden which had belonged to Firdawsī "inside" the Rizān gate (*Čahār-maḳāla*, G.M.S., p. 51; *darūn-i darwāza*). By a slip, Browne, *A Liter. Hist. of Persia*, ii. 138, translates "outside the gate"). As Sykes has shown, the village of Rizān (modern pronunciation: Rēzān) still exists 9 miles N.E. of Tūs and the "Rizān gate" corresponding to it ought therefore to be at the village of Tūs-i Bahādur-khānī. The Rūdbār gate (cf. the story of Firdawsī) must have been at the opposite end of the town. The *Nuḣat al-Kulūb*, p. 151, moreover positively asserts that it was S.E. (*djānīb-i qibla*), i.e. opposite the great bridge over the Kashaf-rūd which still exists to-day. According to Sykes, Rūdbār was the name of a mountainous district between Tūs and Nishāpūr but Rūdbār may simply mean the part of the town near the river, i.e. the Kashaf-rūd. The village of Bāž, which Firdawsī owned, corresponds to the present village of Pāz (or Fāz) 4 miles S.S.E. of Rizān (see the photograph in Sykes, *A seventh journey*, G.F., xiv. [1915], 365. The village of Bāz-i Tūs 2 farsakhs from the town of Tābarān is mentioned in the biography of Shaikh Abū Sa'īd [967—1049], *Asrār al-Tawḥīd*, p. 68, which also mentions a place called Dubirādarān, one farsakh from the town and the khānagāh of Ustād Abū Aḥmad in the town). The village of Shādāb, the birthplace of Firdawsī, has also been identified in the neighbourhood of Tūs (as I am informed by Taḳī-zāde).

As to the tomb of the poet itself, Dawlatshāh (892 = 1487), Bombay ed. 1887, p. 29, says that it is beside the Mazār-i 'Abbāsīya and is a place of pilgrimage, and Kaḏī Nur Allāh (end of the xth [xvth] century) in the *Maḏjālīs al-Mu'minin* (*Maḏjīs* N^o. 12 on the Persian poets) claims to have himself visited it. He adds: "in spite of the ruin of Tūs generally and the destruction of the tomb by order of 'Ubad Allāh Khān [its site] is well marked and obvious" (*mushakḥḥaṣ wamul'ayan*). [The contrary interpretation by Żukowsky, according to which 'Ubad Allāh Khān ordered the tomb of Firdawsi to be "put in order", seems due to some misunderstanding of the MS. which he quotes, Univ. of St. Petersburg, N^o. 147, fol. 63]. If we may believe Fraser, *loc. cit.*, p. 519, a little building surmounted by a dome decorated with faience still existed in 1822. In 1858 Khānīkow could find no trace of it. In 1883 the Wālī of Khurāsān, Aṣaf al-Dawla, having cleared away the mound (*tāpā*) which had accumulated with the crumbling away of the old building (cf. Fraser) covered the tomb with bricks and surrounded it by an earthen wall. His death stopped further work. The peasants told Żukowsky that the tombstone of Firdawsi had been taken away for the building of a bath but Żukowsky expresses doubts on this point. Under the Pahlawi régime and on the initiative of Arbāb Kai-Khusraw, a Parsi deputy to the Persian madjlīs, a building has been begun to mark in a worthy manner the resting-place of the author of the *Shāh-nāma*. [The doubts expressed regarding the site of the tomb by Sykes, *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 1120, seem exaggerated in view of the existence of an uninterrupted tradition and the statements of Żukowsky].

In the midst of the ruins of Tūs stands a fine brick building (Ṣanī' al-Dawla, i. 180: *buḳ'a mānand* "like a mausoleum") now dilapidated. According to Diez, its plan is a parallelogram 18.6×25 metres and its walls are extremely thick (3.20 to 5.40 metres). The height of the walls to the foot of the dome is 18 *ahar*' (Ṣanī' al-Dawla). The building consists of three parts: 1. the entrance *iwān* (8.70×3.20 m.); 2. the chamber under the dome (Kuppelhalle), 12×12 m. and 3. rooms of different sizes with vaulted roofs. Ṣanī' al-Dawla (i. 181) relying on the absence of covering for the walls had already suggested that the building had never been finished. A single inscription noticed by Ṣanī' al-Dawla is *al-dunyā sū'at* ("this world is but an hour"). There are no dates. Diez (p. 59) alluding to the similarity of style with the mausoleum of Sulṭān Sandjar at Marw (1157) proposes tentatively to identify it with the tomb of Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 505 = 1111). But the translations of the texts on which Diez relies are inaccurate. Yāqūt says only that Ghazālī was buried in his native town. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 77, also confines himself to saying "and there (at Tūs) is his tomb (*ḥabr*)". It would be strange if the Maghribī traveller had not given some note on the mausoleum. Inside the mausoleum on the ground are the tombstones of a certain prince and descendant of the Prophet (*'alī-djāh*, contrary to the translation quoted by Diez, is not a name but a title) and of his daughter (?) the princess (*ulyā-ḥaḍrat*) Māhwash Khānim. These stones do not belong to the mausoleum but have been brought from outside. The tombstone (*nadgrobiye*) of the prince Ibrāhīm (983) which Khānīkow, *Otchet*, saw

at Tūs likewise cannot be connected with this building.

As to the ruins of Nawḵān, they lie immediately to the east of Meshhed as far as the villages of Ḥusainābād and Mihrābād. Sykes there found sepulchral inscriptions dating from 760 (1359) to 1099 (1688). The quarter of Meshhed adjoining the ruins is also called Noughān (Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 1116).

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(V. MINORSKY)

TŪSĀN, according to Yāqūt, a village 2 farsakhs from Marw al-Shāhīdīān [q.v.] In 130 the Umaiyad wālī Naṣr b. Saiyār, retiring under pressure from Abū Muslim, encamped on the river Nahr 'Iyād and appointed Abū 'l-Dhayaīl to Tūsān, the inhabitants of which were partisans of Abū Muslim. Abū 'l-Dhayaīl was defeated at Tūsān (cf. Ibn al-Aṭīr, v. 282). (V. MINORSKY)

AL-TŪSĪ NAṢIR AL-DĪN, ABŪ DĪA'FAR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-HASAN, astronomer, polychronicler and Shī'a politician of the period of the Mongol invasion, born at Tūs on the 11th Djumādā I 597 (Feb. 18, 1201), died at Baghdād on the 18th Dhu 'l-Hijda 672 (June 26, 1274).

Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī began his career as astrologer to the Ismā'īlī governor Naṣir al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Maṣṣūr at Sertakht. After his attempt to transfer to the caliph's court had been betrayed, he was kept under supervision in Sertakht and later in Alamūt [q.v.] but allowed to retain his office and continue his researches unhindered. In 654 (1256) he played the Assassin leader Rukn al-Dīn Khūrshāh into the hands of Hūlāgū [q.v.], then accompanied the latter as his trusted adviser to the conquest of Baghdād, founded by his orders the observatory of Marāgha, became vizier and supervisor of waḳf estates and retained his influential position under Abāḳā [q.v.] also without interruption until his death.

Ṭūsī's political attitude was determined by his strong sympathy with the "Twelvers", which made him with his talents and versatility a leader of the Iranian-Shī'a oligarchy on the Mongol side against the caliphate. It was through his influence that a certain degree of mercy was shown the Shī'is during the Mongol holocaust and their sanctuaries in Southern Mesopotamia were spared. Among his writings (see 56 titles in *G. A. L.*, i. 508 sqq.; cf. also Nallino, in *Oriente Moderno*, viii. 43 sq.) are two hand-books of dogmatics much esteemed by his co-religionists and several times commented upon: the *Tadẓīr al-ʿAḳā'id* (Teherān n. d.) and *Ḳawā'id al-ʿAḳā'id* (Teherān 1305 with the commentary of his pupil Ibn al-Muṭahhar). The teaching of the Twelvers concerning the Imāms is clearly worked out and also in the metaphysics *al-Fuṣūl* written in Persian (cf. the annotated Arabic edition in Berlin MS., No. 1770, fol. 138^b sqq.). Ṭūsī's logic and philosophy is also occasionally expressed in his dogmatic writings as the formal preliminary to the dogmas, which are substantially derived from Shī'a tradition. It belongs to the school of Ibn Sīnā [q. v.]. On the latter's *al-Ishārāt wa 'l-Tanbīhāt* he composed the commentary *Ḥall Muḥḫilāt al-Ishārāt* (Lucknow 1293). Here he defended Ibn Sīnā against Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [q. v.] and further wrote against the latter's *Muḥaṣṣal Afkār al-Mutaḳad-dīmīn wa 'l-Muta'akḫḫirīn* in the critical commentary *Talkhīṣ Muḥaṣṣal*... (see at the foot of the *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo 1323). The true Shī'ī with a real devotion to the Imāms is further revealed in his mystical work in Persian entitled *Awṣāf al-Ashrāf* (Teherān 1320), however much the fact of his Sūfiism and reverence even for al-Hallāj distinguishes him from most of his co-religionists. In Fīḫ he wrote on the law of inheritance; of his occult works a *Kitāb al-Raml* has survived (Munich, Arab MS., No. 880). While still in Sertakht he dedicated to his patron there the Aḍab-book *Aḫlāk-i Nāṣirī* still frequently reprinted (Lahore 1265; Bombay 1267 etc.) which shows the influence of Ibn Miskawīh. His devotion to his own sect did not in any way cut him off from others. He discussed scientific matters with Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī by letter and with Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Kātibī (*G. A. L.*, i. 466) orally; at court he worked with the brothers Djuwainī [q. v.]. To one, the historian 'Alā' al-Dīn, he dedicated his *Talkhīṣ Muḥaṣṣal* and to the other, the Ṣāḥib Diwān Shams al-Dīn, the *Awṣāf al-Ashrāf*; and he owes his fame beyond Shī'a circles to his books and researches in the exact sciences: medicine, physics, mathematics and particularly astrology and astronomy.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

AL-ṬŪSĪ's medical works are of no particular scientific importance. In Physics, as an astronomer, he was primarily interested in questions of optics, both geometrical and physiological. To this field belongs his *Tahrīr Kitāb al-Manāẓir*, a version of the *Optics* of Euclid, and the *Risāla fī 'nīkāṣ al-Shu'ā'āt wa-'n-ṣifāḫā*. The industry is remarkable which al-Ṭūsī displayed in editing and improving the translations made by Ṭhābit b. Ḳurra, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā and Ishāḳ b. Ḥunain of Greek mathematicians and astronomers; we may mention among mathematicians, Euclid (*Elementa*, *Data*, *Phainomena*), Apollonius (*Conica*), Archimedes (*Dimension of the Circle*, *Sphere* and *Cylinder*, *Lemmata*), among astronomers, Theodosius, Menelaus, Autolycus, Aristarchus, Hypsicles and Ptolemy. His most famous original work is the *Kitāb Shakhṣ al-Ḳaṭṭā'*, a work on the principle of the transversal, from which he deduces relations of fundamental importance in spherical trigonometry. He also wrote a book on arithmetic, *Mukhtaṣar bi-Djāmi' al-Hisāb bi 'l-Takht wa 'l-Turūb*.

Ṭūsī acquired the greatest fame by his achievements in the field of astronomy. He owed the means to conduct his researches to the astrological interests of the Mongol Khāns, particularly his patron Hülāgū. The latter entrusted him with the building of a great observatory at Marāgha which was equipped with the best instruments, some of them constructed for the first time, and a large staff of observers. Ṭūsī was already 60 when the building was begun, but he was spared another 12 years to finish completely his task of calculating new planetary tables based on comprehensive observations. His calculations he recorded in the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*. The first *Maḳāla* deals with eras, the second with the movements of the planets; the third and fourth are devoted to astrological observations. Of further works we may mention the *Kitāb al-Tadhkīra al-Nāṣiriya*, a survey of the whole field of astronomy, on which numerous later scholars wrote commentaries, and the astrological *Kitāb-i sī Faṣl*.

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AL-ṬUSĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ ABŪ DJAʿFAR, was born at Ṭūs in Ramaḍān 385 (995). After receiving early education at his native place he came to Baghdād in 408 (1017) and studied under al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nuʿmān al-Baghdādī, d. 413 = 1022). On the latter's death, al-Ṭūsī associated himself with al-Saiyid al-Murtaḍā (Abu l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusain, d. 436 = 1044) and was his companion and pupil for about twenty-three years. When the latter died he stayed on at Baghdād for twelve years and tried his utmost to spread the doctrines of the Shīʿa sect. His enemies once complained to the Caliph al-Kāʾim (422—467 = 1031—1075) of his hatred of the first three orthodox Caliphs and supported their allegations by quoting passages from his book *Kitāb al-Miṣbāḥ*. Summoned to the presence of the Caliph, he explained the passages in such a way that the Caliph became satisfied that no disrespect was meant to the Sunnī doctrines and no action was taken against him. But the public agitation against him grew vehement and at last in 448 (1056), his residence was burnt to ashes. He left Baghdād that year and came to Najaf where he passed the rest of his life. He is the greatest doctor of the Shīʿa sect, and is popularly known as *Shaikh al-Ṭāʾifa* or simply as al-Shaikh. He died according to most of the biographers in Najaf in 460 (1067) or according to some, 458 (1065). Two of his works, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* and *al-Istibṣār*, are among the four canonical books (*al-Kutub al-arbaʿa*) which are held in the highest veneration by the Shīʿa sect. He is the author of numerous books, a list of which he has given in his work called *Fihrist Kutub al-Shīʿa* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 285.

The more important of his works are:

1. *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, a work on *Ḥadīth* according to the Shīʿa school. Lithographed in two volumes, Tehrān.

2. *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī-ma ʿkhtulifa fīhi min al-Aḥbār*, another book on *Ḥadīth*. The first work is a comprehensive one and contains all kinds of *Ḥadīth*, while the second deals only with those traditions which appear to be discrepant. Lithographed, Lucknow 1307 and Tehrān 1322.

3. *Kitāb al-Mabsūt*, a digest of Muḥammadan law according to the Shīʿa school. Lithographed, Tehrān 1271.

4. *al-Nihāya fī l-Fiḥḥ*, a compendium of Muḥammadan law according to the Shīʿa school. Lithographed with a collection of treatises on the same subject under the title of *al-Djawāmiʿ al-fikhiya*. Lithographed in Tehrān 1276.

5. *Fihrist Kutub al-Shīʿa*, a list of Shīʿa books. Printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1848.

6. *Duʿā al-Djawshan al-kabīr*, a book on prayers, ascribed to al-Imām ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (d. A. H. 94) from whom it descended to the author. Lithographed with interlineary translation in Persian, Lucknow 1288.

7. *Duʿā al-Djawshan al-saghir*, another book

on prayers, ascribed to al-Imām Mūsā Kāẓim (d. A. H. 183) from whom it descended to the author. Lithographed with interlineary translation in Hindustānī, Lucknow 1288.

8. *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl fī l-Uṣūl*, a treatise on the fundamental dogmas of the Shīʿa creed.

9. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahaddijid al-kabīr*, a book of pious rites and prayers to be observed throughout the year. The author abridged this book and named it *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahaddijid al-saghir*.

10. *Kitāb al-Ḥall wa l-ʾIkā*, a book of religious duties, especially prayer.

11. *Kitāb al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Kurʾān*, a comprehensive commentary on the *Qurʾān* in twenty volumes.

12. *ʿUddat al-Uṣūl*, a work on Principles of Jurisprudence. Lithographed in Tehrān.

13. *al-Amālī fī l-Aḥādīth*, a work on traditions. Lithographed in Tehrān.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

TUSTAR. [See SHUSTER.]

ṬŪṬĪ NĀME. [See NAKHSHABĪ.]

TUTUSH B. ALP ARSLĀN, TĀDJ AL-DAWLA, a Seldjūq ruler in Syria, 471—488 (1079—1095). In 471, or according to Ibn ʿAsākir 472, Tutush took possession of Damascus, after he had been allotted Syria by his brother Sultān Malikshāh. He had, it is true, to conquer this province first, for the Turkoman chief Atsīz [q. v.], a few years before, had taken Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine with the exception of a few fortresses from the Fāṭimids, but the latter had not given up their claim to the country and waged continual war with him so that he had great difficulty in holding his own. In this same year, he was besieged by them in Damascus and therefore appealed for help to Tutush; the latter, then only a boy of 14 — he was born in 458 — answered his appeal but at once had the unfortunate Atsīz put to death in order to secure the city for himself. He then turned his attention to Ḥalab, which he besieged in vain, then retired from it and made conquests in the surrounding country (Buzāʾa, al-Bīra etc.). In his absence the Ḥalabis appealed to Muslim b. Ḳuraish, who succeeded in driving the ruling family of the Mirdāsids out of the town and getting his rule recognised by Malikshāh [q. v.]. This was naturally not what Tutush desired; he at once became involved in war with the ʿUḳailid and was even besieged by him in Damascus (476 = 1083). He got rid of this enemy however when in the following year he fell in battle with the Seldjūq of Rūm, Sulaimān. As now both Sulaimān and Tutush were rivals for Ḥalab, they went to war, which ended in the death of the former in battle (479 = 1086). But Tutush did not yet succeed however in taking the city, for Malikshāh brought up a very large force in order to organize these districts in person; he gave Ḥalab to his friend Aksonkor [q. v.]. Tutush had retired on his approach and had to be content to combine with Aksonkor and Buzān, to whom Malikshāh had given Edessa. In 485 (1092) they made notable conquests in Syria, Ḥims, Apamea etc.; but when they reached Tripolis, the commander there, Ibn ʿAmmār, was

able to win over Akṣonkor, so that the latter refused to do anything against him and went home with his troops, when he was vigorously reproached by Tutuṣh for this step. Buzān also did the same so that Tutuṣh was forced also to retire, when the sudden death of Malikshāh altered the whole situation in a moment. In view of the uncertainty regarding the succession, the two Turkish emirs were forced to pay homage to the claimant Tutuṣh and support him on his campaign to the east. Nisibis, Āmid, Maiyāfāriḳīn and al-Mawṣil had to submit and in the first named town a fearful massacre was wrought by Tutuṣh. When it became known that Barkiyārūḳ was coming forward as his father's rightful heir, the emirs left Tutuṣh in the lurch and joined Barkiyārūḳ, so that Tutuṣh had to retire to Syria, firmly resolved to revenge himself on the emirs. He thereupon collected new forces to take the field against them while the emirs, who were supported by Kurbuḳa on behalf of Barkiyārūḳ, did the same. At Tell al-Sultān, six farsakhs south of Ḥalab, the two sides met (487 = 1094). Tutuṣh was victorious; Akṣonkor was taken prisoner and at once executed. Kurbuḳa and Buzān escaped to Ḥalab but had finally also to surrender. Tutuṣh had the latter also executed and sent his head to Edessa to frighten the inhabitants into obedience. Every one now submitted to the victor, who at once entered the Irāḳ with his troops and came to Hamadhān, while Barkiyārūḳ, who had only a small army at his disposal, had to flee before him to Isfahān where he took smallpox. Nevertheless the Turkish emirs in the town hesitated to submit to Tutuṣh and when Barkiyārūḳ recovered from his illness, they pointed out to him that the claims of the two pretenders could only be settled by the sword. Barkiyārūḳ was then joined by troops from all sides so that he was able to attack Tutuṣh at a place called Daḥilū near al-Raiy (17th Ṣafar 488 = Feb. 26, 1095). Tutuṣh, abandoned by his soldiers, made a valiant stand but is said to have fallen at the hands of one of Akṣonkor's men who wished to avenge his master. Syria then passed to his sons Riḍwān [q. v.] and Duḳaḳ.

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TUWAIS, ABŪ 'ABD AL-MUN'IM 'ISĀ B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-DHĀ'IB, was the first great singer in the days of Islām. It is said that his real name was Ṭā'ūs (peacock), but that when he became a *mukhannath* it was changed into Ṭuwais (little peacock), and that 'Abd al-Mun'im was changed into 'Abd al-Na'im. He was born on the day of the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (June 8, 632), was weaned the day that Abū Bakr died, was circumcised the day that 'Umar was assassinated, was married the day when 'Uṯmān was murdered, and his first son was born on the day when 'Alī passed away. These extraordinary coincidences gave rise to the proverb: "More unfortunate than Ṭuwais". He belonged to Madīna and was a *maulā* of the Banū Makhzūm, being in the service of Arwā', the mother of the Caliph 'Uṯmān. He first attracted attention by singing

certain melodies that he had learned from Persian slaves, and rose to fame as a musician in the reign of 'Uṯmān (644—666). About this time a new style of music was introduced into Madīna which was known as the *ghinā' al-raḳīḳ* or *ghinā' al-muṭṭan*, its especial feature being the application of rhythm (*ikā'*) to the melody (*lahn*) [see MŪSIQĪ]. He is said to have been the first to sing this "new music" in Madīna (*Aghānī*, iv. 38; *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, iii. 187). What is attributed to him elsewhere in the *Aghānī* (ii. 170) can only be properly apprehended in conjunction with the above, so that this must be read: Ṭuwais was "the first who sang [the *ghinā' al-muṭṭan*] in Arabic in Madīna". Like many other musicians in Madīna at this period, Ṭuwais was a *mukhannath* (see my *Hist. of Arabian music*, p. 45) and the proverb arose: "More effeminate than Ṭuwais". Indeed it was said that music (*ghinā'*) had its origin in Madīna among the *mukhannathūn* (*Aghānī*, iv. 161) which is probably a canard started by the 'ulamā'. That Ṭuwais was the first *mukhannath* in Madīna, as the author of the *Aghānī* says, can scarcely be correct (cf. al-Bukhārī, iv. 32; al-Tirmidhī, i. 271; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, iv. 268). Whilst Abū b. 'Uṯmān b. 'Affān was governor of Madīna, Ṭuwais was favoured by the *amīr*, but when Mu'āwiyā I (661—680) became Caliph, and Marwān b. al-Hakam was appointed governor, the *mukhannathūn* were suppressed, and Ṭuwais fled to al-Suwaida, a two days' journey on the road to Syria. Here he remained until his death about 710—711. Some say that he died at Madīna, whilst others say elsewhere.

In spite of the fact that Ṭuwais only used a square tambourine (*duff*), which he kept in a bag or in his cloak, to accompany himself when singing, yet he had so high a reputation in music, says Ibn Khallikān, that his talent became proverbial and a poet of Madīna said, "Ṭuwais, and after him Ibn Suraiḳī, excelled [in singing], but pre-eminence belongs to Ma'bad". Among his pupils were Ibn Suraiḳī [q. v.], al-Dalāl Nāfiḍh, Nawma al-Duḥa and Fand. Ibn Suraiḳī said that Ṭuwais was the finest singer of his day, and he was considered the best exponent of the *hazajī* rhythm.

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(H. G. FARMER)

TŪZER, a town in Southern Tunisia, 230 miles S.S.W. of Tunis and 120 W. of Gabes in 33° 54' 48" N. Lat. and 8° 8' E. Long. (Greenwich).

Tūzer is the most important place in al-Djārid [cf. BILĀD AL-DJĀRID]. Situated on the isthmus which separates the Shott Gharsa in the N. from the Shott al-Djārid in the S. and in the immediate neighbourhood of the latter; it consists of a town and a few scattered villages in the oasis which runs southwards over an area of about four sq. miles. The principal town is quite regularly

built; the majority of the houses are built of bricks arranged in geometrical patterns; the dwellings in the oasis are usually only "gourbis" of trunks and branches of palm-trees. The people make carpets and woollen and silk blankets which are much esteemed, but they are mainly dependent on their gardens and palmgroves. The oasis, the richest in al-Djariḍ, owes its fertility to the numerous springs (194) which rise to the west of the sand-dunes and unite to form a stream which runs towards the *shott*. The water is distributed for irrigation purposes by a system described by al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, transl. de Slane, revised by Fagnan, p. 102) and still in active use. The palm-trees, numbering 228,000, supply dates of various kinds, notably the *deklāt-nūr*. Export has assumed considerable proportions since the railway was connected Tūzer to Sfax and the rest of the Regency. The population are arabicised Berbers; Tūzer itself has 11,056 inhabitants of whom 10,723 are Muslims, 181 Jews, 152 Europeans (Census of 1926).

Tūzer (*Thusurus* of the *Tab. Pent.*; *Thusuros* of Ptolemy) is of very ancient origin. The Romans founded near the site of the village of Blidat al-Hader, a township, remains of which can still be seen in the base of the minaret of the mosque, a well, shafts of columns, fragments of capitals etc. Taken by the Vandals, it was reoccupied by the Byzantines; pillaged no doubt by the first Arab invaders, it finally fell to the Arabs at the end of the viith century A.D. The population had to adopt Islām or go into exile. Those who migrated were probably very few, since al-Tidjānī (*Rihla*, transl. p. 143) regards the people of Tūzer as descendants of the Rūm who were in Ifrīqiya at the Muslim conquest.

During the centuries that followed, Tūzer seems to have enjoyed great prosperity. Ibn Ḥawkal (*Descr. de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, in *J.A.*, 1842) — who calls this district *Ḳastiliya* —, al-Bakrī (*loc. cit.*) and Idrisi agree in recording the importance of the trade here and the wealth of its palmgroves.

According to al-Bakrī, 1,000 loads of dates were exported every day.

The history of Tūzer has been by no means without incident. Nominally subject to the various dynasties who ruled in Ifrīqiya the people of Tūzer endeavoured to retain their independence in practice. They showed their hostility to the Fātimids by supporting the rebel Abū Yazīd. Under the Zirids, they had local chiefs of the families of the Banū Furkhān, then of that of the Banū Waṭṭās [cf. *DJARID*]. In the Almohad period, their town was pillaged by 'Alī b. Ghāniya, then reoccupied by the Caliph Abū Yūsuf. At the end of the xiiith century, they threw off Hafsīd suzerainty and in the xivth recognised that of Ibn Yamlul whom Sultān Abū 'l-Abbās had great difficulty in disposing of in 1379 A.D. Under the successors of this prince they continued to be distinguished for their insubordination and on several occasions forced the rulers of Tunis to resort to force to reduce them to obedience. The town was also disturbed by the fighting between the citizens and the Arab tribes of the neighbourhood (Leo Africanus, Bk. i., ed. Schefer, iii. 257). The position hardly changed in the Turkish period. The people of Tūzer took part in several risings in the xviith and xviiith centuries; the beys had always difficulty in collecting the taxes. The quarrels of the *Ṣoff* also contributed to disorders. In the xixth century two of these *Ṣoff*, the Ulād Hadel and the Zebda, each occupied a quarter of the town and maintained a fierce warfare until the French occupation definitely established peace and tranquillity (1882).

Bibliography: cf. *Bibliography* of the article BILĀD AL-DJARID, also: Berbrügger (A.), *Itinéraires archéologiques en Tunisie*, in *Revue Africaine*, 1858; Dollin du Fresnel, *Le Djérid Tunisien*, in *Bulletin de la Société de géographie commerciale de Paris*, 1900; Grendre (Cap^{ne}), *De Tunis à Nefta*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, 1908; du Paty de Clam, *Fastes chronologiques de Tozeur*, Paris 1900. (G. YVER)

U

'UBAID ZĀKĀNĪ (NIZĀM AL-DĪN 'UBAID ALLĀH), a Persian poet of the xivth century, born c. 700 (1300) at Ḳazwīn in the family of the Zākānī, which took its name from a village in the neighbourhood, whence it had originated, lived in *Shīrāz*, which left him happy memories, in the reign of *Shāikh* Abū Ishāk Indjū (d. 747 = 1346—1347), was a judge in Ḳazwīn, went to Baghdād where Sultān Uwais of the *Ilkhānian* or *Djalā'irid* dynasty was reigning, to visit the poet Selmān Sāwedjī and died in poverty in 772 (1371). He was a satirical and erotic poet. A selection of his facetiae was printed at Constantinople in 1303 (1885—1886) by M. H. Ferté and at Berlin 1343 (1924); it contains: *Akhḷāk al-Ashraf* ("Morals of the Aristocracy"), a satire written in 740 (1340); *Rish-nāme* ("Book of the Beard"), a dialogue between the poet and the beard regarded as a destroyer of youthful

beauty; *Ṣad Pend* ("100 Counsels") in prose written in 750 (1350); *Ta'rīfāt* ("Definitions"), ironical, in prose; *Risāla-i dil-gushā* ("Little book which dilates the heart"), Arabic and Persian anecdotes and facetiae; several obscene poems. This edition does not include the *'Ushshāk-nāme* ("Book of Lovers"), *Fāl-nāme* ("Book of Prophecies"), etc. *Mush u-Gurba* ("The Mouse and the Cat") has been lithographed in Bombay, n.d. and Berlin.

Bibliography: Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkira*, p. 288—294; Luṭf 'Alī-Beg, *Ātesh-kede* (Bombay 1277, no pagination, chapter on Ḳazwīn); J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte d. schön. Redek. Persiens*, p. 249; Edw. G. Browne, *History of Pers. Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 230—257 (CL. HUART)

'UBAID ALLĀH. [See AL-MAHDĪ 'UBAID ALLĀH.]

‘UBAID ALLĀH b. ZIYĀD, an Omayyad governor. ‘Ubaid Allāh was the most distinguished of the sons of the favourite of Mu‘āwīya I, Ziyād b. Abihī [q. v.], celebrated for his rigour and severity, and was appointed governor of Khurāsān at the age of five and twenty. According to the usual statement, this took place in 54 (673—674). Soon afterwards he crossed the Oxus with an Arab army and advanced as far as Bukhārā [q. v.]. But he did not remain long in Khurāsān; in 55 (674—675) or according to others 56 (675—676) or the beginning of 57 (676—677) the governor of Baṣra, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ghailān, was dismissed and the administration of the city entrusted to ‘Ubaid Allāh who temporarily appointed Aslam b. Zur‘a al-Kilābī as his deputy in Khurāsān and only later was relieved of his former office. After his arrival in Baṣra, ‘Ubaid Allāh at first endeavoured to win over the Khāridjīs there by kindness, but when his efforts failed, he had to use more vigorous means and exerted all his energy to bring the Baṣran Khāridjīs under his authority. In time he succeeded in restoring peace to Baṣra. In the year 60 (679—680) he was appointed by the caliph Yazid governor of Kūfa, while retaining his post in Baṣra. When Ḥusain b. ‘Alī [q. v.] was persuaded to set out from Mecca to go to Kūfa, ‘Ubaid Allāh sent troops against him and on the 10th Muḥarram 61 (Oct. 10, 680) the battle of Kerbelā was fought in which Ḥusain lost his life. With the death of Yazid on 14th Rabi‘ I 64 (Nov. 10, 683) a troubled period began. ‘Ubaid Allāh had homage paid to himself in Baṣra but only provisionally. The Kūfāns however were dissatisfied and he had to escape to Syria, and by 1st Djumādā II of the same year (Jan. 25, 684) ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥarith b. Nawfal called Babba was recognised as governor of Baṣra. After the death of Mu‘āwīya II ‘Ubaid Allāh supported the Umayyad party and urged Marwān b. al-Ḥakam to come forward as a claimant to the throne. At the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ (end of 64 = 684) where al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Kais [q. v.] fell, ‘Ubaid Allāh commanded Marwān’s left wing. In the following year he was sent with Ḥusain b. Numair al-Sakūnī [q. v.] by the caliph to Ḳarḳisiyā in order to invade the ‘Irāq from there and to bring this unruly province to obedience once and for all. He is said to have been appointed in advance governor of all the country to be conquered by him. Soon after his arrival in Mesopotamia the news of Marwān’s death reached him; his son and successor ‘Abd al-Malik confirmed ‘Ubaid Allāh in all the offices and privileges which Marwān had given him. ‘Ubaid Allāh spent the whole year in Mesopotamia continuously fighting with the enemies of the caliph. He then advanced on al-Mawṣil. An army, which al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubaid [q. v.] sent against him in Dhu ‘l-Ḥijjdja 66 (July 686) put to flight the advance-guard of the Syrian army but did not dare attack the main body. Soon afterwards the Shī‘ī leader Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar attacked the Syrians and on the ‘Āshūrā day 67 (Aug. 6, 686) a battle was fought on the river Khāzīr in the vicinity of al-Mawṣil. One of ‘Ubaid Allāh’s subordinates, ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb, is said to have gone over to the enemy. The Syrians suffered a disastrous defeat and both ‘Ubaid Allāh and Ḥusain b. Numair were killed.

Bibliography: al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii., index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg,

iii.—iv., *passim*; al-Ya‘kūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 281, 288—291, 306—309, 317, 321; al-Balādhūri, ed. de Goeje, index; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa ‘l-Ishrāf*, ed. de Goeje, p. 303, 311 sq.; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 178, 264, 329, 366, 430, 584 sqq., 592 sqq., 598 sqq., 610; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i. 291, 306 sq., 309 sqq., 314, 318, 329 sqe., 343 sq., 346, 349 sq., 360, 377, 381; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-polit. Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (Abh. G. W. Gött., *Philol.-hist. Kl.*, New Series, v. 2), p. 25 sqq., 61 sqq.; do., *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 82, 92, 105, 107, 109 sqq., 115 sqq.; Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazid Ier*, p. 32 sq., 124—130, 137—180; Buhl, *Die Krisis der Umayyadenherrschaft im Jahre 684* (*Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, vol. xxvii., p. 50—64). (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

‘UD, the lute, is the most important musical instrument of Islāmic peoples from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf [cf. also ṬUNBÜR, ḲĪTĀRA, ḲĪTHĀRA].

Arabic authors do not discriminate between the *barbaṭ* and the ‘ūd, but there seems to have been a fundamental distinction between them. The *barbaṭ* had its sound-chest and neck constructed in one graduated piece, whereas in the ‘ūd proper the sound-chest and neck were separate. Al-Mas‘ūdī says (*Murūdj*, viii. 88) that the lute was “invented” by Lamak (Lamech of *Genesis*, iv.), but elsewhere (viii. 99) he tells us that it was generally acknowledged that the Greeks were the inventors. Pythagoras, Plato, Euclid and Ptolemy are also given the credit of its invention, although in the *Tanbīh* (B. G. A., viii. 129) al-Mas‘ūdī says that since Ptolemy does not mention the lute the Greeks evidently did not know of it. The instrument was certainly of ancient origin. Whether the terra cotta figure found at Goshen in Egypt, and attributed to the xixth–xxth dynasty, shows a lute or not (Petrie and Duncan, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 38, pl. xxxvii. B), we see undoubted examples of it in India from the iind century B.C. (sculpture from Bharhut in the Indian Museum, Calcutta). For later Indian examples see *J. Am. O. S.*, i. 244, 253; Burgess, *Buddhist stupas of Amarāvati and Jaggaṃyapata*, fig. 7. It also occurs in a frieze from Afghānistān (1st cent. A.D.) presented to the British Museum by Maj. Gen. Cunningham.

We are told that the lute (‘ūd) was known in Persia at the time of Shāpūr I (241—272 A.D.) during whose reign it is said to have been invented (Abu ‘l-Fida, *Historia anteislamica*, p. 82). It is more likely however that this instrument was the *barbaṭ*, and that the reference is rather to an improvement, possibly the substitution of a belly of wood instead of skin. The Persians called the instrument the *barbaṭ* because it resembled the breast (*bar*) of a duck (*baṭ*) (*Mafātīḥ al-‘Ulūm*, p. 238; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*). J. P. N. Land was of opinion that the Persian lute referred to by Arabic authors was actually a two-stringed *ṭunbūr* (*Trans. IXth Congress of Orientalists*, 1891, p. 154), but several specimens of Sāsānian art (ivth–viith century) have preserved designs of the Persian lute showing four strings (Dalton, *Treasures of the Oxus*, ed. 2, p. 211), and the number of strings is confirmed from other sources (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 59). That a two-stringed lute (‘ūd) existed at the end of the viith century in al-‘Irāq we know

from the *Ikd al-farīd* (iii. 181), and the design of a two-stringed lute (*barbaṭ*) of the viiith—ixth century has been preserved (Péard, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam*, pl. 67). The *barbaṭ* was the chief instrument of the Arab Ḡhassānids in pre-Islāmic times (*Aghānī*, xvi. 15) and also of the Syrians in early Islāmic times (*Aghānī*, iii. 84). The Greek βαρβιτος would appear to have been borrowed from the Orient (Athenaeus, *Deip.*, iv. 14), and Strabo remarks on its barbaric name (*Geog.*, x., iii. 17).

The Arabs of pre-Islāmic times had certain types of the lute known as the *mizhar*, *kirān* and *muwattar*. These would appear to have been identical with the *barbaṭ* but with skin bellies. The *mizhar* is unanimously identified with the lute ('ūd) by the Arabic lexicographers (see also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 93; *al-Ikd al-farīd*, iii. 186). In the ixth century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* however, the *mashar* (p. 562) or *mizhar* (p. 508) equates with *tympanum*, and the modern *mashar* is a tambourine. Indeed, the identification by the older Arabic lexicographers is suspect. The praises of the *mizhar* are sung by the vith century poets Imru'ū 'l-Kais (al-Shalāḥī, fol. 13) and 'Alkāma (*Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, text, p. 812). It was a great favourite with the Kuraish until al-Naḍr b. al-Hārith (d. 624) introduced the 'ūd from al-'Irāk. The *kirān*, according to al-Ḥarbi (d. 898), was also a lute ('ūd), and this author says that it was so called because it was placed [in playing] against the breast. This instrument is also mentioned by Imru'ū 'l-Kais (al-Shalāḥī, fol. 15). The *muwattar* is referred to by Labid (d. 612) [q. v.] and is generally considered to be a lute ('ūd) (Lane, *Lex.*, i. 126). About the close of the vith century al-Naḍr b. al-Hārith, as mentioned above, introduced the 'ūd from al-'Irāk into Mecca (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 93—94), the probable special feature of the instrument being its wooden belly ('ūd = "wood"). Al-Kalbī (d. 763) records (*Aghānī*, vii. 188) that the first to play the lute ('ūd) in Madīna was Sa'ib Khāthir (d. 683). About the year 684, Ibn Suraidj [q. v.] was playing on a lute ('ūd) constructed after the Persian manner (*Aghānī*, i. 98) (see the lute delineated in Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, 1927). This Persian type of lute continued to be favoured by the Arabs until Zalzal (d. 791) [q. v.] invented his "perfect lute" or 'ūd *shabbūt* (*Aghānī*, v. 24). The Persian lute, i. e. the *barbaṭ*, continued however to be favoured side by side with the 'ūd proper, and the xth century Mesopotamian lute shown in Bowen's *Life and Times of 'Alī b. 'Isā* (frontispiece) may very well be a *barbaṭ*. The same remark may be applied to the lute depicted on the Hispano-Moorish box of the xth—xith century in the Victoria and Albert Museum London (*The Legacy of Islām*, fig. 89), whilst the lute shown in the xiiith century *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Riaño, *Notes on early Spanish Music*, fig. 45) undoubtedly represents the *barbaṭ* (cf. the 'ūd, or lute proper, in fig. 44, b). Two other instruments of this type that we know of are the *pipā* and *ḡabūs*. The *pipā* is the so-called "balloon guitar" of the Chinese (Van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, Shanghai 1884, p. 64), who are said to have possessed it since the days of the Han dynasty. It was introduced into Mesopotamia by the Mughals in the xiiith century, and Ibn Ḡhaibr (d. 1435) describes it. It may be found in the paintings of the Mughal-Persian school (Marteau-

Vever, *Miniatures persanes* . . ., 1913, fig. 212). Al-Mutarrizī (d. 1216) refers to an instrument which he calls the *mī'zaf* [see art. MĪ'ZAF] and describes it as "a sort of *ḡunbūr*" made by the people of al-Yaman. According to the author of the *Tādī al-'Arūs*, this was the instrument now known as the *ḡabūs*. The *ḡabūs* (al-Ḥidjāz), *ḡabbūs* ('Umān), *ḡanbūs* (Ḥaḍramūt), *ḡupūs* or *ḡūpūs* (Turkey) is a very old instrument. Perhaps that illusive name of the musical instrument of the Yāmīka غبرورة قندورة in the *Murūdj* of al-Mas'ūdī is a copyist's error for قوبوزة (Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Instruments*, p. 59; *History of Arabian Music*, p. 6). Ewliyā Celebi (xviith cent.) says that the *ḡupūs* was invented by a vizier of Muḥammad II (d. 1481) named Aḥmad Paṣha Harsak Ughlī. He describes it as being a hollow instrument, smaller than the *shashīūr*, and mounted with three strings (*Travels*, i/ii. 235). On the other hand, Ibn Ḡhaibr (d. 1435) says that the *ḡupūs rūmī* had five double strings. The instrument is no longer used by the Turks, although it has survived under the name of *kobza*, *koboz*, in Poland, Russia, and the Balkans, but here it is the lute proper and not a *barbaṭ* type. For the *ḡabūs* of the modern Ḥidjāz, a long, shallow chested *barbaṭ*, hollow throughout, with a part belly of skin and six strings see Farmer, *Studies* . . ., p. 72. (For the Ḥaḍramī instrument see Landberg, *Arabica*, iii. 15, 29, 113. For a Malay gambus see *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R.A.S.*, 1904 [N^o. 40], p. 13, fig. 5). In Turkeṣtān a rather primitive bowed instrument is known as the *ḡubūs* (Fitrāt, *Uzbēk Kīlāssīk Mūsīkāsī*, Tashkent, p. 43).

The 'ūd or lute proper, as introduced by Zalzal in the viiith century, had, apparently, a separate neck like the modern instrument, whereas the *barbaṭ* or Persian lute, which the Arabs had used until then, had no separate neck, the whole instrument from the head downwards being in one graduated piece, perhaps hollow throughout like the *ḡabūs*. Zalzal's 'ūd *al-shabbūt* was so named because it resembled the fish called the *shabbūt*. The description of the *shabbūt* given by the Arabic lexicographers leads to the inference that the sound-chest of Zalzal's lute was ovoid rather than pear-shaped (cf. the Spanish *machete* in Engel's *Mus. Instr. in the South Kensington Museum*, pl. facing p. 248, which is in the form of a fish). We see the form of the 'ūd *al-shabbūt* persisting in Islāmic art for centuries, but the pear-shaped sound-chest, upon which the *barbaṭ* was founded, eventually became the more popular type (Lachmann, *Musik des Orients*, pl. 11). Ziryāb (viiith—ixth century), the famous Andalusian musician, is claimed to have improved the 'ūd at Baghdād, and in al-Andalus he introduced a plectrum of quill instead of the one of wood that had hitherto been used (al-Maḡḡarī, *Analectes*, ii. 86—87). He is also said to have introduced a fifth string, a device dealt with by both al-Kindī (d. 874) and al-Fārābī (d. 950). For a full statement of the influence (*ta'ṭhīr*, cf. *ḡhoḡ*) of the strings of the 'ūd on man see Farmer, *The Influence of Music: from Arabic Sources*, London 1926.

At this period the names of the various parts of the 'ūd were: *ra's* (head, scroll), *malāwī* (tuning pegs), *anf* (nut), *ibrik* or *unḡ* (neck), *awṭār* (strings), *dasātīn* (frets), *mushṭ* (bridge-tailpiece), *wadīḡ* (belly), *'ain* (sound-hole), *miḡrāb* (plectrum).

For the particular names of the strings and frets see art. *MUSKĪ*. Dimensions and other details are given by al-Kindī (Berlin MS., No. 5530, fol. 25), al-Fārābī (D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i. 163), the *Ikhwān al-Safā'* (Bombay ed., i. 98) and al-Khwarizmi (*Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm*, p. 238). By the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1293) [q. v.], the 'ūd had five strings (Carra de Vaux, *Le traité des rapports musicaux*, p. 52), and this continued up to the xvth century in the East. This instrument, called the 'ūd *kāmil*, was slightly larger than the older classical lute ('ūd *kadīm*) of four strings. Some very large types of lute have been preserved in Persian art (*Isl.*, iii., fig. 6). A (Persian treatise on music, the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* saivth century) and a Turkish imitation of the game by Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrullāh (xvth century) a ve full details of the construction of the 'ūd. In the xvth century copy of a Maghribi treatise on *Ae 'ūd* we have a four-stringed instrument (Farmer, *mn old Moorish Lute Tutor*, p. 4). Unlike the *iedia* val lute (see Farmer, *Arabic musical MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, front.) the modern lute is not fretted. For the modern Moroccan 'ūd with four double strings see Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes* (1787), p. 261, pl. xxxi., and for a seven double stringed instrument see Lavignac, *Encycl. de la musique*, v. 2927. Neither Russell (*Nat. hist. of Aleppo*, 2nd ed., 1794) nor Niebuhr (*Reisebeschreibung von Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, 1774—1778) mention the 'ūd, but the seven double stringed instrument is figured and fully described by Villoteau in the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809—1826), fol. ed., i. 847, and in Lane's *Modern Egyptians* (1836). The Egyptian 'ūd of to-day has five double strings (Darwish Muḥammad, *Safā'* al-Awḳāt, Cairo 1910, p. 11; Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khulā'i, *al-Mūsikī al-sharḳī*, Cairo 1904) although occasionally six double strings may be found (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, v. 2785). In Syria and Palestine a seven double stringed instrument was in use (Mushārka, *Risālat al-Shihābiya* in the early xixth century, but this has now fallen into desuetude in favour of the five double stringed instrument (Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwan*; *M. F. O. B.*, vi., pl. iii.; *Z. D. P. V.*, 1., pl. 4). Turkey favours a six stringed 'ūd with five double and one single string (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, v. 3017; Fakhrī Bey, *Nazarī ve-ilmī 'ūd Derslari*, Stambul). Specimens of the 'ūd may be found in most museums (South Kensington, London, No. 689/69; Brussels, No. 164; New York, No. 378). Europe owes both the instrument and its name (*al-'ūd* = Port. *laud*, Span. *laud*, French *luth*, German *Laute*, Engl. *lute*) to the Arabs.

Among other types of the lute are the *tuhfat al-'ūd*, *kuwitra*, *lawṭa*, *rūd*, *shahrūd*, *ṭarab al-futuh*, *ṭarab zūr*, *awzān*, *rubāb*, *mughnī*, *shidīrghū* and *rūḥ afzā*. The *tuhfat al-'ūd* is described by Ibn Ḡhaibī as a half-sized 'ūd. The *kuwitra* or *kuwīthra* is a lute with a smaller and shallower sound-chest, its head being fixed obliquely rather than at a right angle as in the 'ūd. It is common to the whole of the Maghrib and has four double strings (Salvador-Daniel, *La musique arabe*, 1879, p. 81; Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe*, p. 30, fig. 4). The name is a diminutive (vulg.) of *kītāra* or *kithāra*, an instrument used in Moorish Spain as early as the xth century (*al-'Iqd al-farīd*). The *كيترة* of al-Shakundī (d. 1231)

quoted by al-Maḥḥarī (*Analectes*, ii. 144) is doubtless *كيترة* (cf. Dozy, *Suppl. Dict. Arabes*, and Fagnan, *Add. aux Dict. Arabes*). In the xith century (Seybold, *Gloss. Lat.-Arabicum*) and the xiiith century (Schiaparelli, *Voc. in Arabico*) the words *kithār* and *kithāra* equate with the Latin *cithara*. For specimens of the *kuwitra* see Brussels, Nrs. 292—295; New York, No. 401; Paris, No. 852. The *lawṭa* is somewhat similar to the *kuwitra*. It has four double strings, and is very popular in Turkey. It appears to have been borrowed, together with its name, from Italy, and is certainly of comparatively modern adoption since it is not mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi (xviiith century). The *rūd* is of Persian origin and the word, like *tār*, means a string. It was also an instrument of the lute family (cf. Advielle, *op. cit.*, p. 14). Ibn Ḡhaibī mentions a *rūd khātī* (Bodleian Library MS. Marsh, No. 828) or *rūa khāmī* (Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley, No. 264; cf. *rūd jāma* in Vullers' *Lexicon*). The *rūdak* and *rūda* are also mentioned. Ewliyā Čelebi describes a *rūda* which had "recently" been invented by a certain Shukrullāh Beg. He likens it to the *čārtār*. Al-Maḥḥarī (*Analectes*, ii. 143—144) quoting al-Shakundī (d. 1231) mentions the *rūṭa* in al-Andalus. This may have been identical with the Latin *ruta*, *ruda*, *rote*. The *shahrūd* or *shahrūd* was invented in the year 912 by Ḥakīm b. Aḥwas al-Sughdī (*Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm*, p. 237; cf. Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, p. 43 and Carra de Vaux, *op. cit.*, p. 16). In al-Fārābī's day it had a compass of three octaves (d'Erlanger, *op. cit.*, p. 42). Ibn Ḡhaibī says that it had ten double strings and that it was twice the length of the ordinary 'ūd. The *ṭarab al-futuh* and *ṭarab zūr* are described by Ibn Ḡhaibī. The first-named had six double strings (cf. the *ṭarab rūb* in *Z. D. M. G.*, xx. 492). The name *ṭarab* is still to be found in an instrument of India (Shahinda, *op. cit.*, p. 79). The *ṭarab* was probably the original of the European *tiórba* (Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian musical Influence*, p. 144). The *awzān* is also described by Ibn Ḡhaibī. It was a Turkish instrument popular with the Mamlūk sultāns of Egypt (al-Maḥḥarī, *Hist. des Sult. Mamlouks*, i/i. 136). It was certainly not a drum as Quatremère thought, since Ibn Ḡhaibī places it among the lutes of three strings, and says that it was played with a wooden plectrum by Turkish minstrels. The *rubāb* (a lute) is to be distinguished from the *rabāb* (a viol). The former is a Persian and Eastern Turkish instrument with a vaulted sound-chest and incurvations at the waist. For a xiiith century Persian *rubāb* (misprinted *rabāb*) see *The Legacy of Islām*, ed. Arnold and Guillaume, fig. 90. It is described at length in the Persian *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xivth century). The lower part of the belly was of skin, and three double strings were mounted on it. Ibn Ḡhaibī says that sometimes four or five double strings were adopted. In Persia it has fallen into disuse. In Turkestan however, it still continues to be favoured, but here it is strung with three single strings together with twelve sympathetic strings (Fitrat, *op. cit.*, p. 42). It has found its way into India (Day, *op. cit.*, p. 128) and China (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, i. 179). The *mughnī* or *mūghnī* was invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294). It was a sort of arch-lute and is described in the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xivth century) and by Ibn Ḡhaibī and Ewliyā Čelebi. For a design and other particulars see Farmer, *Studies in Oriental*

musical Instruments, p. 14—15, and frontispiece. The *shidīrghū*, as it is written by Ibn Ḡhaibī (cf. Sachs, *Lexikon*, s.v. *shidūrghūr*), was a long instrument with half of its belly covered with skin. It had four strings but was mostly used, he says, in China. The *rūh afṣā* had a hemispherical sound-chest with six double strings of silk and metal. Many instruments with a hemispherical sound-chest are to be found in Persian art (*Pantheon*, 1929, p. 173; *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1911, i. 151).

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(H. G. FARMER)

'UDHRA, an Arab tribe of the southern group, belonging to the great subdivision of the Ḳuḏā'a. Genealogy: 'Udhra b. Sa'd Hudhaim b. Zaid b. Laith b. Aslam b. al-Hāf b. Ḳuḏā'a (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, i. 18). We know nothing of their history in the remote past, for their identification with the 'Aḡṣrai (var. 'Aḡṣrai) of Ptolemy, proposed by Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 205, § 333 is anything but certain; in the historical period we find them established in the north of the Ḥidjāz, in the vicinity of other Ḳuḏā'a tribes (Naḥd, Djuhaina, Bali, Kalb) and their territory adjoined that of the northern tribe of the Ḡhaṭafān. The Wādī 'l-Ḳurā and Tabūk are mentioned as their principal centres and they were found as far away as Aila on the Red Sea. Their settlement in districts in the north of Arabia is said to be due to the great migration of Ḳuḏā'a tribes, which took place after the war with the Ḥimyarites (see especially al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, p. 18, 22, 27, 29, sq. = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen d. arab. Stämme*, p. 25, 31, 37, 41; cf. *Aḡḡānī*, xvi. 161) and the 'Udhra are said to have concluded an agreement with the Jews living in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā by which they were allowed to lead a nomadic life there and they respected the palm-groves and gardens of the latter.

The 'Udhra seem always to have been closely allied with other tribes of the Sa'd Hudhaim (especially the Banū Dīnna, who had the same name as a clan of the 'Udhra and the Banū Salāmān) and were known together with them by the name of Ṣuḡār (of which the doubtful etymology is given by Yaḡūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 368); they were also associated with the Djuhaina, to whom some sources also extend the name Ṣuḡār; this alliance is said to have been a result of the "war of al-Kāriḡ" which broke up the Ḳuḏā'a and caused them to leave al-Tihāma, where they had settled after their departure from the Yemen.

We know that modern historical criticism attaches hardly any value to these statements of genealogical tradition, and indeed the 'Udhra seem to be allied with tribes which the same tradition assigns to the northern group, like the Bakr b. Wā'il and the Djazāra. It is true that al-Hamdānī (*Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, i. 116, l. 17) puts a section

of the 'Udhra in southern Arabia, but it is impossible to decide if he is referring to this tribe or to another of the same name, especially as the genealogical lists mention almost everywhere other tribes bearing the name 'Udhra (cf. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Mukhtalif al-Kabā'il*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 37, gives four of them; Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Djamharat al-Ansāb* gives us another five).

According to tradition, the 'Udhra were closely related to the Meccan Quraysh; the latter's ancestor Kuṣaiy [q. v.] whose mother had married an 'Udhri is said to have been brought up with this tribe, and his half-brother Rizāh (in Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, i. 24, erroneously: Darrādī) b. Rabi'a b. Ḥarām is said to have fought on the side of the Quraysh defending Mecca against the Khuzā'a. On the other hand, the mother of the eponyms of the two tribes of Yathrib, al-Aws and al-Khazraj, is also said to have been an 'Udhri called Kaila bint Kāhil (or bint Ḥalik) b. 'Udhra; so that the Anṣār as well as the Quraysh were connected with the 'Udhra on the female side.

The 'Udhra are said to have worshipped a deity Shams, the sun (al-Ya'qūbī, i. 296, l. 3), but we know no details.

The principal subdivisions of the tribe (Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāq*, p. 320) are the Banū Dinna, Banū Djuhuma, Banū Zaḳzaḳa, Banu 'l-Djalḥa' Banū Ḥardash, Banū Hunn; Ibn al-Kalbī (*Djamharat al-Ansāb*) also adds the Banū Mudliḍ, who are said to have been numerous and powerful (they are not mentioned in Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*).

The pre-Islamic history of the 'Udhra is poor in warlike episodes. This is probably due to the fact that the 'Udhri poets of this period are not numerous and we know that the records of the wars of the tribes depend almost entirely upon the verses which mention them; there is just a mention of a battle which took place at some time not precisely stated between the 'Udhra and the Banū Marra b. Naṣr, a clan of the Banū Ashjdja' (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 171). An allusion to a defeat which they sustained at the hands of the 'Abs is found in a verse of a poet of the latter tribe (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 826, l. 2). But the 'Udhra must certainly have attained a considerable degree of influence through the control which they exercised over the road between the Hijāz and Syria: this explains the title "Master (*rab*) of the Hijāz" borne by a certain Hawdhā b. 'Amr (Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāq*, p. 320) or better: b. Abī 'Amr, whose praises were sung by al-Nābigha (cf. Dérénbourg, *Nābigha Dhobyānī inédit*, p. 48, n. xlvi. [*J. A.*, 1899] where one should read *Dinna* for *Ḍabba*). This Hawdhā is a descendant of the semi-mythical *mu'ammār* poet 'Uss or 'Ithyar (numerous other variants) b. Labid (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. z. arab. Phil.*, i. 42 and notes, p. 30³; Nöldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, lvi. 168). It is again al-Nābigha who sings praises of another clan of the 'Udhra, the Banū Hunn, against whom the king of al-Ḥira al-Nu'mān III proposed to take the field (n. xiii., Ahlwardt; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 583).

But it is only after Islām that the part played in history by the 'Udhra becomes better known; it was undoubtedly their dominant position in the Wādī 'l-Kurā, which caused Muḥammad to enter into friendly relations with them; in the year 2 of the Hijra he sent them a letter (Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 33) but without any apparent result, and in

the year 7 he is said to have assigned a fief (*ḥaḥḥa*) to a descendant of the above mentioned Hawdhā, because he was the first of his tribe to bear the *ṣadaqa* to the Prophet (al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 35); in the following year they fought at Mu'ta against the Byzantines (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, p. 793; Ṭabarī, i. 1612). These facts suggest that the 'Udhra were early converted to Islām, but on the other hand it is not till the year 9 that we find the first mention of an official embassy from them to Medina (Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 66-67); this is what makes one think that the earlier references are not authentic and even that the 'Udhra did not become Muslims until after the death of Muḥammad (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 50, 229, 444, 1126).

The 'Udhra took part in the Syrian expedition of the year 12 under 'Amr b. al-'Ās and we find them settled in this country in the Omayyad period (cf. Ṭabarī, ii. 1792, 1818) and also at Kūfa (*Aghānī*, xvi. 7, 37), but it does not seem that they distinguished themselves in any way; although their presence in Upper Egypt is noted (al-Ḥamdānī, *Diasīrat al-'Arab*, p. 130, l. 4-6), they played no part in politics and gave neither here nor elsewhere any personage of note to the history of Islām.

What has given the 'Udhra a fame without equal even beyond the bounds of the Arab world down to French and German (Heine) romanticism, is their love of poetry and the touching stories of some of their poets [cf. 'UDHRI], whom an unfortunate passion for a woman of their tribe reduced to death by consumption (notably 'Urwa b. Ḥizām, the "victim of love" [*ḥatīl al-ḥubb*] who is the representative of this type; cf. Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Shi'r wa 'l-Shu'ara'*, ed. de Goeje, p. 394-399; *Aghānī*, xx. 152-158 etc.). But that love-poetry did not exclude the cultivation of other varieties, is evident from the example of Djamil [q. v.] whose celebrated love affair with Buṭhnā (Buṭhaina) did not prevent him writing panegyric and satirical poetry. Besides, the romantic conception of love is found also among other tribes; in this connection is recorded the answer of an 'Udhri who was asked if his tribe was really the most tender-hearted in all Arabia (*Aghānī*, i. 179): "We were", he said, "but the Banū 'Āmir (b. Ṣaṣa'a) have vanquished us with their Madjūnūn" (the poet Kais b. Mu'adh or b. al-Mulawwaḥ [iii. 102]). The 'Udhra were also celebrated for their eloquence (cf. *Aghānī*, vii. 54).

The charge of cannibalism, so frequent in the satires exchanged between tribes (cf. al-Djāhiz, *Kitāb al-Buḥḥat*, ed. Van Vloten, p. 260-261; *Kitāb al-Ḥaiyawān*, i. 129-130), has also been levelled against the 'Udhra, who are said to have eaten a female slave (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Brit. Mus. MS., Add., 23, 297, fol. 184v); we know that such statements have no value except the very general one of showing that a particular tribe was reputed to be in a miserable state of poverty, and in reality the 'Udhra appear from the rather meagre information we possess about them to have been an essentially nomadic tribe, living mainly in the pre-Muḥammadan period on the tribute paid them by the Jews of the oases. The occupation of the latter by Islām must have undoubtedly reduced the resources of the Beduins.

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bellen, p. 349; Ibn Ẹutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 51; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ḍjamharat al-Ansāb*, MS. Escorial 1698, fol. 260^r—262^r; al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (Cairo 1342), ii. 297.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

'UDHRĪ, a patronymic from the name of the Arab tribe of the Banū 'Udhra [q.v.], a small tribe of the Ḥidjāz, probably of Ḳaṭṭanid descent (cf. *Aghānī*², vii. 72—73), which amalgamated with the Ḍjuhaina; the remnants of them are still to be found to-day near Yanbū' (Ḥidjāz) and in the Egyptian Sūdān.

Hubb 'udhri, "Udhri love", is in the history of Islamic thought a literary and philosophical theme, related to the "platonic love" of the Greeks from which it is derived, and to the *amour courtois* of the western Christian middle ages which it inspired.

This theme, which probably was invented by the Yemeni colonists of the *ḡund* of Kūfa, celebrates an ideal Beduin tribe, in which, carrying to its extreme a refinement of tenderness from delicacy of feeling and vows of chastity, lovers "die of love" rather than "place a hand" on the beloved object. The 'Udhri ideal is Ḍjamīl, who dies in this way for love of Buḥaina.

In a well-known ḥadīth inspired by this point of view, Muḥammad is represented as saying that "he who loves but remains chaste, never reveals his secret and dies, dies the death of a martyr" (*man 'ashika* . .).

This subject is hardly found in Aṣma'ī (Ibn Ẹutaiba, *Ta'wīl*, p. 410—412). It attains its fullest development in an exquisite work, the *Kitāb al-Zuhra* of Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 297 = 910), a Ḍāhiri legist. Following him, other Ḍāhiri jurists sang of Platonic love, notably Ibn Ḥazm and later Ibn 'Arabi in his *Tarḍjumān al-Ashwāḳ* on which his *Dhakḥa'ir* form a commentary; this is compared by Asin Palacios to the *Vita Nova* and *Convito* of Dante.

Finding a place in the classical collections like the *Maṣāriṣ al-'Ushshāḳ* of Sarraḍj, the *Ḍiwān al-Ṣabāba* of Ibn Abi Ḥāḍjala, the *Tazayin al-Ashwāḳ* of Anṭākī, the theme was taken over into mysticism by Abū Ḥamza al-Baḡhdādī (d. 269 = 882) who made of it an exercise in paradoxical asceticism; and by Aḥmad al-Ḡhazālī and 'Ain al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadḥānī who sang the damnation by pure love of Iblis. It was also celebrated by poets, adepts of a uranism, at bottom very profane, to conceal the weakness of the flesh, in Arabic (al-Safadī), in Persian (Ḥāfiz, *Ḡhazal*; Hilālī, *Shah u-Gadā*), in Turkish (Mesīḫī, *Sheḥirengiz*), in Urdu and in Javanese.

'Abd al-Ḡhanī al-Nābulusī has made the Prophet Muḥammad the ideal type of the 'Udhri lover (in his *Ḡhayat al-Maṭlūb*) on account of his attachment for Zaid b. Ḥāritha.

Bibliography: Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī al-Ḍāhiri, *Kitāb al-Zuhra*, Ms. Cairo, iv. 260, analysed in Massignon, *Hallaj*, 1922, p. 170—179; extracts in Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Maṣālik*, and Massignon, *Textes inédits*; Abu 'l-Faradž al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Index, s.v. (Stendhal alludes to it in his *De l'Amour*, ed. C. Levy, p. 177—182); Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawḳ al-Ḥamāma*, ed. D. Petrof, Leyden 1914; al-Sarraḍj, *Maṣāriṣ al-'Ushshāḳ*, ed. Stamboul 1301; Ibn al-Ḍjawzī, *Hubb yūsufi*, MS. Paris 1296, etc.; Ibn 'Arabi, *Tarḍjumān al-Ashwāḳ*, transl. Nicholson, London 1911 (*O. T. F.*, vol. xx.); Ibn Abi Ḥāḍjala, *Ḍiwān al-Ṣabāba*, Cairo 1921;

'Abd al-Karim al-Ḍjili, *Insān kāmil*, Cairo 1304; i. 53; 'Abd al-Ḡhanī al-Nābulusī, *Ḡhayat al-Maṭlūb* (alias *Makḥradj al-Muttaḳi*), MS. of my collection; Massignon, *Hallaj*, Paris 1922, p. 167—182, 691, 796—799; do., *Essai*, 1922, p. 87—88; do., *Introspection et rétrospection*, in *Oostersch. Genootschap in Nederland*, iv., 1925, p. 22—25; Asin Palacios, *La escatologia musulmana en la divina comedia*, Madrid 1919, p. 339—349 (cf. review by Massignon, in *R. M. M.*, 1919 xxxvi. 27—62).

(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

'UDJ, also 'Āḍj B. 'ANĀḳ or 'ANĀḳ, is the Arabic name of the Biblical 'Ōg, the giant king of Bashan. The Ḳur'ān does not mention him. Tabarī, *Annales*, I, 500—501 tells of his great stature and death: Moses was ten ells in height, his staff ten ells long, he jumped 10 ells high and smote 'Udj in the heel; the body of the fallen giant served as a bridge across the Nile.

Ṭhalabī gives more details: 'Udj was 23,333 ells high, drank from the clouds, could reach to the bottom of the sea and pull out a whale which he roasted on the sun. Noah drove him in front of the ark but the Flood only reached his knees. He lived for 3,000 years. When Moses sent out the twelve spies, 'Udj put them into the bundle of wood on his head and wanted to trample on them but on the advice of his wife he sent them back so that they might put fear by their report into the heart of those that sent them. When 'Udj saw the camp of Israel, he broke from the mountain a rock large enough to crush the camp at one blow but God sent the *hudḥūd* (hoopoe) and birds who made a hole in the rock so that it fell like a collar on 'Udj. Moses overthrew him in one leap.

Al-Kisā'ī expands the story and increases the marvellous element in it. 'Udj was the son of Ḳābil (Cain) banished by Adam and of his sister 'Anāḳ ('Anāḳ thus becomes a woman's name). Although chastised by his mother, 'Udj caught the stone with which Iblis tried to kill her. She therefore blessed him with strength and longevity. When he waded through the sea, it reached to his knees; when he walked, the earth trembled; when he wept, rivers flowed from his eyes; he used to eat two elephants at a meal. He slept twice a year. In Nimrod's time, he boasted that he controlled the heavens. He worked on the Ark with Noah. He was sitting on Pharaoh's council when Yūska', sent by Moses, demanded that he should worship God. In order to win Pharaoh's daughter, he was going to destroy the camp of Israel with the gigantic rock, but was slain by Moses.

The sources of these legends are to be found in the Bible and in the Haggadah. The Bible mentions 'Ōg's great size (*Deut.*, iii. 11) and his fall (*Num.*, xxi. 33—35). E. Jōḥanan describes 'Ōg as a fugitive who had escaped the Flood (*B. Nidda*, 61a). Sometimes he is said to be the fugitive who brought Abraham the news of Lot's capture (*Gen.*, xiv. 13). As a reward for this, he was given long life (*Gen. Rubba*, xlii. 8). Like al-Kisā'ī, *Deut. Rabba*, i. 25 puts him at the court of Pharaoh. *B. Berachōt*, 54^b, Palest. *Targum* on *Num.*, xxi. 35 records how Moses slew him in one leap. It is in keeping with Muslim legend that in place of the ants, or worm, which eat away 'Ōg's rock we have the *hudḥūd*, celebrated in the legend of Solomon.

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501 (on the reading 'Ādj s. Barth's note on p. 501); *Tha'labi, Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 151—153; al-Kisā'i, *Vitae Prophetarum*, ed. Eisenberg, p. 233—235; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leyden 1893, p. 180—182.

(BERNHARD HELLER)

UDJDA. [See OURJDA.]

AL-UFRĀNĪ. [See AL-WAFRĀNĪ.]

UGANDA, a British Protectorate in Eastern Equatorial Africa lying to the North of Lake Victoria. It takes its name from the Bantu Kingdom of Buganda, which is one of the four provinces comprising the Protectorate. The Swahili name Uganda ("Country of the Baganda", the Swahili prefix *u* "Country of" replacing the Baganda *bu* with the same meaning) was first applied to the kingdom of Mutesa, discovered by J. H. Speke in 1862, and in time came to include the whole Protectorate which grew out of the extension of British influence in Buganda.

a. Geographical Outline. The Uganda Protectorate lies approximately between latitude 1° S. and 4° N., and longitude E. 30° and 35°, and has an area of approximately 94,204 sq. miles including 13,616 sq. miles of water. The general level of the country is 4,000 ft., with the slopes of Mt. Elgon (14,000) in the East, and the highlands of Toro in the West at an altitude of 5,000 ft. rising to the Ruwenzori range with its snow-clad peaks, of which the highest is Mt. Stanley, 16,816 ft. Highlands are found in the South-West, culminating in the volcanic regions of Mfumbiro where great cones rise to 11,000 or even 15,000 ft. But with the exception of some highlands on the Belgian Congo boundary West of the Nile 2° 15' N., the general level in the northern districts of the protectorate has been influenced by the Nile drainage system and is consequently lower and may not be more than 3,000 ft.

Lake Victoria, or Victoria Nyanza (3,726 ft.) feeds the Nile at the Ripon Falls (discovered by Speke in 1862), and is looked upon as the source of that river. Lake Albert (2,028), which forms part of the western boundary of the Protectorate, is fed by the Semiliki River draining from Lakes George and Edward, and in its turn discharges into the Nile proper, soon after receiving the waters of the Victoria Nile at its northern end. Accordingly Uganda is situated at the headwaters of the White Nile, and the Nile is the main drainage system of the whole country. The climate of the Protectorate is more temperate than that of other tropical countries; the mean maximum in most districts averages 80° F., and the mean minimum 60° F. In the lowlying areas in the North the mean maximum may be as high as 90° F. The annual rainfall varies considerably; on the North littoral of Lake Victoria the average approximates 60 inches, and there is a good rainfall on the slopes of Mt. Elgon and in the Toro Highlands. To the North the rainfall diminishes until conditions similar to that in the Southern Sūdān are reached. In areas where the rainfall is adequate, bananas are cultivated, and constitute the staple diet of the people; elsewhere grains of various kinds are grown. The vegetation of Uganda ranges from a sparse desert type of flora to equatorial forests of the Congo type, and on the Highlands of Elgon and Ruwenzori is found an Alpine Zone of considerable interest. A great portion of the

Protectorate consists of rich grasslands in a rolling savannah country.

b. Inhabitants. The population in 1929 is given as 3,410,857, of which 1,995 are Europeans and 12,539 are Asiatics. In the 1921 Census, the native population was returned as 2,848,735, made up of 267,522 Protestants, 255,014 Catholics, 98,000 Muḥammadans, and 2,228,199 pagans. The population of the Buganda Province of 774,753 includes 72,263 Muḥammadans, so that nearly 75% of the adherents to Islām are found amongst the Baganda. Ethnologically the inhabitants may be divided into three divisions, following the classification of Prof. C. G. Seligman: Eastern Bantu, Half Hamites and Nilotes. Of the Eastern Bantu the Baganda are the best known. It seems that several centuries ago there were successive migrations of a Hamitic cattle-owning people into this part of Africa, who established the large kingdom of Kitara, dominating the agricultural Bantu. This kingdom in time broke up into the three present divisions: the kingdom of Ankole, where the Hamite is dominant, the kingdom of Bunyoro, where there has been considerable fusion between the original Hamitic stock and the Bantu, and the kingdom of Buganda in which, though the dominant Hamitic stock still carries on the line of Kings, there has been a still greater fusion with the Bantu element. The Half Hamite is represented by such tribes as the Karamojong and the Iteso; whilst the Nilote is represented by the Acholi, Lango and other tribes in the North West of the protectorate.

c. History. The Victoria Nyanza was discovered by Burton and Speke in 1859 and the source of the Nile, the Ripon Falls, by Speke and Grant in 1862. Stanley reached Uganda in 1875 and wrote the famous letters, depicting the native kingdom of Buganda dominated by the influence of the slave trading Arabs, flirting with Islām and ripe for Christian missionary endeavour, which had such influence in determining the future destinies of that country. A band of Protestant missionaries reached Uganda in 1877 by way of the route used by the Arabs from Zanzibar, followed in 1879 by a party of French priests. Meanwhile Sir Samuel Baker, having discovered Lake Albert in 1864, was sent by the Khedive in 1869 as Governor General to the Sūdān with instructions to suppress the slave raiding which was carried on by Turks and Arabs, whose base was Gondokoro and whose furthest station was some 15 days farther south. By 1872 he had reached Bunyoro and annexed it to the Sūdān. Gordon followed him as Governor-General and sent emissaries to the kingdom of Buganda, one of whom met Stanley at the court of the Buganda King, Mutesa, and took back with him for despatch to England Stanley's celebrated letters. On the outbreak of the Mahdi rising in the Sūdān, Emin Pasha, who was Governor of the Equatorial Province of the Egyptian Sūdān, which included the northern part of Uganda, was cut off from al-Khartūm, and was rescued by Stanley. A portion of Emin's force mutinied and remained in Toro, in what is now the Belgian Congo, under the leadership of Salim Bey, an Egyptian officer.

The route to the interior from Mombasa [q.v.] through what is now Kenya Colony having now been opened up by the Arabs, the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1889 sent an expedition to Uganda with a view to annexation, and on the

Anglo-German negotiations for the partition of the east coast and hinterland, Uganda was assigned to Britain.

In 1890 Captain (now Lord) Lugard, who was engaged in building a series of forts from the coast, was ordered to Uganda to consolidate the Company's position there. Mwanga, the son and successor of Mutesa, had been deposed by both Christians and Muhammadans, and had fled to the South end of Lake Victoria to take refuge with some Catholic Missionaries, and Kiwewa was put on the throne. The Muhammadans soon tired of Kiwewa, who refused to adopt their customs, and eventually Kalema was proclaimed Kabaka (king) in his stead. He, profiting by the experience of his brother, professed himself a devout Muhammadan, and tried to enforce Muhammadan rites, including circumcision, on the peasantry, which caused a considerable exodus of Christians into Ankole. Mwanga was then invited by the Protestant party to return, and with a large following, he defeated the Muhammadan army and entered the capital. The Muhammadans retreated to Bunyoro whence they made frequent raids into Buganda, and on the death of Kalema chose Mbogo, Mutesa's brother, to be their Kabaka. Lugard on his arrival forced Mwanga to sign a temporary treaty, and in order to obtain a reliable force, came to an agreement with Salim Bey, the leader of the remnant of Emin Pasha's troops. He enlisted some of these Sudanese for service in Buganda, and the others he posted in forts in Bunyoro and in Toro. The Sudanese in the forts were not under proper supervision and were left to the care of their native officers. They were allowed to forage for themselves, and accordingly the cause of Islam was not helped by them amongst the neighbouring peasantry.

In 1892 the Imperial British East Africa Company proposed to abandon the country on the grounds of expense unless subsidized by the British Government, who at first refused to assist them, but subsequently, partly owing to the pressure of public opinion, mainly organised by the Church Missionary Society, and partly because they were given proofs that the country showed every sign of returning prosperity, reversed its decision, and assumed control in 1894, when a provisional treaty was completed with Mwanga.

In 1897 a series of revolts broke out. Mwanga had never become reconciled to the new state of affairs and was secretly plotting. Finally he fled to Buddu and raised the standard of rebellion, but being defeated by the Sudanese troops, fled to German territory. Macdonald, who had been engaged on the railway survey, was under orders to survey new and unexplored country near Lake Rudolf, and required a large escort, and Sudanese troops who had been almost continually fighting in various areas were detailed for this purpose. The troops were underpaid and in a discontented state of mind, and consequently several companies seized this opportunity to break into open revolt. Messengers were sent to the Muhammadan Baganda and an endeavour was made to induce Mbogo, their leader, to throw in his lot with the mutineers who would place him on the throne. Mbogo, however, refused and remained loyal to the British despite his religion, for not only had he no wish to join the rebels, but he also knew that according to the customs of the Baganda, he, as eldest son of the late Kabaka, could not properly be placed on the

throne. Affairs were also complicated by Mwanga joining up with Kabarega, the Mukama (King) of Bunyoro, in an endeavour, whilst the troops were in a state of mutiny, to drive the British out of their countries. Eventually the mutiny was quelled and the capture of the two kings and their deportation to the Seychelles brought the troubles to an end, and since 1899 the country has enjoyed almost unbroken peace. The story of Buganda and its troubles is the real story of the Protectorate. From Buganda the other tribes have been brought under British rule, sometimes by a show of military force and minor expeditions, more often by peaceful penetration.

Islam was brought to Uganda both from the East Coast and from the North. Arabs from the East Coast had penetrated to the kingdom of Uganda and were in a dominant position when Speke arrived at Mutesa's court. With the guns obtained from the Arabs in exchange for slaves and ivory, the Baganda, a most intelligent and enterprising race of people, who had already evolved an elaborate system of government, were enabled to gain the ascendancy over neighbouring tribes, but they were anxious to learn from the Arabs the secret of writing also, as they realised the power which this would give them. In the early days the Arabs refused to give them this, but made converts. No sooner had the Christian missionaries arrived than the Baganda quickly learned that they were willing and anxious to teach them to write, and to give them other instruction which would enable them to assimilate a culture, which they recognised to be superior to their own. The Arabs, realising that they were losing ground, sent for teachers from the coast and established schools, where children were taught to write Swahili in Arabic characters. The fluctuating fortunes of Islam and Christianity represent the conflict of two different cultures, and the final ascendancy of Christianity must, in the main, be attributed to the superior educational facilities offered by the Christian missions.

Islamic influence from the North has not been so important. In the early days the Turks and Arabs were interested only in raiding slaves from unorganised tribes. The troops and followers of the Provincial Governors and other officials from the Sudan made few converts, and the imported Sudanese, remnants of Emin Pasha's force, all of whom are adherents to Islam, have not had a great influence on the native population, though they live in communities scattered through the Protectorate and at one time formed the backbone of the Protectorate military forces and the civil police. In the West Nile district, inhabited by Nilotes, there has of recent years been a spread of Islam, mostly due to the strong personalities of a few chiefs, who have embraced Islam, encouraged education, and set up schools, but this is offset by large numbers of pagans who have become Christians and receive the benefits of a better education under European supervision.

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(E. B. HADDON)

‘UKĀB, the eagle, the king of birds. al-Kazwīnī and al-Damīrī tell remarkable things about his habits, some of which go back to Greek tradition. According to al-Damīrī, there are black, brown, greenish and white eagles. Some nest in the mountains, others in deserts, in thick woods or in the vicinity of towns. (Here there is of course a confusion with the vulture and also in the statement that they follow armies and devour the fallen). The eagle hunts small wild animals and birds and eats only the liver, because this is a protection for him against disease. He does not stalk his prey but gives a cry when he sees a bird from his lofty perch and this gives it an opportunity to escape. Sometimes it happens that his beak grows so long that he can no longer hunt and must die of hunger. When the eagle is weak with age and becomes blind, according to al-Kazwīnī, he rises into the air until his feathers are consumed by the sun. He then falls down, plunges into a well of bitter water and comes out again completely rejuvenated. According to al-Damīrī, the young eagles carry the old ones, when they are blind, from place to place until they reach a spring in India. They are plunged into this and then dried in the rays of the sun while the old feathers fall off and new ones grow and at the same time their eyesight is restored. According to the author of “Agriculture”, vultures come out of eagles’ eggs and eagles out of those of vultures. According to others, all eagles are female and mate with other birds. They lay three eggs but throw the third young one out of the nest because they can only rear two. The third is brought up by the bird called *kāsir al-izām* (“bone-breaker”). Eagles fly so quickly that in the morning they can be in the ‘Irāk and in the evening in the Yemen. Their eyries are built on steep hillsides; the young ones know they must not move or they would fall out and perish but as soon as they have feathers, they fly excellently.

The eagle-stone is brought by the eagle from India and put in the nest to enable the female to lay more easily. It is a stone with another stone loose inside it, the rattle of which can be heard. It is used to relieve women in child-birth. This wonderful stone is taken from Greek tradition also.

In astronomy *al-‘Ukāb* is the name of the constellation Aquila, N. of Capricorn (*āserōs*, Aquila). It has three outstanding stars, which are called *al-nasr al-fā‘ir*, “the flying eagle”, Persian: *shāhin*

tārāzed, “the thieving falcon”. The brightest star α is called *Attair* or *Atair* on our star-maps. Opposite it in the Lyre is the star *al-nasr al-wāki*, “the falling eagle”, the *Vega* of the star-maps.

In alchemy *al-‘Ukāb* (Lat. allocaph, etc.) is the most usual name for sal-ammoniac.

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AL-UKAIŠIR, the name of a divinity of pre-Muḥammad Arabia, or better an epithet, the meaning of which (diminutive of *aḡsar*, “he who has a stiff neck” or perhaps simply “the short”) seems to indicate an idol in human shape. All that we know of this god (whose real name is unknown) goes back to the references to him by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, Cairo 1914, p. 38—39, 48—50, followed by Yāqūt, *Mu‘djam*, i. 340—341 (transl. and annotated by Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 62—64), Dīhāzī, *Ḥayawān*, v. 114, *Bukhālā‘*, p. 237, *Khizānat al-Adab*, iii. 246 (abridged), Maḥmūd al-Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-Arab fī Ma‘rifat Aḥwāl al-‘Arab*, Cairo 1343, ii. 209 below (abridged). Al-Ukāišir was worshipped by the tribes of Qudā’a, Lakhm, Djudhām, ‘Amila and Ḡhaṭafān living on the plateau of the Syrian desert. Verses in old poets quoted by Ibn al-Kalbī mention the stones (*anṣāb*) put up around the sacred place (which another anonymous verse, *Lisān al-Arab*, vi. 416, already quoted by Wellhausen, describes as dripping with the blood of the victims), the “garments” (*athwāb*: is the reference to those of the idol or to a covering for the sanctuary in the style of the *kiswā* of the Ka‘ba?), the ditch (*dīafr*) into which were thrown the offerings, the cries and chants of the pilgrims. The sacrifices offered to the god were not always slaughtered; they are said to have also included hair kneaded with flour (according to the widespread custom of pre-Muḥammad Arabia; cf. Wellhausen, p. 123—124, 198—199): in this connection a story is told, according to which the tribe of the Hawāzin, reduced to great misery and entirely without food, went to beg around the sanctuary of al-Ukāišir for the filthy remains of these offerings. The truth of this story is very doubtful; it is a common motif in the *hidja* between tribes, but in itself it has nothing improbable.

As Wellhausen notes, the expressions used in the verses which Ibn al-Kalbī quotes in connection with al-Ukāišir might refer to a sanctuary as well as to an idol. We might then suppose that the epithet reflects the squat form of the building. It is worth while recalling that the name Ukāišir is also applied to a tribe (*Aḡḡānī*, xiv. 98), to individuals (*Aḡḡānī*, xiv. 74; Ṭabarī, ii. 647, 970, 997, 1000) and even to a sword (Ibn al-A‘rābī, *Les livres des chevaux*, p. 87, 4).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

UKHAIḌIR, the name of an imposing castle now in ruins in the Mesopotamian desert, twenty-five miles from Kerbelā' and ten south-east of Shifā'iya; it perhaps preserves the name of Ismā'il b. Yūsuf b. al-Ukhaidir who came from Yamāma and was appointed governor of Kūfa by the Ḳarmāṭians in 315 (927). The Beduin tribe of the Ruwāla, which leads a nomadic life in the vicinity, pronounce this name "al-Akheizer" but prefer to call the castle Daifar or Kaṣr al-Khafaḍji.

Discovered by Pietro della Valle in 1625, rediscovered in 1908 by L. Massignon, visited by Miss Gertrude L. Bell in 1909 and A. Musil (1912) it was systematically examined by O. Reuther in 1910.

The castle, built of stone and cement, with a few bricks, consists of a rectangular fortified enceinte with forty-eight bastions, with sides 554 feet long, 69 feet high, and 9 feet thick; blind arcades support a machicolated chemin de ronde; there are four staircases in the four corner towers and four gates in the centre of the four sides. The north gate, which is the main one, gives access to the palace, one of the halls of which was, according to Miss Bell, perhaps used as a mosque, although wrongly oriented, and rooms for the women, built on to the north wall, with three stories on this side and a single storey on its three other sides around the inner court. Outside the enceinte are two annexes of less importance. From the architectural point of view we may note in the palace the numerous niches, the fluted vaulting and the seven domes on drums.

The date of the building of Ukhaidir is disputed: the regularity of its plan, the large scale, and the finish of the work place it in a period when the Mesopotamian *lines* of the desert still contained royal residences. Dieulafoy and Massignon see in it a pre-Islāmic winter palace, like Hatra, built by an Iranian architect for a prince of Hira; it might be the Kaṣr al-Sadīr of the poets. Miss G. L. Bell prefers to regard it as the site of Dūmat al-Hira and would bring its date down to the Umayyad period. Herzfeld dates Ukhaidir about 215 (830) from architectonic analogies with Sāmarrā. Finally Musil brings it down to 277 (890) in order to identify it with the *dār al-hiḍra* built in this year by the Ḳarmāṭian rebels. It is indeed very likely that they restored it to install themselves in it, but they had not the means nor was it their custom to build such an imposing palace as a "place of refuge".

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UKUBAT. [See 'ADHĀB; HADD.]

'ULAMĀ' is strictly the plural of 'alim, one who possesses the quality 'ilm [q.v.], knowledge, learning, science in the widest sense, and in a high degree (*mubālaga*). In usage,

however, the accepted singular of 'ulamā' is 'alim. Both singulars are Ḳur'ānic and can be used of Allāh and of man; but the plural 'ulamā' occurs only twice in the Ḳur'ān and there of men (xxvi. 197; xxxv. 25). The plural 'alimūn occurs four times: twice of Allāh (xxi. 52, 81) and twice of men (xii. 44; xxix. 42). On all this see *Mufradāt* of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Cairo 1324, p. 348 sqq. and *Liṣān*, xv. 310 sqq.

Inasmuch as 'ilm in the first instance was knowledge of traditions and of the resultant canon law and theology, the 'ulamā', as peculiarly custodians of that tradition, were canonists and theologians. They, thus, as a general body, represented and voiced the Agreement [cf. article IDJMA'] of the Muslim people, and that Agreement was the foundation of Islām. In consequence the 'ulamā', in whatever stated form they functioned, came to have, in a wide and vague fashion, the ultimate decision on all questions of constitution, law and theology. Whatever the *de facto* government might be, they were a curb upon it, as a surviving expression of the Agreement and of the right of the People of Muḥammad to govern itself. The different governments might try to control them by giving them official status and salaries, and to some extent might succeed in that. If the success were too glaring the people would re-act by contempt for such government agents and would give their respect and devotion to private scholars who refused thus to be muzzled. This was a constantly recurring situation under all Muslim governments. The 'ulamā', therefore, might be government functionaries, either controlled by the government or keeping the government in a certain awe; or they might be private and independent students of canon law and theology.

The term 'alim is applied at the present day in its literal meaning to any one who is evidently a scholar in our sense. For this situation in Egypt in the early sixteenth century see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, chaps. iv. and ix. and by index. For a similar situation under the Mamlūks see Gaudefoy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, passim and especially p. lxxvi. sqq. It is plain that the organization of the 'ulamā' was the solid framework of permanent government behind those framing dynasties. For the Ottoman Empire see E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii., p. 394 sqq. For the same situation in the Muslim world generally see Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, by index under 'Ulamā'. For the distinction between the 'alim, canon lawyer and systematic theologian, and the 'arif, the mystic who knows Allāh by religious experience and vision, see article 'ILM above; so, too, for the distinction between the 'alim who was at first a knower of definite facts (Ḳur'ānic texts and traditions and their meanings) and the faḳīh [q.v.] who was at first the independent thinker about these by his intelligence (*fiḳh*). It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to notice the error of western writers who frequently use 'ulamā', in many spellings, as a singular.

Bibliography: Add to references above given: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., ix. 29c; xxvi. 103d; xxvii. 427c, 565b.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ULDJAITU KHODĀBENDE. [See OLCAITU.]

ULUGH BEG, MUHAMMAD TURGHĀY, son of Shāh Rukh and of Gawhar Shād, was born in Sulṭāniya in 796 (1393). He became governor of a part of Khurāsān and of Māzandarān in 810

(1407). In the following year Shāh Rukh, breaking his promise, took Turkeṣtān and Transoxiana from Khalil Sultān, ruler of Samarkand, to give them to Ulugh Beg, who, a man of letters, artist and scholar, "really made Samarkand what Timūr had dreamt of, the centre of Muslim civilisation" (R. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Asie*, iii. 127). A theologian, he had specialised in the study of the Kur'ān which he could repeat by heart according to all seven readings. Fond of poetry he had an official poet, Khawāja 'Ismet Bukhārī, and was the patron of others like Barandaq, Rustam Khuryānī and Ṭāhir Ābiwardī. A historian, he not only encouraged research but himself wrote a "History of the Four Sons of the House of Čingiz", *Ūlūs-i arba-i Čingizī*, a work which seems to have been lost and which would have been valuable for the history of the Ūlūs of Tuṭuy in Persia and for that of Čaghatai: for the whole period before 703 (1303) it would be less complete than the work of Rashid al-Dīn (Blochet, *Introd. à l'Hist. des Mongols*, p. 86-92). An artist, he enriched Samarkand with superb buildings: a monastery, *khanqāh*, with the highest dome in the world; the "carved" mosque, *mukatta'* (or mosque of Ulugh Beg), so-called for its interior decoration in the Chinese manner, of carved and coloured wood, finished in 823 (1420); that of Shāh Zinde, finished in 838 (1434); a madrasa built in 828 (1424) the bath of which is decorated with wonderful mosaics; the palace of the 40 columns flanked by four high towers and decorated with a colonnade in blocks of marble; the throne room, *körünüş-khāne*: its pedestal, eight cubits in breadth and fifteen in length and one in height is not the "blue stone" mentioned by Vámbéry; the *Čini-khāne*, a pavilion, the walls of which were adorned with frescoes by one of those Chinese artists of whose work the lord of Samarkand was fond; lastly, the famous observatory to be discussed below; its architect was 'Alī Kushdji and Gawhar Shād journeyed to Samarkand to pay it a visit. Ulugh Beg was a great bibliophile. A learned mathematician, he could solve the most difficult problems in geometry, but he was above all an astronomer. In 832 (1428) he began the building at Samarkand, on the other side of the Kuhik, of an observatory now destroyed, which in its day was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Salāh al-Dīn, an astronomer of Jewish origin, was the moving spirit in it along with three other astronomers from Kāshān: Hasan Čelebi, called Qāḍi-zāde Rūmī, whose son Maryam Čelebi wrote a commentary on the work of Ulugh Beg; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djamshid and Mu'in al-Dīn Kāshānī. Working with them, Ulugh Beg invented new and very powerful instruments for their joint researches. Finding Ptolemy's computations did not agree with his own observations, he sought to correct them and thus there came to be compiled the *Ziḍ-i Djadid Sultānī*, a collection comprising: 1. diverse computations and eras; 2. the knowledge of time; 3. the course of the stars; 4. the position of the fixed stars. The whole is prefaced by very complicated and obscure prolegomena on the reasons which determined Ulugh Beg to compile this collection and on his collaborators. These tables became celebrated in Europe and attention was called to them by John Greaves (in Latin Graevius), Professor at Oxford (1642-1648); in 1665, Hyde gave a Latin translation afterwards revised by Sharpe (1767); the prolegomena have been edited and translated by A. Sédillot (Paris 1847-1853: 2 vols.), who

had previously undertaken to publish the Tables (fasc. i., Paris 1839). E. B. Knobel has published the *Catalogue of stars...*, after collating all the manuscripts in Great Britain and adding a Persian and Arabic glossary (Washington 1917). It has been disputed whether the original version was in Arabic, Persian or Turkish; it is probably the Persian version that we possess. The work seems to have been finished in 841 (1437). Ulugh Beg, it seems, did not observe all the stars which he mentions and takes his latitudes and longitudes from Ptolemy; he gives a disproportionate space to astrology. But Sédillot (*op. cit.*, i., p. cxxxii.) can say that with him the "period of astronomical works in the East finishes".

Ulugh Beg was less happy in war and politics. He drove the invading Özbegs back to the Āk Šū but Borāq Oghlān's cavalry and that of Muḥammad Djūkī soon had their revenge, advanced as far as Khodjand and laid the country waste (828 = 1421). The sole survivor of the children of Shāh Rukh, he inherited the power on the death of his father (25th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 850 = 12th March 1447); but plunged into despair, he remained inactive for several months, enabling the Timūrid princes to act against him. Gawhar Shād wanted to secure the throne for Ulugh Beg's son 'Abd al-Laṭif, but the latter, misled by false reports, thought it had gone to 'Alā' al-Dawla, another claimant, who, a few days after the death of Shāh Rukh, led her prisoner with all her suite to Semnān. From there he set out for Herāt, seized it and had himself proclaimed ruler there. Sultān 'Abd Allāh, son of Ibrāhīm Sultān, took possession of the district of Shirāz. Kābul and Ghazna formed a new state with the sons of Soyurghutmis. Two other princes, Muḥammad Mirzā and Bābā Mirzā, also aspired to the power and the second had himself proclaimed ruler of Djurdjān and Māzandarān. 'Abd al-Laṭif, who returned from Nishāpūr with his prisoners was surprised by the emirs Mirzā Šālih and Uwais. The prisoners were released and 'Abd al-Laṭif, who took to flight, was captured. He was brought before 'Alā' al-Dawla who treated him generously.

Ulugh Beg finally cast off his lethargy, listened to the advice of his ministers and set out for Khurāsān. Wishing to conciliate a rival, Abū Bakr, he gave him his daughter in marriage but had to imprison him on being convinced of his treachery. He crossed the Oxus, heard in Balkh of 'Abd al-Laṭif's doings, pardoned him and ready to make any concession to be free of his troubles, sent his first minister Nizām al-Dīn Mirek to Herāt with this object. But Bābā Mirzā invaded Khurāsān and at Djām routed 'Alā' al-Dawla's advance-guard and the latter, caught between him and Ulugh Beg, surrendered. Prisoners were exchanged and 'Abd al-Laṭif became governor of Balkh. Through fear of Ulugh Beg the generals of 'Alā' al-Dawla forced their master to make peace with Bābā Mirzā; Khabūshān was to be the frontier.

The treachery of 'Abd al-Laṭif, who refused to deliver up his hostages and had them massacred after the defeat of an attack on a detachment sent to fetch them, brought about new hostilities. 'Alā' al-Dawla made plundering raids but abandoned an expedition, which he had planned, on the threats of Ulugh Beg, who had now decided to assert his rights as sole heir of Shāh Rukh and to avenge the massacres of Balkh (852 = 1448-1449) by the murder of several of his son's officers. 'Abd al-Laṭif brought large contingents to his father

on his crossing of the Oxus. Defeated through treachery at Tarbāb after a desperate battle, 'Alā' al-Dawla sought refuge in Meshhed where his brother Bābar Mirzā promised to assist him to regain his lands. He pretended to submit but Ulugh Beg was not deceived, occupied Herāt and its forts and marched on Isfārā' in where he divided his army into two: the one with Mirzā 'Abd Allāh Shīrāzī was to lay siege to Bistām and the other with 'Abd al-Laṭīf marched against Āstarābād. At this moment the Özbegs invaded Transoxiana. Samarkand was sacked. Ulugh Beg, taking the sarcophagus of Shāh Rukh and the treasure of Herāt, returned in haste. His rearguard was attacked by Bābar Mirzā and the Özbegs captured his baggage at the crossing of the Oxus. He finally reached Bukhārā, where his father's obsequies were held. Khurāsān, which was disputed between the Timūrids and the Turkmens was in complete disorder. Yār 'Alī, prince of the Black Sheep, escaped from the castle of Neretū and laid siege to Herāt. Ulugh Beg relieved the city but Bābar Mirzā rebelled and attacked it in his turn. 'Abd al-Laṭīf escaped to his father and Yār 'Alī, entering the town by surprise, had himself crowned there and became popular. An emissary of Bābar Mirzā gave him a narcotic and he was executed.

In *Dhu 'l-Hijja* 852 (Feb. 1449) the whole of Khurāsān belonged to Bābar Mirzā who gave a ludicrous compensation, the governorship of the little town of Tūn, to 'Alā' al-Dawla, who was replaced by his son. The two, accused of plotting, were sent to Herāt and suffered a harsh captivity. The discontent was general: Bābar Mirzā was reproached with debauchery, drunkenness, incapacity and the exactions of his agents. Refusing to lead an expedition against Badghīs, the powerful emir Hindūke sought to raise the country with the help of Ulugh Beg, to whom he sent an emissary Eidekū. The latter was captured by 'Abd al-Laṭīf and sent to Bābar Mirzā to whom he confessed everything. In spite of prodigies of valour Hindūke was defeated and slain.

'Alā' al-Dawla escaped; he went to Sīstān, then to the 'Irāk where his brother Muḥammad Mirzā, who was also lord of Fārs, was ruling. The two invaded Khurāsān and at Dīām inflicted a terrible defeat on Bābar Mirzā, who with eight horsemen escaped and sought refuge in the castle of 'Imād. At Herāt, Muḥammad Mirzā showed himself generous; he liberated his nephew Ibrāhīm and sent Bābar's son Shāh Maḥmūd to his mother.

'Abd al-Laṭīf had a hatred for his father which has been explained in various ways. Ulugh Beg in his communiqué at the battle of Tarbāb is said to have substituted the name of his other son 'Abd al-'Azīz for his. He is said to have refused to restore to him the money and arms which he had stored in Herāt as, relying on astrological predictions, he distrusted a son in whom he saw a parricide. Rebelling, 'Abd al-Laṭīf seized Balkh, defeated his father and his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz at Shāhrukhiya and handed over Ulugh Beg to a Persian servant 'Abbās who, after a pretence at trial, had him executed on 10th Ramaḍān 853 (Oct. 27, 1449) after a reign of two years eight months. After this murder, the dismemberment of the Timūrid empire made rapid progress; claimants arose in all directions, many of whom achieved their aims. At the end of six months, 'Abd al-Laṭīf himself met a violent end.

Bibliography: Mirkhwānd, *Rawdat al-Safā*, Bombay 1271, vi. 195, 202—205, 208; Khwān-damīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Teheran 1271, iii. 174, 191, 199, 218; Mu'in al-Dīn Isfīzārī, extracts from the *Rawda*, given by Barbier de Meynard in *J. A.*, 1862, xx. 277—284; *Madjma' al-Bahrain* of 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī should also be consulted; Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, p. 361—366; A. Sédillot, *Introduction aux Prolegomènes*, at the beginning of the volume of text; W. Barthold, *Ulugh-Beg i evo vrem'a*, 1918; E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols de Rashīd ad-Dīn*, Leyden 1920; E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 192, 386—390, 501—503; Lucien Bouvat, *L'Empire Mongol (2^{ème} phase)*, Paris 1927, p. 123—129; do., *Essai sur la civilisation timouride*, in *J. A.*, 1926, ccviii. 248—250. The publications relating to the astronomical work of Ulugh Beg have already been mentioned and J. M. Faddegon, who is an orientalist as well as an astronomer and had made a special study of them, has given us valuable information about them. (L. BOUVAT)

UMAIYA b. 'ABD SHAMS, ancestor of the Umayyads, the principal clan of the Quraysh of Mecca. His genealogy (Umayya b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy) and his descendants are given in Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, U, V. Like all other eponyms of Arab tribes and clans, his actual existence and the details of his life have to be accepted with caution, but too great scepticism with regard to tradition would be as ill-advised as absolute faith in its statements. As those Umayyads who were living at the beginning of the Muslim epoch were only in the third generation from their eponym (e.g. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya), there is nothing improbable in the latter's being a historical personage; besides there is nothing in tradition to suggest he was a mythical individual or a later invention. The name Umayya is common in Arab nomenclature and is found in both northern and southern tribes; the meaning which anti-Umayyad polemic gives to it (a diminutive of *ama* "servant") would make it a sobriquet; we also have the positive form Banū Ama as the name of a tribe (cf. Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāk*, p. 34).

Umayya was the cousin on the father's side of Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and tradition relates that, being jealous of the latter's influence, he challenged him to a *munāfara*, the judge of which was to be a *kāhīn* of the Khuzā'a. Being defeated, Umayya had to exile himself from Mecca for ten years (cf. Tabarī, i. 1090; Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 43—44). This story is evidently only an anticipation of the rivalry between the Umayyads and Hāshimids ('Alids and 'Abbāsids) which forms the centre of the political struggle in the Arab empire during the first two centuries of the Hijra (cf. al-Makrizī, *al-Tanāzu' wa 'l-Takhāṣum fi-ma baina Banī Umayya wa-Banī Hāshim*, ed. Vos, Leyden 1888): it looks like a legend of learned origin. Similarly the story of the embassy of Umayya and his nephew 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim and other chiefs of the Quraysh to the Ḥimyarite king Saif b. Dhī Yazan after the latter had defeated the Abyssinians (al-Azraqī, in *Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 99; *Aghānī*, xvi. 75—77; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, Cairo 1293, i. 131—133 etc.) is only intended to enhance the

prestige of the *Quraysh* and to prophesy the coming of Islām. Lastly the truth seems very problematic to us of the stories of alleged eye-witnesses who had seen Umaiya, a decrepit old man going through the streets of Mecca leaning on his son Abū 'Amr (according to the historian *Ḥaitham* b. 'Adī, this was really his slave whom he afterwards adopted; cf. *Ṭabarī*, i. 967; *Aghānī*, i. 7—8).

We come down to historical ground with the statement (*Azraqī*, p. 71, etc.) that Umaiya, like his father 'Abd Shams, commanded the Meccan army in time of war (*al-ḥiyāda*), a post which was later transmitted to his son Ḥarb and his grandson Abū Sufyān. Although we perhaps should not interpret this literally as implying a permanent military post (it seems to have been rather an occasional appointment) and although we find alongside of descendants of Umaiya as military leaders, numerous members of other clans and even *ḥulafā'* (clients) (cf. on this question: Lammens, *Les "Aḥābis" et l'organisation militaire de la Mecque*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, *Beyrouth* 1928, p. 273—293), there is nothing improbable in the story, especially if we regard the *ḥiyāda* as the direction of the military affairs of the republic rather than the actual command of troops in the field. As a matter of fact, the descendants of Umaiya never lacked talent either for military organisation or for politics.

At the beginning of Islām, the clan of the Banū Umaiya appears as the most powerful in Mecca; it was represented by two main branches: the *A'yās* and the *Anābisa* (plural *a potiori* from the name 'Anbasa common in the family). The former claimed to be descended from a son of the eponym whose names come from the same or a similar root (a common occurrence in Arabic nomenclature): Abū 'l-'Is, al-'Uwais, al-'Āsī, Abū 'l-'Āsī; the others were represented by families of Ḥarb, Abū Ḥarb, Sufyān, Abū Sufyān (from his name 'Anbasa, uncle of the celebrated Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb), 'Amr, Abū 'Amr (the latter whose name is said to have been *Dhakkwān* was probably, as already mentioned, an adopted son of Umaiya). From a son of Abū 'l-'Āsī, al-Ḥakam, are descended, through Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the Umayyad caliphs who succeeded Marwān, as well as the emirs (later caliphs) of Andalusia. Some branches of the family of the caliphs settled in Egypt and Persia; although the greater part of the family was exterminated in 132 A. H. by the 'Abbāsids, some of its members survived: among these were Abū 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, a descendant of a brother of Marwān I; his *Shi'* views contrasted strangely with his descent. Another son of Abū 'l-'Āsī, 'Affān, was the father of the Caliph 'Uthmān; his descendants are numerous (among them the poet al-'Ardjī; cf. *Aghānī*, p. 153—166), and several of them held important offices under the Umayyads. Of the line of al-'Ās b. Umaiya, the most celebrated member is Sa'id b. al-'Ās b. Sa'id b. al-'Ās, governor of Kufa under 'Uthmān, whose misdeeds were one of the main causes of the rebellion against the latter. The family of Abū 'l-'Is also produced a number of notable individuals under the Umayyads who were all descended from Asid b. Abi 'l-'Is.

As to the *Anābisa* branch, its most illustrious family is undoubtedly that of Ḥarb, whose son Abū Sufyān plays so remarkable a part in the story of the origin of Islām. Through his son

Mu'āwiya, he is the founder of the dynasty of Sufyānid caliphs, which early became extinct with Mu'āwiya II, son of Yazīd I. Another son of Yazīd, Khālīd, is said to have been the founder of Arabic alchemy, and a grandson, Abū Muḥammad Ziyād b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Sufyānī, was slain by the 'Abbāsids at Madīna in 132 (*Ṭabarī*, iii. 54). Yazīd b. Abi Sufyān, who was Mu'āwiya's predecessor in command of the army of Syria in 'Umar's reign, left no descendants. Of the other sons of Abū Sufyān, 'Utba, 'Anbasa, Yazīd, Muḥammad, 'Amr, only the two first had issue. A collateral branch of the Banū Umaiya, descended from Abū 'Amr b. Umaiya, whose paternity, as we have seen, was not absolutely certain, included among its members al-Walīd b. 'Uḫba b. Abi Mu'ait b. Abi 'Amr, governor of Kūfa under 'Uthmān and later a favourite of Mu'āwiya during his caliphate and also known as a poet (*Aghānī*, iv. 175—190); his father 'Uḫba had been made prisoner at the battle of Badr and put to death by Muḥammad, who could not forgive the insults which he had heaped upon him at the beginning of his preaching in Mecca; the shameful memory of the father weighed heavily on the son and is often revived in 'Alid polemics against the Banū Umaiya. A son of al-Walīd, Abū Kaṭīfa 'Amr, is also known as a poet (*Aghānī*, i. 7—18). All the members of the line of Abū 'Amr settled in al-'Irāk and al-Djazīra.

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāḥ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 45—50, 103—104; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 23,297, fol. 11v—18r. Much information also in H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne de Mo'awia Ier*; do., *Le califat de Yazīd Ier* (*M. F. O. B.*, i.—vi.). (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

UMAIYA B. ABI 'L-SALT, an Arab poet of the tribe of *Thakīf*, lived in Tā'if, the son of Abū 'l-Salt 'Abd Allāh and Ruḳaiya bint 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf, grandson of Abū Sufyān, cousin of the 'Utba and Shaiba who were killed at Badr and closely related to the *Quraysh* patrician families of Mecca. A lament on the *Quraysh* who fell at Badr, preserved by Ibn Hishām, p. 531 *sqq.*, shows that he was still alive in 624 A. D. According to tradition, he died in 8 or 9 A. H. Traditions differ regarding his attitude to the Prophet and to Islām. But the statement that he was not in personal touch with the Prophet and refused to recognise his claim to be a prophet may be regarded as the better founded. It is also in keeping with his sympathy for the *Quraysh* expressed in the poem above mentioned. The poems and fragments transmitted under Umaiya's name, which have been collected by F. Schulthess and added to by E. Power, may be divided according to their subject into two main groups. The one, a smaller group, consists of poems and verses which are panegyrics of individuals — notably the rich Meccan 'Abd Allāh b. *Djūdān* — and do not differ essentially from similar pieces by other old Arab poets. The other, a larger group, which begins in Schulthess' edition with N^o. xxiii., reveals almost entirely the point of view which we may call *Ḥanifi*. On a basis of the recognition of one personal God as "lord of the slaves" we have apocalyptic pictures of the abode of God and the angels of his kingdom, stories of the creation, eschatological conceptions of the last judgment, hell and paradise; appeals are made for the practice of a moral life and reference

made to "warning examples" which are taken, some from Arab ('Ād, Thamūd) and some from Biblical legends (the Flood, Abraham, Lot, Pharaoh etc.). As the same time he is fond of using the beast-fable. We may also note the references to magical practices (charms to produce rain, poem xxxiv. towards the end). As regards religious ideas and the treatment of these themes, Umaiya's poems thus show a far-reaching agreement with the Qur'an, which in many passages is almost word for word (cf. Frank-Kamenetzky's investigations). The question of the dependence of the one on the other has therefore naturally been raised. Huart (see *Bibl.*) holds the view that Umaiya's poems on Biblical legends quoted in Pseudo-Balkhī's "Book of Creation" are all genuine and direct sources of the Qur'an. As to their genuineness, this is, as in the case of old Arabic poems in general, in each case questionable. But apart from some Muslim insertions, which at once strike one by their bias (e.g. p. xxiii., a panegyric on Muḥammad) and such pieces, as have already been recognised by tradition as not genuine, there are no cogent reasons to doubt the genuineness of the poems handed down in Umaiya's name as a whole. But that Muḥammad actually drew upon Umaiya's poems seems to be improbable for the simple reason that Umaiya had a greater knowledge of the legendary material in question and one that differs in many details from the Qur'an. The same fact is against the view that Umaiya might have borrowed from the Qur'an, although this is not chronologically impossible and one tradition (*Aghānī*, iii. 187, 20) says that Umaiya

i. 119 sqq.; Pseudo-Balkhī (Maḥḍī), *Kitāb al-Bad'*, ed. Cl. Huart; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, i. 199 sqq. (transl. in Sprenger's *Leben Muḥammeds*, vol. i.); much scattered material in *Djāhīz*, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, the dictionaries etc. (complete list of sources in Schulthess' edition of the *Diwān*); Fr. Schulthess, *Or. Studien*, *Nöldeke-Festschr.*, 1906, p. 71-89; do., *Umaiya ibn Abī Ṣālt*, die ... *Gedichtfragmente*, Leipzig 1911, reviewed by Nöldeke, in *Z. A.*, xxviii. 159 sqq.; E. Power, *The Poems of Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣālt*, additions, suggestions and rectifications, in *M. F. O. B.*, i. (1906), p. 145 sqq.; J. Frank-Kamenetzky, *Unters. über das Verhältnis der dem U. b. abī 'l-Ṣālt zugeschriebenen Ged. zum Qur'an*, Kirchhain 1911 (Dissert.); Cl. Huart, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, 1904; do., in *J. A.*, 1904, p. 125-167; Tor Andrae, *Die Entstehung des Islāms und das Christentum*, in *Kyrkohistorik Årsskrift*, Upsala 1926, p. 48 sqq.

(H. H. BRÄU)

UMAIYADS (BANŪ UMAIYA), the dynasty of the caliphs from 41-132 A. H. = 661-750 A. D. It takes its name from the fact that its founder Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sufyān was the representative of the principal branch of the Banū Umaiya; even after the exclusion of this branch from the caliphate on the death of Mu'āwīya II, the dynasty retained its name, for the caliphate passed to the head of another branch, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'l-Āṣ. For the reader's convenience we give below a list of the Umayyad caliphs with their dates of accession.

Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sufyān
Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya
Mu'āwīya (II) b. Yazīd
Marwān b. al-Ḥakam
'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān
al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik
Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik
'Omar (II) b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān
Yazīd (II) b. 'Abd al-Malik
Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik
al-Walīd (II) b. Yazīd (II)
Yazīd (III) b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik
Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik
Marwān (II) b. Muḥammad b. Marwān

Rabī' I or II or Djumādā I 41 (July-Sept. 661)
Radjab 60 (April 680)
Rabī' I 64 (November 683)
Dhu 'l-Ḥaḍa 64 (June 684)
Ramaḍān 65 (April 685)
Shawwāl 86 (October 705)
Djumādā II 96 (February 715)
Safar 99 (October 717)
Radjab 101 (February 720)
Sha'bān 105 (January 724)
Rabī' II 125 (February 743)
Radjab 126 (April 744)
Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 126 (October 744)
Safar 127 (December 744)

was the first to read Allāh's book. The agreement between Umaiya's poems and the Qur'an may more easily be explained from the undoubted fact that about the time of Muḥammad's mission, and probably for some time before, currents of thought of a Hanīfī nature had attracted wide circles of the Ḥaḍarīs, especially in Mecca and Ṭā'if, stimulated and nourished by Jewish haggadas and Christian legends, which were in circulation there and over South Arabia in many recensions — and this explains the occasional divergences between the Qur'an and Umaiya. Muḥammad and Umaiya like other *homines religiosi* (Zaid b. 'Amr, Waraka, Maslama, etc.) drew upon common sources, whether written as Schulthess thinks or oral as Nöldeke holds (see *Bibl.*). Recently Tor Andrae (see *Bibl.*) has put forward with weighty arguments the view that none of the religious poems of Umaiya are genuine and should be regarded as the work of older Qur'anic exegists, *kuṣṣās*, like al-Suddī, Ibn 'Abbās etc.

Bibliography: Fragments of the lost *Diwān* with commentary by M. b. Ḥabīb, in *Khizāna*,

"The Arab empire" is the title given by Wellhausen to his classic work on the Umayyad period: by this he wished to indicate that the Umayyad caliphate represents the attempt made by the Arabs to assert their power in the world as a nation, while religion only played a secondary part in this attempt. After thirty years Wellhausen's historical structure still stands; if on the one hand the numerous researches of Lammens, full of erudition, have filled up with details the framework supplied by Wellhausen, a little remote and rather schematic; if Caetani on the other hand by happily developing — perhaps rather too systematically — a hint from Winckler, has connected the expansion of the Arabs after their conversion to Islām with a long series of armed migrations made by the desert tribes seeking more fertile settlements in the north of their peninsula, the main lines laid down by Wellhausen are still followed in modern research in the field of Umayyad history. If there is one thing to be modified in Wellhausen's panoramic view, it is perhaps the too strictly political idea which he had of the

development of Arab history, as if one ought to recognise in the actions of the Umayyad caliphs a conscious desire to give expression to purely national values (cf. Becker's remarks in *Isl.*, ix. 95—99). Although the existence of a national consciousness among the Arabs, especially in the Umayyad period, is beyond doubt (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i. 101—146), we are now convinced that the irrational element plays as important a part in individual initiative as reasoned reflection; in this particular case it should be recognised that Wellhausen and still more those who have followed in his footsteps have somewhat neglected the importance of the religious factor. In reality, if pietist or mystic tendencies were quite foreign to the descendants of this Meccan aristocracy which had fought Islām in its early stages, and if one ought rather to recognise in it the survival of the spirit of the *saiyids* of the *Djāhiliya* and of the business men of the merchant republic, we should run the risk of evading the historical truth if we took no account of the fact that the unprecedented triumph of the Arab movement took place under the banner of the religion of the *Kur'ān*, and no mentality, even the most modern and "agnostic", could escape the impression made by this circumstance. The Umayyad caliphs, as men of their period and milieu, must have believed in good faith that the propagation of the Muslim faith and the expansion of their temporal power were one and the same thing, and they must have been convinced that the enemies of their policy, whether *Shi'is* or *Khāridjis*, were also enemies of the true tradition of the Prophet. The tradition of the historians has preserved us a certain amount of evidence which leaves no doubt of the presence of this conviction among the Umayyad caliphs; and if tradition, as established after their fall under the influence of the ideas dominant in pietist circles, has cursed the memory of the Umayyads, we ought not to forget that it was precisely under their regime and partly under their stimulus that Islām established itself as a universalist religion.

This pietist tradition, which under the *Abbāsids* became the official history of Islām, further approaches the Umayyads, even more than with having failed in the duties of religion, with having betrayed the spirit of the constitution of the theocratic state as Muḥammad had established it and with having replaced the caliphate by *mulk*. In this charge we find (analogous to what may be noted in the attitude of the prophets of Israel to the monarchy) combined the protest of the theocratic spirit which gives to God alone power on earth and the intolerance of the Beduins towards any kind of regular authority. In reality, as the researches of Caetani and Lammens have shown, even the governments of Abū Bakr and 'Omar were far from corresponding to the ideal of the theocratic regime which the schools of *fuḳahā'* later constructed; but the personal prestige of the two great companions of the Prophet, if it did not succeed in silencing the opposition that centred round 'Alī, prevented a constitutional theory which was in contradiction to the actual situation from being developed in the early days of the caliphate. It is only under 'Othmān, whose rule marked the open triumph of the Umayyad party at the expense of the first converts, that people began to regard the historical paradox, which made the former enemies of the new regime now reap the profits of it, as treason against the "rights of

God" by which the Prophet's work was disowned and destroyed. We can easily see how the same aim of opposition united on one side the resentment felt by the pious souls of the heroes and martyrs of the infant religion, and on the other the ambitions of a more positive nature of those who sought to maintain for the family and entourage of the Prophet the privileged position which the founder of the new theocratic state had secured for them. Religious legitimism and dynastic legitimism found a common champion in 'Alī. 'Alī was able to boast an initial success in his elevation to the caliphate at Medina; then the occupation of Kūfa, the victory which he won at Basra against the coalition of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubair and 'Ā'isha, the triumph of his party in Egypt seemed to have secured him authority over the whole Arab empire. In the conflict with Mu'āwīya, 'Alī actually represents, at first at least, considerations of state in conflict with the primitive and quite pagan idea of blood vengeance demanded by Mu'āwīya and by the Umayyads for the murder of their relative. But the situation, ambiguous even from the point of view of the new Islāmic ethics, in which 'Alī found himself by his compromise with the murderers of 'Othmān, was skilfully exploited by the political talents of Mu'āwīya and was not long in developing and dividing the anti-Umayyad party into its two original constituents: on the one side the religious intransigence which culminated in the extremist attitude of the *Khāridjis*; on the other, the dynastic legitimism of the *Shi'a*. This division made the fortune of the Umayyads, who came to stand for the moderate element which would guarantee law and order in face of the guerilla war which was ravaging the *Irāq* and brought the country into a position to reap the benefit of the conquests.

At what moment was Mu'āwīya's formal candidature put forward? This is still an obscure point on which tradition gives divergent views, dating the candidature from the beginning of Mu'āwīya's struggle with 'Alī (37 A.H.) or putting it as late as the latter's death (40 A.H.). In any case it raised a new and exceedingly delicate constitutional problem: that of the assumption of supreme power over the believers by one who was not among the earliest companions of the Prophet. The different chronological statements are themselves an indication of the confusion which must have prevailed when the solution given by the course of events suddenly caused a breach with the precedents. Indeed the indignation of the *fuḳahā'*, which takes no account of the requirements of historical development, is quite legitimate from the point of view of doctrine: the caliphate of Mu'āwīya opens an entirely new period in the constitutional history of Islām: the caliph ceases to be the executor or continuator of the *sunna* of Muḥammad, to which he has been a witness since its beginning. He is henceforth something more: the outstanding personality of the Arab world, the first among the tribal chiefs in military strength, in family connections and influence and in individual prestige, he is in fact, if not in official title, a "king" or rather a "tyrant" in the Greek sense of the word. This was the ambiguous situation which lasted for a century, i.e. as long as the Umayyad dynasty lasted, and which formed the platform for the *Shi'a* propaganda, which was to be ended by the victory of the legitimist idea and by the fall of the Arab "empire".

It is exceedingly difficult for us to judge the extent to which Mu'āwīya was aware of the difficulty of the situation. If we were to confine ourselves to certain aspects of his policy, usually so clever and farseeing, we should be tempted to conclude that he did not fully appreciate the importance that the religious factor would assume in the political struggle. It is true that he sought a reconciliation with the sons of his unfortunate rival — he succeeded completely with one, al-Ḥasan, but was less fortunate with al-Ḥusain — and in general he was full of consideration for the whole family of Muḥammad, 'Alids and 'Abbāsids as well as for the Anṣār, proud of their title of "helpers" of the Prophet. But he did not go so far as not to insist on the suspicious elements taking an oath of loyalty (the "curse of Abū Turāb"), a hateful measure which seems to be a prelude to the *miḥna* of the 'Abbāsids and which brought more secret hatred upon the Umayyads than real benefit, and he made the mistake of giving a free hand in the 'Irāk to Ziyād b. Abīhi's merciless policy of suppression, so different from the policy which he himself practised and which he might also have applied in person in the 'Irāk with the insinuating mildness of which he had the secret. It is worth noting that during the twenty years of his reign Mu'āwīya never himself went to the 'Irāk to try to form personal attachments. The 'Irākī population seems then to have been justified in thinking that the Umayyad caliphate really represented the hegemony of Syria over the rest of Islāmic territory and the memory of 'Alī, which legend soon seized upon, was in a way bound up with the nationalism of the 'Irāk.

Mu'āwīya was moreover detained in Syria by other problems, really formidable, which the organisation of the empire laid upon him. The first question was that of the relations of the sovereign with his own family and with the tribes. Mu'āwīya did not fail (*more arabico*, or rather in obedience to a general human feeling) to see that his relations profited largely from the good fortune that had befallen him; but he was careful not to fall into 'Othmān's error and did not become the prisoner of his clan. It is worth noting that it was the most important provinces which were assigned to non-Umayyad governors; the relationship with Ziyād, all-powerful in the 'Irāk, was purely a fictitious one, while in Egypt where, after the death of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, Mu'āwīya put his own brother 'Uṭba, the latter was not succeeded by another Umayyad when he died after barely a year of office. But it was particularly in his relations with the turbulent chiefs of the tribes that Mu'āwīya showed the complete measure of his talent; the latter, little disposed to be impressed either by the authority of the *Kuraishī* or by the religious prestige of the *amir al-mu'minīn*, made the caliph's position something like that of a European suzerain in the age of feudalism. The long and patient work by which Mu'āwīya tried to gain for his cause the influence of the tribes, which he could not have destroyed, aimed on the one hand at strengthening his power and on the other at achieving the great aim of his life, the *bai'a* of the tribal chiefs for his son Yazīd, which he succeeded in extracting from them in his lifetime; by this he succeeded in making the caliphate hereditary. It is this that we must regard as the most tangible success of Mu'āwīya's policy and it was owing to this act that the caliphate of the Umayyads lasted a century in spite of the

convulsion that followed the death of Yazīd. But how precarious the situation remained even after the dynastic principle was solemnly affirmed! The principle had only been won by Mu'āwīya's personal prestige, as is shown by the fact that immediately after his death, al-Ḥusain thought the moment had come to raise his standard as a legitimist claimant while 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair came forward as a champion of neglected Arabia and the memory of the first Companions. The tragic end of al-Ḥusain's effort at Kerbelā' left a memory of martyrdom which was later exploited against the Umayyads; but for the moment it crushed the 'Alid opposition. Perhaps, if Yazīd had lived longer or if he had left a son old enough to succeed him worthily, in place of Mu'āwīya II who was still a child, the position of the Umayyads would have been strengthened. Yazīd, if he was not the monster of dissipation and impiety which pious tradition likes to represent, had certainly not the distinguished qualities of his father but he lacked neither energy nor brains to continue the latter's work.

The haphazard method in which the vast Arab empire had been formed in the days of the early conquests and the lack of any system in the administration of a dominion so vast and varied (if the story of the constitution of 'Omar is not quite legendary, the measures taken by him certainly only represent the embryo of the later financial and civil organisation of the empire) raised a series of problems which Mu'āwīya could not help tackling in his usual realist spirit. Unfortunately it is just on his activity as an administrator that the biography of Mu'āwīya, so rich in anecdotic details, is exceedingly weak and his work as a statesman is known to us only from scanty and insufficient notices. There was a slackening in the progress of the conquests, one of the causes of which was the serious resistance offered to the advance of the Arabs by the Byzantines, who were directly threatened in Asia Minor and in Europe; the series of expeditions into Asia Minor, which brought Muslim arms up to the gates of Constantinople and naval raids in the Aegean Sea and on the coast of Sicily recorded local successes which brought no definite result, while the attacks by the Byzantine fleets on the Syrian coast, supported by risings of the highlanders of the Lebanon (the *Darādjima-Mardaites*), made it advisable for Mu'āwīya to sign a truce on conditions little satisfactory to Arab amour-propre (57 A.H.). Successes were more brilliant in the east where the penetration of the plains of eastern Īrān was actively continued, and in Africa where Egypt continued to form a base for expeditions to the west and south, but here also there was little definite acquisition of territory. These expeditions were as before left to the initiative of the provincial governors and carried out by the resources of the tribes who had settled there following the first conquests (the *muhādīrūn*); the caliph's own army, formed by the *djunds* of Syria, was reserved for campaigns against the Byzantines and the protection of the caliph against possible rebellions at home. It was to the existence of these forces, so loyal to the Umayyads, that the latter owed their victory in the civil war of 64 A.H.

In the internal administration of the empire, Mu'āwīya, even more than his predecessors, made use of the experience of the Christians with whom he had been in close relations in Syria since the years

of his governorship under 'Omar and 'Othmān, when he had learned to appreciate their knowledge and practical ability. It was at this period that Christian culture of Aramaean-Byzantine type began to penetrate into the Arab milieu, a penetration which ultimately led to the formation of the characteristic civilization of Islām. But if we can see the beginnings of this process under Mu'āwīya, the process itself escapes us.

The premature death of Yazīd enabled Ibn al-Zubair's rising to involve the whole of the 'Irāk by incorporating the Shi'a hostility, with which however it later broke. As always happens in periods of crisis, all the problems which had only been lulled under Mu'āwīya's government presented themselves again in an aggravated fashion: the unruliness and particularist tendencies of the tribes; the relations of the subject peoples with their conquerors; the rivalry of interests and feelings between Syria, the 'Irāk and Arabia; all these combinations of conflicting forces which the genius of Mu'āwīya had been able to restrain, retained all their strength and were even intensified under the stimulus of the war of religion. The support of the great Syrian tribe of the Kalb, which Mu'āwīya had won through his marriage with the daughter of Baḥdal b. Unāif, the mother of Yazīd, continued to be assured to the collateral branch of the Umayyads, that of al-Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-'Ās b. Umayya, which replaced the Sufyānids in the control of the clan (there was however a feeble attempt to keep the direct line of descent by making Yazīd's young son Khālīd caliph). Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was already an old man when he came to power: in his long career he had had experience of feuds among the tribes as well as of the rivalries and intrigues among the Companions covetous of the heritage of Muḥammad. The victory at Mardj Rāhiṭ (64 A. H.) over the forces of the Ḳais, whom Ibn al-Zubair had won over to his cause, secured him Syria, and Egypt, where the anti-Umayyad party had triumphed, soon came back to him; but his death very soon after this last success left his son 'Abd al-Malik the enormous task of subduing Arabia and the 'Irāk. Succeeding to the caliphate, almost unexpectedly, 'Abd al-Malik represented a new attempt to establish a dynastic sequence in the succession: it was Mu'āwīya's scheme, in complete contrast to Arab custom which regarded the power as an appanage of the family group as a whole. 'Abd al-Malik himself and almost all his successors were to have as the principal aim of their dynastic policy the securing of the succession for their direct descendants and the exclusion of collaterals.

In the confusion of the struggles between caliph and anti-caliph, between the latter and the Shi'a and Khārījī rebels, struggles which extended to the remote regions of Fārs and Khurāsān and in which the particularist tendencies of the tribes were revealed in all their vigour, taking as their badge the standard of one or other of the contending parties (the diwāns of the poets of this period and the historical anecdotes that accompany them are the best documentation of this), 'Abd al-Malik had the good fortune to hit upon two men of the first ability who secured success for him: first al-Muḥallab [q. v.], an old partisan of Ibn al-Zubair who joined the victor (as Ziyād had lately been); then, far superior in talent and devotion, al-Ḥadjjdjādī who was able to take up with unselfish and ruthless energy the task of restoring the authority of the state above

any particularism of tribe or party. Al-Ḥadjjdjādī whose mentality seems almost foreign to the Arab character, looks to us like the precursor (who was however far in advance of later incarnations) of the vizier of the 'Abbāsīd period, knowing no other master than his sovereign (or, we might say in modern language, the interests of the state) and resolved to serve him in every possible way. The hatred with which tradition has surrounded his name is well justified: al-Ḥadjjdjādī's views and the methods he employed to make them successful must have appeared almost diabolical to the old tribal sentiment as well as to the new individualist and antistatal conception of religion which was in process of formation. In reality al-Ḥadjjdjādī was a faithful Muslim; one might even say that in a way he represented the continuation of the tradition of the theocratic state founded by Muḥammad. This tradition is linked up with that of monarchy by divine right which western Asia and Egypt had known for millenia, from the time of the Pharaohs and Sumerian priest-kings down to the Roman and Sāsānian empires whose actual heirs were now the successors of the Prophet. The whole caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik under the driving power of al-Ḥadjjdjādī is simply an attempt to establish an absolute monarchy. What the times were not ripe for in the time of Mu'āwīya (although Ziyād was in this respect a precursor of al-Ḥadjjdjādī) seemed possible to 'Abd al-Malik who directed a whole series of measures towards this same end. First of all the powers of the governors of the provinces and their connections with the tribes were cut down: this policy was exercised with most success in the eastern provinces, the farthest from the centre of the caliphate, where the wars against Turk and Iranian kept alive the bellicose spirit of the tribes: al-Ḥadjjdjādī by suppressing the attempts to gain autonomy by the Muhallabids and Ibn al-Ash'ath asserted the political unity of the state and endeavoured to transform the governors into mere officials (he who, although lord of half the empire, regarded himself as his sovereign's servant). The foundation of Wāsiṭ, the establishment of the Zandj in the marshes of Baṣra were all measures tending to reduce the importance of the tribal element. Egypt, a land which since the time of 'Amr b. al-'Ās had retained a position of semi-independence towards the central government, could not have been reduced to such a position of dependence: on the other hand, its importance for the security of Syria was so fundamental that the caliph thought he could save the principle of the unity of the empire, while respecting Egyptian desire for autonomy, by allowing his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz to rule there uncontrolled. The latter however regarded his vice-royalty as a stepping-stone to the caliphate. Other steps taken by 'Abd al-Malik had also as their object the unification of the state: the fiscal census aimed primarily at the *ahl al-dhimma* which however ended by weighing on the Muslims themselves; the adoption of Arabic as the official language; the reform of the coinage; the buildings and sanitary work carried out, mainly in the 'Irāk but also in Egypt and Arabia. In a reign of twenty years 'Abd al-Malik was able to give the Arab empire an outward appearance which more and more resembled a monarchical state. This was following in the path laid down by the true tradition of Islām; and indeed 'Abd al-Malik's attitude to religion is marked by a renewal of

piety (at least externally) as well as by a more severe treatment of the non-Muslim population, the result no doubt in large measure of the fiscal needs of his policy, but also, we believe, of the desire to prevent the survival of a "state within a state". We should also regard the attempt made by 'Abd al-Malik to get his brother to renounce his claims to the succession in favour of the caliph's sons as evidence of monarchical tendencies. The death of Abd al-'Aziz got him out of his difficulty and assured al-Walid the throne; but the question came up again on each change of caliph and was never settled, not even under the 'Abbāsids.

To sum up, one may say that the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik strengthened the "Arab empire" to the limit that circumstances permitted. *Khārījism* in which were combined the protests of the social and religious extremists against the established order and in which the malcontents and oppressed of all classes expressed their exasperation in the extremist forms of anarchy and brigandage, had been encouraged by the division of the parties aspiring to the caliphate in the time of Ibn al-Zubair and al-Ash'ath; the unity of the state once re-established, the movement was, if not destroyed completely, at least reduced to temporary impotence by the fierce repressive measures of al-Ḥajjāj. *Shi'ism*, completely defeated in the open field, took refuge in secret propaganda which was only to bear fruit much later, and in this period of subterranean existence it assimilated many heterogeneous elements which were destined to give a character quite its own to the later development of the policy and religion of Islām. But this was the secret of the future; for the time being, the order secured in the interior permitted a great renewal of activity in the policy of expanding the empire, which, resumed in east and west by 'Abd al-Malik, yielded its most brilliant results under his immediate successors. The great Berber counterthrust organised by Kusaila and later by the Kāhina was overcome and Arab rule securely established in North Africa, destroying the last remnants of Byzantine rule and paving the way for the conquest of Spain. In the east, although the vast conquests of Qutaiba b. Muslim began only in 86, at the beginning of the reign of al-Walid, we find the advance towards Central Asia being already resumed under the rule of 'Abd al-Malik, which was to have a most wonderful result, the conversion to Islām of the Turks, the masters of the future. The struggle with the Byzantines remained unchanged in character; in spite of their successes in Armenia, where they subdued the native kingdoms, the Arabs did not succeed in establishing themselves in Asia Minor, and the raids of the Greek fleet on the Syrian coast continued to make the caliph feel that the hereditary enemy was still capable of threatening the very heart of Islām. But the expansion of Islām was always going on; it assimilated into the new civilization that was being formed peoples and races who were no longer peaceful Aramaean or Coptic peasants, destined to be arabicised without resistance or to exist as spiritless religious minorities, but who, like the Berbers and Turks, dauntless fighters and jealously attached to their national feeling, were disposed to accept Islām as a religion but not Arabism as a nationality. It was to these two races, placed at the two extremes of the Arab empire, that Islām owed the greater part of its future successes but also a profound change in its civilization.

The caliphate of al-Walid saw the harvest of the seed planted by the long work of 'Abd al-Malik: the imposing personality of al-Ḥajjāj continued to dominate it; Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad who was to besiege Constantinople, Mūsā b. Nuṣair, the conqueror of Spain, and Qutaiba b. Muslim secured great triumphs for Muslim arms. The mosque of Damascus and many other splendid buildings proclaimed the power of the Umayyads. But the problem of the succession reopened the crisis; this time, it was the "Arab" principle that triumphed, in excluding from the caliphate al-Walid's son in favour of his brother Sulaimān, and the duel between the caliph who wished to keep the power in his line and his brothers seeking to supplant him, continued until the end of the Umayyads with the result that it affected the prestige of the dynasty. The results of the lavish expenditure of 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid began to weigh heavily on their successors: the economic crisis and the problem of the converts made themselves felt. 'Omar II, the Benjamin of orthodox tradition, which makes an exception for him in its comprehensive malediction of the impious Umayyads, felt that a policy of "consolidation" was needed if a terrible catastrophe were not to overwhelm the destinies of Islām itself together with those of the Umayyad house. The deep mark which the work of 'Omar, although it only lasted two years, has left on history, shows that this caliph really possessed high qualities and that he was gifted with a vivid feeling for realities; at the same time, we are surprised to find at this time a system already fully developed of principles and religious regulations, a system which it had taken barely two generations to elaborate. The pietist and legalist mentality of Islām was already formed at the end of the first century and had the stamp it was to bear through all successive ages. It had been encouraged in the course of its development by the fact that it had been elaborated in the circles of the opposition, who were kept remote from the exercise of power and from a knowledge of practical politics; at the same time, by one of the most singular paradoxes in history, its authority has been recognised, owing to the prestige of those who championed it, in the very circles of government against which its reproaches were directed; one might almost think we have here the quite modern phenomenon of the influence which the opposition in a parliamentary government insensibly exercises on the direction of the policy of the party in power! This paradox is simply the consequence of that which was, as we have seen, at the very foundation of the Umayyad regime; for this regime represented the carrying out and definite triumph of the preaching of Muḥammad, going back to historic precedents and working by methods and through individuals who were clearly opposed to the spirit of this preaching. 'Omar II, in anticipating the 'Abbāsids with perhaps more good faith than they, tried to reconcile the political and financial demands of the state with respect for religious tradition. Although his attempt must be regarded as having failed as regards the destinies of the dynasty, his fiscal reforms paved the way for the equal treatment of Arabs and *mawālī* and contributed more than anything else to the fusion of the descendants of conquerors and conquered. It was undoubtedly to the beneficial activities of 'Omar that was due the third period of splendour which the Umayyad

caliphate experienced under Hishām. During the twenty years of his reign, the conquests were resumed on the old grand scale, in the west (in spite of the great Berber rising of 123) as well as the east: the Arabs advanced into the heart of Gaul; the Mediterranean began its transformation into an "Arab lake"; the Turks who had begun to slip off the Arab yoke on the dismissal and death of Kūtaiba were subdued for a third time.

The Umayyad caliphate was at its zenith when Hishām died: one can hardly believe that a few months later this state which seemed to be solidly built on the authority of the caliph would be in complete disorder and fall a prey to anarchy. Tradition is undoubtedly to some extent right in attributing to the vicious conduct of al-Walid II, a dissolute drunkard, an important part in the collapse of the established order. But the faults of one individual are not sufficient to explain the unexpected appearance of all the signs of dissolution. The causes must be sought, as usual, in the very elements which gave the caliphate of Hishām the appearance of prosperity. The latter had exploited to the limit the fiscal reforms of 'Omar and exhausted his Muslim and *dhimmī* subjects alike (the risings caused by excessive taxation, the memory of which is preserved by the Christian historians in particular, are symptomatic in this respect). Misery, counsellor as ever of extreme measures, had brought about a revival of Khāridjism, which was even introduced into Syria, an unprecedented phenomenon; and in Syria again, the *qjunds* on which was based the military strength of the Umayyads threw off their discipline, tired of the more and more marked tendency of the government to an absolute monarchy. The *Shi'a* movement began again to show itself openly in the 'Irāk as is evident from the attempt, which however failed miserably, of Zaid b. 'Alī b. al-Husain (123). The increasing extent of the conquests had finally removed the remotest provinces from the control of the central power: the tribal feuds, combining with religious differences, had been resumed with violence, while in distant Khurāsān, in spite of the energetic measures taken by Naṣr b. Saiyār the secret propaganda of the *Shi'is* met with rapid success. We can understand therefore how indignation at al-Walid's scandalous conduct found a soil prepared for it to burst forth upon, especially when the ambitions of the various descendants of 'Abd al-Malik were frustrated by the proclamation, as soon as al-Walid mounted the throne, of his two children as his successors designate. A rising in the *qjunds* of Palestine and al-Urdunn brought Yazīd III to power; al-Walid was slain. But neither Yazīd nor his brother Ibrāhīm, who succeeded him after a few months, succeeded in checking the anarchy which was spreading throughout the empire. The Khāridjis under al-Daḥḥāk b. Qais al-Shaibānī seized Kūfa. It looked for some years as if salvation would come from a distant member of the ruling branch, Marwān b. Muḥammad, grandson of the great Marwān, governor of Armenia, who had created an army devoted to himself during the long years he had been successfully fighting against the Byzantines. He arrived in Syria to support the claims of al-Walid's children: finding they had already been assassinated by the usurpers, he proclaimed himself caliph and in a few months had put down rebellion in Syria and destroyed the members of the Umayyad house who opposed

him; he next took Egypt and the 'Irāk. The work he did in the first three years of his caliphate is hardly comparable to that of his grandfather whose name he bore and of his uncle 'Abd al-Malik. But the circumstances were much more difficult for him than they had been for them: the family bonds of the Umayyads had been broken and the energy of the stock was exhausted; at the same time, the confidence of their adversaries in their success had increased: instead of having to fight with the improvised armies of Ibn al-Zubair or with desperate bands of *Shi'is* who had escaped the disaster of Kerbelā', Marwān had to meet troops hardened by the wars with the Turks and Persian forces of Khurāsān organised by Abū Muslim, while in the background the 'Abbāsids were preparing to enter the field. The soi-disant *Shi'is* threw down the gauntlet in 130: Khurāsān and Fārs were rapidly conquered and in the following year the invaders occupied the 'Irāk where the 'Abbāsids suddenly put forward their claims and proclaimed Abū 'l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh caliph at Kūfa. The latter having defeated Marwān on the Zāb, sent his lieutenants in pursuit of him through al-Djazira and Syria and again defeated him in Egypt where the last Umayyad caliph was slain on 27th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 132 (July 7, 750). The assassination of the members of the Umayyad family, the fruitless rising in favour of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī in Syria and the flight of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiya b. Hishām from Medina to Africa and Spain form the epilogue of the tragedy which marked the end of the fall of the dynasty of Mu'āwiya and Marwān.

It is undoubtedly an exaggeration to say that the end of Arabism coincides with the fall of the Umayyads and to attribute to the 'Abbāsids a kind of iranisation of the Muslim world. In reality not only did the dynasty of the caliphs remain Arab, but the governors of provinces and generals in the army were recruited from Arabs for nearly a century. It is true on the other hand that the internationalisation of Islām, in the sense that the Arabs ceased to be the sole active element in the organisation of the state and in the development of civilization, had already begun, at least as a theoretical possibility, when the reforms of 'Omar II had made the *mawālī* equal with the Arabs. Further, the adoption of Islām brought these heterogeneous elements to form part of a civilisation, which we are justified in continuing to regard as Arab even if the analytic research of the last half century has shown that its constituent factors were for the greater part foreign. Not only did the Arabic language give a homogeneous colour to this civilisation but all the varied elements which composed it were kneaded together under Arab influence. The merit of having given this composite civilization an Arab colouring is undoubtedly due to the Umayyads. We can unfortunately no longer recognise in detail the preliminary work which sowed the seeds, the fruits of which were seen only in the 'Abbāsīd period: but the fact that in the second half of the second century, Islāmic civilization is in full bloom, as regards not only religion but also science and the arts, makes it clear that the Arabs did not await the coming of the 'Abbāsids to begin their transformation from Beduins to civilized people. What strikes one in the Arab civilization of the Umayyad period, is the coexistence of two worlds, the old and the new, existing side

by side, just we find happening elsewhere in periods of transition: Beduin customs and mentality, the poetry of al-Farazdaq, of Djarir and Akhtal were still real and alive when the religion of the Qur'an was already being penetrated by Hellenistic and Christian theological speculation, when the interest of traditionists, historians and philologists was beginning to be attracted to the literary products of the spirit of the desert which they knew through the venerable memorials of an epoch now closed. Even the administrative system of the 'Abbāsids in its main lines is practical what the Umayyads had built up on a basis of Byzantine and Sāsānian tradition, and the original contribution by Yahyā b. Barmak was very much less than what tradition credits him with. In conclusion, what the Umayyads lacked, namely the power to transform the colossal Arab empire into a homogeneous unity, was equally deficient in the 'Abbāsids: what the latter accomplished, the intellectual and moral unification of the Muslim world had already been begun under the Umayyads.

On matters of detail, which it has not been possible to deal with in this general article, see the articles on the individuals and place-names connected with the history of the period.

Bibliography: Being unable to give the complete bibliography for so vast a subject, we shall confine ourselves to works of a general character. The sources for the history of the Umayyads have been collected by L. Caetani in his *Chronographia Islamica*, Paris (1912 sqq.) p. 461—1716, an invaluable repertory but unfortunately without an index; in it are given along with the Arabic sources, also those from Syriac, Greek, Latin, Armenian and Chinese. Very few really important texts are still unpublished; the chief of these is undoubtedly al-Balādhuri's great compilation *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, of which only a fragment has been published by W. Ahlwardt (*Anonyme arab. Cronik* etc., Greifswald 1883), the publication of which is being undertaken by the university of Jerusalem; we may hope to find in it some remnants of the Umayyad historical tradition which has almost entirely been swept away by writers with 'Abbāsīd bias. This same tradition is in part preserved, so far as we can judge from the little we know of it, in the history of the Spanish Arab al-Baiyāsī (*al-I'rāb bi 'L-Hurūb fī Šadr al-Islām*, cf. J. Horowitz, *M.S.O.S.*, 1907, p. 22—27), which would be worth publishing. One regrets not to find in Caetani's *Chronographia* the results of a methodical search of the *dīwāns* of the poets and their commentators (in first place the *Naḥḥ'id* of Djarir and Farazdaq) which might supply some new information (a good deal of this work has however been done by Lammens). The papyri also constitute a source, of great importance though limited range, especially the series which bears the name of Qurra b. Sharīk [q. v.]. The general work which is of fundamental importance for the Umayyad period, is, as we have seen, J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, in which Ṭabarī's great work was utilised for the first time; his *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, v., 1901) and *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern in der Zeit der Umayyaden* (*Nachrichten G. W. Gött.*, 1901) are also of no less importance for two essential

aspects of the history of this period; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquest in Central Asia*, London 1923 (James G. Forlong Fund, ii.) carefully studies another point of great historical significance; it is a matter of regret that we have nothing similar for the conquests in Africa; the researches of H. Lammens (*Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia Ier*, *M.F.O.B.*, i.—iii.; *Ziād Ibn Abihi vice-roi de l'Iraq*, *R.S.O.*, iv.; *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, *M.F.O.B.*, iv.—vi.; *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Bairūt 1930), without constituting a complete survey of the history of the Umayyad caliphate, are nevertheless indispensable for the immense quantity of material that is examined in them, for the wealth of detail and the keen penetration with which historical problems are investigated; C. H. Becker's essays (collected in *Islamstudien*, i., Leipzig 1924, also *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, ii., Strassburg 1903) have contributed in remarkable fashion to illuminate the problem of the Umayyad caliphate's place in history. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

II. THE UMAIYADS OF SPAIN.

The BANŪ UMAIYA or BANŪ MARWĀN of the Arab historians, direct descendants of the Umayyads of Syria, reigned from the viiith to the xith century over the Muslim empire which they founded in the Iberian peninsula with Cordova as their capital.

The restoration in the extreme west of the Muslim world of the sovereignty of the Umayyads, which had been destroyed in the east by the 'Abbāsids, is one of the most striking events in the history of the Arabs in the Middle Ages. It was this dynasty which encouraged the separation of Muslim Spain from the rest of the Arab world and made it a real political unity; it was this dynasty which gave the social physiognomy of this country, already so characteristic, a decided stamp of Syrian tradition. Thanks to the vigour of its princes, it was able to resist the designs of the 'Abbāsids and then of the Fāṭimids. It succumbed in the end, exhausted by civil wars, only through allowing a hereditary dictatorship to be established alongside of it and because it failed to restrain in time the excesses of its foreign mercenaries.

The history of the Umayyads of Spain may be divided into three principal periods: 1. the independent emirate of Cordova; 2. the caliphate; 3. the decline and fall of the dynasty. Here we shall only give a very brief résumé.

Chronological list of the Umayyads of Spain.

- I. 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, *al-Dākhil*, 138—172 (756—788).
- II. Hishām I, 172—180 (788—796).
- III. al-Ḥakam I, 180—206 (796—822).
- IV. 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, 206—238 (822—852).
- V. Muḥammad I, 238—273 (852—886).
- VI. al-Mundhir, 273—275 (886—888).
- VII. 'Abd Allāh, 275—300 (888—912).
- VIII. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, *al-Nāṣir li-Dini 'Ulāh*, 300—350 (912—961).
- IX. al-Ḥakam II, *al-Mustanṣir bi 'Ulāh*, 350—366 (961—976).
- X. Hishām II, *al-Mu'ayyad bi 'Ulāh*, 366—399 (976—1009), and 400—403 (1010—1013).

- XI. Muḥammad II, *al-Mahdi*, 399—400 (1009—1010).
- XII. Sulaimān, *al-Musta'in bi 'llāh*, 399—407 (1009—1016).
- XIII. 'Abd al-Rahmān IV, *al-Murtaḍā*, 408—409 (1017—1019).
- XIV. 'Abd al-Rahmān V, *al-Mustaḡhir bi 'llāh*, 414 (1023).
- XV. Muḥammad III, *al-Mustakfī bi 'llāh*, 414—416 (1023—1025).
- XVI. Hishām III, *al-Mu'tadd bi 'llāh*, 418—422 (1027—1031).

1. The independent emirate of Cordova.

The Arab historians usually give the date 138 (756) for the foundation of the independent emirate of the Umayyads of Cordova by 'Abd al-Rahmān I, the son of Mu'āwiya b. Hishām, whom they call *al-Dākhil*, "the immigrant". When his relatives were being persecuted by the 'Abbāsids, 'Abd al-Rahmān, still quite a young man, — he was born in 113 (731) — succeeded in escaping secretly to Palestine and from there, accompanied by his freedman Badr, went to Egypt and then to Ifrikiya. He was soon obliged to fly from al-Kairawān, where he was exposed to the persecutions of the governor 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Ḥabib and went to the Maghrib. He spent some time in Tahert [q. v.] at the court of a petty dynasty, the Rustamids, then enjoyed the hospitality of various Berber tribes, among them the Miknāsa and the Nafza. From the day of his arrival on African soil, 'Abd al-Rahmān, encouraged by Badr, had shown a desire for political activity. But his ambition did not find a suitable soil in the Maghrib, and his eyes naturally turned towards Spain.

'Abd al-Rahmān was able, very cleverly and with a keen political sense, to turn to his own interests the rivalries which for some years had made a profound cleavage between the Ḳāsis and the Yamanis settled in the Peninsula. On the other hand, he had no difficulty in securing the support of clients of the Umayyads, who had come some years earlier into Spain with Balḍj b. Bishr [q. v.] and were scattered, some 500 in number, over the military districts (*djund*) of Elvira and Jaen in the S. E. of Spain. The governor of the Peninsula at this time was Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri, who derived most of his authority from the chief of the Ḳāsis of Spain, al-Ṣumail al-Kilābi [q. v.]. Judging the moment had come to land on Spanish soil in the guise of claimant to the throne, 'Abd al-Rahmān left the Maghrib and arrived at Almuñecar [q. v.] in Rabi' II, 138 (Sept. 755). The welcome he received surpassed his expectations; he took the field against Yūsuf al-Fihri and as a result of meetings, military engagements and negotiations, for the details of which the reader may be referred to the Arab historians, he was ultimately recognised as emir on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijḍa 138 (May 15, 756) in the town of Cordova, the traditional residence of the Arab governors.

The founder of the Umayyad emirate of Cordova was destined to rule for over 33 years. The first of these he spent in consolidating his position in the capital itself. News of his success spread through the whole of the East and there was soon an influx into Spain of clients and partisans of

the Umayyads, who came to do their share in restoring in Spain the dynasty which had fallen in Syria. But the Cordovan emir had soon to deal with a number of political complications. He had first of all to put down Yūsuf al-Fihri, who was not taking kindly to his fall and, having gathered round him a number of followers, tried to retake Cordova; but he was defeated in 141 (758) and in the next year killed in the region of Toledo. But rebellion continued to smoulder in all parts of Spain, as in the period of the governors; trouble was continually stirred up not only by bodies of *murwalladūn* i. e. neo-Muslims, Spaniards recently converted to Islām, but also by the Berbers and Arabs always at daggers drawn with one another on account of their ancient clan-feuds. 'Abd al-Rahmān I therefore had to put down in succession risings by the Yamanis and the Fihris, led by al-'Alā' b. Mughith al-Djūdhamī in 146 (763), by the Berber Shakyā who rose at Shantabariya (Santaver) in 152 (769) and never dared allow any slight local disturbances to spread. In the latter half of the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān I, a coalition was formed of a number of Arab chiefs of the east of the Peninsula, who sought the aid of Charlemagne. The latter himself crossed the Pyrenees at the head of an army and laid siege to Saragossa in 162 (778). But the emperor, suddenly recalled to the Rhine, had to raise the siege. On his way back to France he suffered in the pass of Roncevaux, where the Basques had prepared an ambush for him, the famous defeat associated with the memory of Roland. 'Abd al-Rahmān I took advantage of the departure of the Franks to besiege Saragossa in his turn, and occupied it in 164 (780) but for a short time only. An expedition against the Basques was crowned with success. On the death of the founder of the new Umayyad dynasty, which took place in 172 (788), the Cordovan kingdom had already become solidly established from the political and territorial point of view and was possessed of powerful military resources. The success of the exile from Syria and the remarkable way in which he was able to build up a kingdom for himself and to undertake the task of pacifying his new territory has aroused the admiration of all the Arab historians, who give him the flattering epithet of "Eagle of the Ḳuraish" (*saḡr Ḳuraish*).

The pacification of the new kingdom was to be the main task of all the successors of 'Abd al-Rahmān I. On his death the power passed to his son Hishām I, who reigned only a little over seven years for he died young in 180 (796). He had at first to fight against his brothers, who wanted to seize the power, and as a result he had to send out two summer expeditions (*ṣā'ifa*) in 177 (793) and 179 (795), one against Narbonne and the other against Galicia. The chroniclers describe Hishām I as a noble prince full of virtues and regret that he reigned so short a period.

His son al-Ḥakam I succeeded him for 26 years. It is not certain whether it was he or his father who introduced the Mālikī rite into Muslim Spain: the *madhhab* hitherto followed had been that of al-Awza'i [q. v.]. In any case, it was only on his accession that the lawyers or *fuḳahā'* assumed an excessive importance in Cordova and tried to dictate the decisions of the sovereign. Al-Ḥakam I, unlike his father, had very little sympathy for them; he at once took up a stand against them and showed them that he could resist their demands.

But the *ḥakīms* determined to resist, made common cause with another body of malcontents, the neo-Muslims or *muwalladīn*, and thus to some extent made themselves in the name of Islām the champions of Spanish nationalism. The result, with a ruler so vigorous and decided as al-Ḥakam I, was a series of measures cruelly and vigorously enforced during the greater part of the reign. The first rising took place in Cordova itself in 189 (805): conspirators from the aristocracy urged on by the *ḥakīms* tried to drive al-Ḥakam from the throne; but the plot was discovered and the sovereign dealt most vigorously with the rebels. In the next year, he took Merida and stifled in blood another rising in Cordova. In 191 (807) there took place at Toledo the celebrated "day of the ditch" (*waḥḥat al-hufra*). The inhabitants of this town from the beginning of Umayyad rule had been almost continually in rebellion; al-Ḥakam sent to govern them 'Amrūs, a renegade who was absolutely devoted to him; he with his master's approval prepared an ambush for the Toledan notables from which none emerged alive. But it is the "affair of the suburb" which best reveals the implacable character of the grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I. Determined to destroy completely the seeds of rebellion in his capital, he surrounded himself with a guard of foreign mercenaries, the "silent ones" (*al-ḥuṣṣ*) who began a reign of terror in Cordova. The discontent continued to increase and in 202 (817) a rising on a large scale broke out in the southern suburb of the capital on the other bank of the Guadalquivir: the mob, stirred up by the *ḥakīms* led by Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, tried to take by assault the emir's palace but were soon surrounded and cut down by al-Ḥakam's troops. The emir then decided at once to banish from Spain all the Cordovans of the suburb who had survived the massacre. Over 20,000 families had to leave the country: about two-thirds went to Egypt and later to Crete. The remainder went to Fās and settled in the quarter still called the "bank of the Andalusians" (*idwat al-Andalus*). The suburb itself was razed to the ground and it was forbidden for any one to build there again. This drastic suppression of the rising made such a sensation in the Muslim world that the historians often call al-Ḥakam I *al-Rabaḍī* (the "suburban").

The whole of al-Ḥakam's reign was passed in this way in dealing with domestic troubles stirred up by neo-Muslim malcontents with the *ḥakīms* behind them. His energy enabled him to triumph over all but with his attention continually occupied in the interior of his country he could not always defend his frontier districts (*thughūr*) sufficiently. In the reign of al-Ḥakam I we find the kingdoms of Asturia and Galicia making a notable advance to the south. Barcelona was also taken from the Muslims in 185 (801) by the Duke of Aquitaine.

Al-Ḥakam's son and successor 'Abd al-Raḥmān II was the very opposite of his father. He reigned from 206—238 (822—852) and was completely powerless to control events. It has been said with justice that he was guided throughout his reign by a *ḥakīm*, a musician, a woman and a eunuch: Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā who had managed to save his neck after the rising in the suburb; the singer Ziryāb, a pupil of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, who had just arrived in Spain and brought there the refinements of the 'Abbāsīd capital; the favourite Ṭarūb and the eunuch Naṣr, who

dictated to the ruler most of his political acts. The reign of this weak ruler, after the reign of terror begun by al-Ḥakam I, corresponded with a recrudescence of the nationalist movement. It was in this period that the Spanish Mozarabs [q. v.] who had retained the Christian faith, felt themselves strong enough to rebel, led by Eulogio and Alvaro. As a result of the counter-measures of the Muslim government, we find a wave of voluntary martyrdom descending on Spain and particularly on Cordova between 236 and 238 (850—852); a council, summoned by the Umayyad emir, endeavoured to put a check on it. Besides the opposition of the Christian communities, the caliph had to deal with new rebellions by the *muwallads*: Merida and Toledo had again to be taken by force. It was in this reign also that the Normans, called by the Muslims *al-Maḡjūs* [q. v.], made their first appearance in Spain. In 230 (844) Norman raiders took Seville and a truce was concluded between their leader and the emir of Cordova who had sent them an ambassador, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Ghazzāl.

Muḥammad I, son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, succeeded his father on the throne of Cordova when the latter died in 238 (852). His reign, which was to last till 273 (886), was also marked by a series of domestic troubles which in spite of the cruelty of the prince continued to increase. The Mozarab rebellion broke out again on his accession and vigorous persecutions of the Christian communities were at once begun. The Christians of Toledo having appealed for help to Leo Ordoño I, he sent them an army under Count Bierzo, which the Muslim troops routed in 240 (854) at the battle of Wādī Saltī (Guadacete). The Christian risings ceased only in 245 (859) after the martyrdoms of Eulogio and Leocritia. But the political instability of the Cordovan emirate had been emphasized and gradually separatist movements began to take shape in all the provinces which were in theory subject to Cordova, usually led by neo-Muslims who posed as independent chiefs and nationalist champions. This attitude of the *muwallad* aristocrats and soon the pretensions of the great Arab families were to keep the Cordovan emirs busy till the beginning of the tenth century.

It was in the reign of Muḥammad I that the long rebellion of the independent chief 'Umar b. Ḥafṣūn [q. v.] began in the S.W. of the Peninsula; he soon exercised absolute power over all the mountainous country between Ronda and Malaga and established his headquarters in an impregnable citadel, Bobastro [q. v.]. Except for a few brief periods of truce, he kept up the struggle against the central Muslim power and soon became recognised by all the malcontents of the country as their undisputed leader.

The successor of Muḥammad I, his son al-Munḍhir, had only a short reign (273—275 = 886—888), entirely filled with the war with Ibn Ḥafṣūn, whose influence daily increased, and with the siege of Bobastro, which would have perhaps been successful but for the emir's untimely death, poisoned, it appears, by his brother 'Abd Allāh, who succeeded him.

The reign of the emir 'Abd Allāh (275—300 = 888—912), eclipsed in some degree by that of his glorious grandson and successor 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, is rightly said to mark an important stage in the pacification of the kingdom

of Cordova. It is not quite right to see in him only a bloodthirsty tyrant. Like all the rulers of the period, he undoubtedly dealt most cruelly with those who tried to overthrow him, even his own brothers. But he had to face numerous dangers, to fight the movements with which his predecessors had had to deal and which had been increasing in strength in the meanwhile. The rebellion of Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn alone was to occupy almost the whole of his reign. On the other hand, in spite of the relative proximity of Cordova, the country of Seville seemed to be about to cast off Umayyad rule; the Spanish party and the Arab party there were continually undermining the authority of the governor sent from Cordova and occasionally let loose on the town bodies of Berbers who were settled in the neighbouring mountains. The hostility of the great Arab families, the Banū Ḥadjdjadj and the Banū Khaldūn, became more and more disquieting; the representatives of these families were great landowners who had large numbers of devoted serfs whom they could equip and arm when necessary. Kuraib b. Khaldūn, the head of the second family, soon after the accession of 'Abd Allāh raised the whole region of Aljarafe (Arab. *al-Sharaf*) and got the chief of the Banū Ḥadjdjadj to join him. Then he concluded a treaty with the emir and by arrangement with him attacked the neo-Muslims of Seville which he reduced to ruins (278 = 891). But his submission was only temporary. In 286 (899) the chiefs of the two great Seville families quarrelled and Ibrāhīm b. Ḥadjdjadj, after disposing of his rival Kuraib, concluded an alliance with the leader of the rising in the S.E., Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn. 'Abd Allāh finally received his submission but had to give him such privileges that in practice he ruled in Seville as an independent chief. In this period also the growing influence of the nobles, vassals, more or less in theory, of the Cordovan sovereign, contributed largely to break up his authority. The chief of these nobles (*ṣāhib*) were the lords of Saragossa, Ucles, Huesca and, in the S.W., of Ocsnoba. As to Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn, after having shown at the beginning of the reign of 'Abd Allāh some slight signs of submission, he was not long in resuming the struggle against Cordovan rule. Supported by the Christians of Cordova and their chief, Count Servando, he extended his influence northwards so that the capital itself was soon threatened. Prompt measures became necessary: in 278 (891) the emir 'Abd Allāh marched against the fortress of Poley (now Aguilar, in the south of Cordova) where Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn had established himself and forced the rebel to take refuge in his citadel of Bobastro. This success strengthened the emir's authority and procured him, for a brief period only it is true, the submission of the districts (*kūra*) of Ecija, Archidona, Elvira and Jaen. Down to the last years of the reign of 'Abd Allāh, the work of pacification continued with continually varying results, but the activity of the prince, never giving his turbulent adversaries rest, gradually achieved a consolidation of his authority and the break up of the anti-Umayyad league. When he died in Šafar 300 (Oct. 912) the situation was more settled; he had prepared the way for and been one of the most vigorous workers for the pacification of Spain, which his grandson was to complete in the first part of his long reign.

2. The Umayyad caliphate of Spain.

'Abd Allāh's successor, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III b. Muḥammad, was only twenty-three on his accession; in spite of his youth he had been chosen to succeed to the throne by his grandfather on account of his good qualities, and the choice was fully justified. No reign in the annals of Muslim Spain was more brilliant or more glorious. Its great length (half a century: 300—350 = 912—961) assured the prince's policy the benefit of unusual continuity and enabled him to extinguish for several decades the various centres of rebellion which had been always active in Spain since the coming of the Muslims. The reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III marks, with that of his successor al-Ḥakam II and to a certain point the period when the two first 'Amirid dictators, al-Manšūr and al-Muzaḥḥar, assumed power, the culminating point in the Muslim occupation of Spain. Spain was never afterwards able to attain in the eyes of the Christian and Muslim worlds the political influence and brilliant culture which she attained in the time of these great princes nor to play a part of the first importance in the west, in Europe as well as in Africa.

We are not going to give here a detailed account of the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, but only to study it in its main outlines. It may be divided into two main periods: the first, the period of restoration of peace at home, the result of which was the realisation of the political unity of the Cordovan empire; the second is a longer period marked mainly by preoccupation with foreign affairs, relations with the Christian kingdoms of the north and with North Africa, then more or less under Fātimid suzerainty.

On his accession 'Abd al-Raḥmān III set to work and traced out his programme: to put an end to the rebellions which had been drenching Spain with blood since the foundation of the dynasty, to neutralise the influence of the powerful Arab aristocracy and to maintain the Muslim frontiers on the north. He carried through his programme point by point. In the first year of his reign Ecija was taken and its fortifications dismantled; another campaign ended in the taking of the strong castle of Monteleon and in the pacification of the districts of Jaen and Elvira. The subjugation of the south of the Peninsula was continued down to 305 (917); Seville, then Cremona submitted; finally the aged leader of the rebellion, 'Umar b. Ḥaṣṣūn, died. His sons Dja'far, Sulaimān and Ḥaṣṣūn endeavoured to continue the struggle but without any great confidence in the success of their arms: the result was the taking of Bobastro by 'Abd al-Raḥmān in person, who laid siege to it and captured it in 315 (beginning of 928). Five years later the last centre of resistance fell: Toledo [q.v.], to which the predecessors of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had been forced to grant a kind of political independence, was strictly blockaded and had finally to surrender in 320 (932).

At the same time the sovereign did not lose sight of the aspirations of the Christian kingdoms of the north, particularly the programme of territorial expansion by the kingdom of Leon, over which there then reigned an energetic and ambitious prince, Ordoño II. The latter had taken the stronghold of Alanje (*Kala't al-Ḥanash*) to the south of

Merida, and a little later with the help of King Sancho of Navarre had sent an expedition into the districts of Tudela and Valtierra. But the Leonese advance was checked by 'Abd al-Rahmān III, who in 308 (920) gained a series of successes, with the capture of the fortresses of Osmā, San Esteban de Gormaz, Clunia, Carcar, Calahorra and Muez and the victory of Valdejunquera. Four years later, as a result of a new offensive by Leon, the Umayyad ruler re-established the situation to his advantage in a victorious campaign, profiting by the troubles caused in the Christian country on the succession to Ordoño II.

Throughout all this first period of his reign, 'Abd al-Rahmān III was closely watching what was going on in Africa and by building fortifications on the coast and organising a powerful fleet, was preparing for the eventuality of an invasion by the Fāṭimids, against whom he now committed acts of open hostility. To show it still more he assumed in 316 (929) the lofty titles of commander of the faithful (*amīr al-mu'minin*) while his predecessors and he himself had previously been content with the simple title of *amīr*. The little Cordovan kingdom became at the same time a great Muslim empire, and the restoration of the Umayyad caliphate of Damascus in Spain was completed. He assumed at the same time the honorific title (*laqab*) of al-Nāṣir li-Dīni 'llāh (cf. E. Levi-Provençal, *Espagne musulmane du X^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1932, p. 45 sq.).

A little later in 319 (931), the Caliph captured the stronghold of Ceuta [q. v.] on the African coast and installed a governor and a garrison there; this was the beginning of the Umayyad attack on the western Maghrib. A few years before, the petty rulers of the kingdom of Nukūr had asked for and obtained Umayyad suzerainty. Al-Nāṣir did not stop there and was able to rally to his side the little local dynasties who were trying to hold their own against the Fāṭimid invaders. With the help of an alliance with the Maghrāwa [q. v.] he was soon able to subdue the whole of the central Maghrib except the region of Tāhert.

The second part of the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III shows rather less personal activity by the caliph, and at the same time the formation, in the heart of the united and pacified Cordovan empire, of parties, no doubt of little weight at first, which were in the end to cause the greatest disorder in the internal affairs of the caliphate: the Slav party and the Berber party. The Slavs [cf. *SAĖĀLIBA*], prisoners not only from the east of Europe but also from Italy and northern Spain, soon formed a large class in Cordovan society, and it is in the reign of al-Nāṣir that we find them for the first time occupying high offices in the state and even in the army. The sovereign seems to have used these Slavs, originally devoted to his cause, to reduce or even annihilate the influence of the old Arab aristocracy. In 327 (939) for example, we find him giving the Slav Nadjda the command of an important expedition; but he was to regret it; indeed on this occasion Muslim troops suffered the first reverse of his reign and were defeated by the Leonese under Ramiro II and their allies of Navarre at Simancas and Alhandega. Henceforth al-Nāṣir's policy with regard to the Christian kingdoms, while remaining watchful, was confined to taking advantage of any possible occasion. Civil war had broken out

in the north of Spain as a result of a feud between Ramiro II and the Count of Castille, Fernān González. On the death of the King of Leon in 951, his sons Ordoño III and Sancho fought for the crown and the former, to have his hands free against his brother who was supported by Castille, offered 'Abd al-Rahmān III an advantageous peace and promised to pay him tribute regularly. When Ordoño III died in 955, Sancho succeeded him; but, disliked by the nobles and defeated by the armies of the Cordovan caliph, he was forced to take refuge in Pampeluna with the aged queen Tota of Navarre and then appealed to al-Nāṣir for help to regain his kingdom which had passed into the hands of Ordoño IV. Negotiations were begun and through the skill of al-Nāṣir's representative, the Jew Ḥasdāi b. Šapruṭ, Sancho and Tota came in person to Cordova to seek the caliph's help. This was an event without precedent in the annals of Muslim Spain. The king of Leon had to abandon ten fortresses in exchange for which the caliph gave him troops who assisted him to take Zamora in 959 and Oviedo in the following year.

The Fāṭimid threat to the Peninsula had not yet completely disappeared. In 343 (954) the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz sent his governor of Sicily to make a raid on the Spanish shore. He ravaged the district of Almeria and brought back prisoners and considerable booty to Sicily. As a reprisal, al-Nāṣir gave Ḡhalib, one of his most devoted clients, command of a fleet of seventy ships, which went and burned Marsa 'l-Kharaz near Calle on the North African coast.

'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir died on the 2nd Ramaḍān 350 (Oct. 15, 961), aged 73. His political work was to be continued by his son and successor al-Ḥakam II al-Mustaṣṣir bi 'llāh who was nearly fifty when he came to the throne. He was a pious and scholarly prince and his name is especially associated with the Great Mosque of Cordova which he enlarged and embellished; on it he spent considerable sums and even brought from Mediterranean lands and Byzantium skilled craftsmen and valuable material. His father had been mainly interested in public and strategic buildings and had built for his own residence the town of Madīnat al-Zahrā' [q. v.], 3 miles N. W. of Cordova.

His love of study and his age, it is true, pre-disposed al-Ḥakam II to a quiet life; but he is too often represented as taking no interest in political affairs. He had to maintain the situation created by his father and for this he had only to watch the normal working of the wheels of government. But like his predecessor, whose programme he continued to carry out, he did not remain an inactive spectator of events in northern Spain and Africa. He received at Cordova with great pomp Sancho's brother, Ordoño the Wicked, and gradually became the suzerain of all the Christian princes of the north. His political right hand men were the *ḥadji* al-Muṣḥafī and Slav dignitaries, and he may be reproached with having given them too much confidence. On the African coast, the Umayyad government continued to display considerable activity. The Fāṭimid peril seemed to have disappeared with the departure of al-Mu'izz for Egypt, but his representatives, the Ṣanhādja, resumed the fight with the vassals of the Umayyads in North Africa. On the other

hand, the petty Idrisid dynasts of the region of Tangier and Arzila had remained faithful to the Fātimids. The resistance of Ḥasan b. Ghannūn was long but in the end he was taken in his stronghold at Ḥaǧjarat al-Naṣr and imprisoned in Cordova. The reign of al-Ḥakam II was also marked by a new attempt by the Normans to land in Spain in 355 (966) [cf. AL-MADJŪS].

al-Ḥakam II soon felt himself growing old and his principal care became the maintenance of the succession in direct line in the Umayyad dynasty. He had only one son, still a youth, Hishām, and he had him recognised as heir presumptive (*walī al-ahd*). He died soon afterwards on the 3rd Ṣafar 366 (Oct. 1, 976).

The reign of Hishām II al-Muʿaiyad bi ʿllāh, the third Umayyad caliph of Spain, is the period of the establishment of the hereditary dictatorship of the ʿĀmirids and their effective seizure of civil and military power, the sovereign himself being relegated to his palace and deprived of all political initiative. The circumstances under which this new state of affairs was brought about after the death of al-Ḥakam II are very complicated but quite well known. A detailed account, which need not be repeated here, is given under AL-MANŠŪR B. ABĪ ʿĀMIR. We would only recall that, while in theory preserving for the young caliph the exercise of sovereign power, the famous ḥāǧib, whose ambition knew no bounds, does not ever seem to have really thought of dethroning him in order to take his place. All official measures were taken in the name of Hishām II, who never seems to have shown any inclination to resist the ʿĀmirid control of his lands. It is really only with the disappearance of al-Manšūr that the weakening of the Umayyad caliphate begins.

Al-Manšūr in the name and on the purely nominal behalf of Hishām II continued the policy of the caliphs ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II, not without, however, giving it the stamp of his powerful personality; but the era of peace and glory which al-Nāṣir had begun continued undiminished throughout the dictatorship of al-Manšūr. The influence of the Arab aristocracy and of the Slav party was soon completely destroyed. The army was reorganised with the help of mercenaries recruited outside the Muslim lands of Spain, in northern Africa and in the Christian kingdoms of the north of the Peninsula. In the western parts of Barbary, al-Manšūr established a kind of Umayyad protectorate so that African expenses became less heavy in the caliph's budget. The ḥāǧib was a successful general, the worst enemy of the Christian kingdoms, against which he undertook an expedition almost every year to preserve his personal prestige. Among these expeditions we may mention that of 374 (985) against Catalonia: Count Borrel was defeated and Barcelona taken. Three years later, he turned against Leon and its ruler Bermuda II who had broken a treaty made with Cordova: Coimbra, Leon and Zamora were taken. Al-Manšūr also covered himself with glory in the famous campaign against Galicia in the course of which on 2nd Shaʿbān 387 (Aug. 10, 997), he took Santiago da Compostella (Arab. *Shant Yaʿkūb*; q. v.). In 392 (1002) he led his troops against Castille, took Canales and San Millán de la Cogolla. On his return from this victorious campaign he died at Madīnaci (Madīnat Salīm; q. v.) in the same year.

3. The Decline and Fall of the Umayyad Caliphate.

On the death of al-Manšūr, his son ʿAbd al-Malik, who had already distinguished himself in Africa a few years before, succeeded him as ḥāǧib and was installed by the caliph Hishām II. During the six years in which he held the power, down to 399 (1008), Muslim Spain continued to prosper as regards peace at home. He reinforced the caliph's army with new contingents, recruited mainly in Africa, and undertook several expeditions against the kingdoms of the north. In 393 (1003) he conducted a series of raids against Catalonia, in 395 (1005) against Galicia, in 396 (1006) against Pampeluna, in 397 (1007) against the Castillans whom he defeated at Clunia. On the conclusion of this last successful campaign, he had himself given the honorific title of al-Muzaʿffar bi ʿllāh. In spite of the sullen opposition that was felt in Cordova against ʿĀmirid control and several plots, which were, however, quickly thwarted, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muzaʿffar secured the Umayyad caliphate a few more years of existence, abnormal no doubt but free from serious danger at home or abroad. But the second ʿĀmirid ḥāǧib died soon, poisoned, it is said, at the instigation of his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who succeeded him, again with the approval of the weak caliph Hishām II.

This ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the son of al-Manšūr by his marriage with a Christian princess, daughter of King Sancho of Navarre. The new ḥāǧib was therefore everywhere known as Sanchuelo, little Sancho. Not long after he had assumed control, he made himself singularly detested by the Cordovan population by breaking the restraint which his father and brother had always prudently observed. Strong in the support, which he thought he could always rely on, of the Berber soldiery, he was seized with unbounded ambition and meditated succeeding Hishām II with the title of caliph. The monarch was sufficiently cowed to receive the request favourably and by an edict of 399 (1008) the ḥāǧib was proclaimed heir-presumptive to the Cordovan throne. This proclamation roused the country generally against the ʿĀmirids and the party of the disaffected, singularly increased by this unexpected news and led by the Umayyad princes cut off from the throne, took advantage of the departure of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbī ʿĀmir on an expedition against Galicia to let loose a rebellion in the capital, seize the palace of the caliph and force him to abdicate in favour of a great-grandson of al-Nāṣir, Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who was proclaimed with the honorific title of al-Mahdī in 399 (1008). The new sovereign cleared out and razed to the ground the ʿĀmirid palace al-Madīnat al-Zāhira [q. v.]; a few days later, Sanchuelo, hurrying back to Cordova, was arrested some distance from the capital at the same time as his faithful ally, the Count of Carrion, and executed.

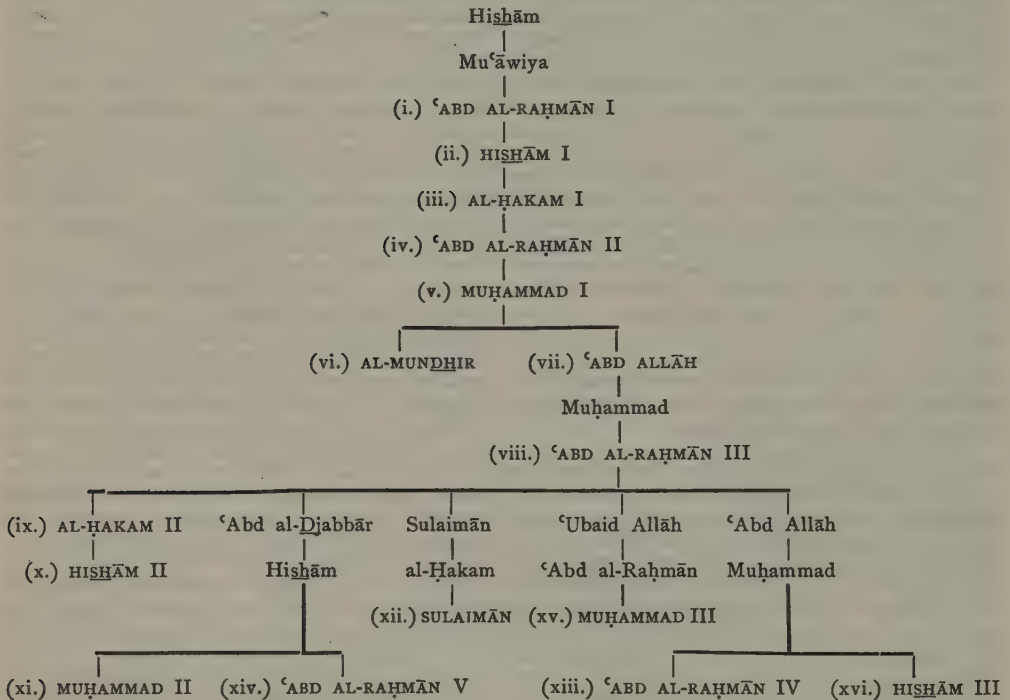
From this time and down to the fall of the caliphate, which was not far distant, civil war reigned in Cordova and the caliphate. The Berber element augmented by the Ṣanhāǧja contingents from Ifrīqiya, recruited by the ʿĀmirids, played a more and more disastrous part in the troubles that followed. Al-Mahdī, instead of conciliating the chiefs of these mercenaries, alienated them very soon by his brusqueness, the contempt which he

showed for them and particularly by dismissing a large number of Africans from the military *ḍiwān*. The latter, who were joined by the regular malcontents of the Cordovan mob, gained the country and soon proclaimed another Umayyad prince, Sulaimān b. al-Ḥakam b. Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāsir who took the title of al-Musta'in bi 'llāh. With the new caliph the Berbers took Calatrava and Guadalajara; at Medina-celi they tried in vain to get the general Wāḍiḥ to join their movement; then appealing successfully to the Castellans, they returned, revictualled and reinforced by the latter, towards Cordova. Al-Mahdī was unable to oppose their advance and the capital having fallen into their hands, Sulaimān al-Musta'in

peace with the Berbers. The latter refused to come to terms and resumed their blockade of Cordova. This situation continued down to 1013, and the Arab historians have left us detailed accounts: cabals in Cordova, periods of hope, timid sorties against the besiegers. In the end, the Cordovans had to capitulate and the Berbers forced them to renew their oath of fealty to Sulaimān al-Musta'in.

The latter appointed Berbers to the offices of ḥādjijs and viziers. The people of Cordova were subjected to a régime of vexations without precedent. The last freed "Slavs" of the 'Āmirids went to join their relations in the east of the Peninsula. The Cordovans then agreed to entrust their destinies to an ambitious 'Alid, the governor of Ceuta

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE UMAIYADS OF SPAIN



was installed in the caliph's palace by the Ṣan-ḥādja chief Zāwī b. Ziri.

Al-Mahdī did not consider himself beaten. With the help of Wāḍiḥ and the Counts Raymond of Barcelona and Ermengaud of Urgel he attacked Sulaimān al-Musta'in and his Berber followers near Cordova, at 'Aḳabat al-Baḳar (near *Castillo del Vacar*, to the north of Cordova), routed them and returned victorious to the capital, which was plundered by the Catalans. But the Berbers re-assembled, seized the whole country between the Mediterranean and the Guadalquivir and harassed Cordova and the country round. In face of this, the Cordovans soon attributed to their sovereign al-Mahdī, whose incapacity became more and more evident, the blame and responsibility for the evils that had befallen them. A conspiracy was hatched, al-Mahdī slain and Hishām II replaced on the throne (Dhu 'l-Ḥijda 400 = July 1010).

Hishām's first care after his second accession was to appoint Wāḍiḥ first minister and make

'Alī b. Ḥammūd, who, taking advantage of a moment when al-Musta'in's Berbers were scattered, advanced on Cordova, seized it and had himself proclaimed there (406 = 1016). Al-Musta'in was slain but 'Alī b. Ḥammūd himself was assassinated not long afterwards.

The years that followed were no less troubled. Ḥammūdīd pretenders: Kāsim b. Ḥammūd and his nephew Yaḥyā b. 'Alī, Umayyad pretenders: 'Abd al-Raḥmān IV b. Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā, 'Abd al-Raḥmān V al-Mustaḡhir, Muḥammad III al-Mustakfi and Hishām III al-Mu'tadd shared a more and more precarious power down to 420 (1030). All Spain was, however, tired of these perpetual changes of government and the Cordovans decided on the final suppression of the caliphate. Hishām II disappeared. Perhaps he was slain in the course of a raid on the palace, or, as is sometimes said, he may have fled and left Spain to end his days in obscurity in the east. It is difficult to ascertain

what exactly was the end of his inglorious career. In any case, the beginning of the xth century saw the united political state of the Umayyads gradually breaking up and the moment was not far distant when all the provinces of Muslim Spain were to proclaim their independence under a Spanish, Slav or Berber chief and form the numerous little kingdoms of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*. As to Cordova, it was soon to become the centre of a kind of little republic, very soon transformed with the *Djahwarids* [q. v.] into a principality. In any case, a few decades sufficed to destroy completely the solid edifice which the great Umayyad princes had built up, among whom the great figure of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir, one of the greatest sovereigns of the middle ages and of the Muslim world, is the dominating figure.

Bibliography: A. Arabic sources.

The history of the Umayyads of Spain has been the subject of numerous works in Spain itself, during the period of the dynasty and later also. Unfortunately not all these chronicles have survived; the most important were those of al-Rāzī and Ibn Haiyān. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī, who lived in the first half of the fourth (tenth) century, wrote a history of the rulers of Muslim Spain (*Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus*) which was to be the main source for later writers. Among contemporary histories, which still survive, we may mention the following in chronological order: the anonymous chronicle entitled *Akhbār madīnā* (ed. and transl. into Spanish by E. Lafuente y Alcántara, Madrid 1867, under the title *Ajbār machmūa, Crónica anónima del siglo XI*); it is a vivid and colourful chronicle and full of information which seems to be free from legendary matter of the history of Muslim Spain to the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III; the *Kitāb Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* of the Cordovan Ibn al-Kūṭīya, d. in 367 (977), which covers the history of the Muslims in Spain down to the reign of al-Nāṣir. It has on several occasions been edited and in parts translated, and more recently in full by J. Ribera, Madrid 1926. Of the monumental work of the great historian Haiyān b. Khalaf Ibn Haiyān, who died in 496 (1076), entitled *al-Muḥtabis fī Taʾrīkh al-Andalus* and *al-Maʿīn*, there only survives the manuscript of one volume in the Bodleian dealing with the reign of the amīr ʿAbd Allāh (ed. Melchor M. Antuña, *Textes Arabes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Occident musulman*, iii., Paris 1932) and the copy of a manuscript from Constantine (in the Library of the Academy of Madrid) covering a portion of the reign of al-Ḥakam II. Considerable extracts have fortunately been preserved by later writers, notably Ibn Bassām in his *Dhakhira*. We may also mention as indirect sources, written in Spain itself, the history of the ḳādis of Cordova by al-Khushanī (ed. and transl. J. Ribera, *Historia de los Jueces de Córdoba*, Madrid 1914) and the works of the Spanish biographical writers which have been published by F. Codera and J. Ribera in the *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*, 10 vol., Madrid and Saragossa 1883—1895.

But our fullest sources for the history of the Umayyads of Cordova are undoubtedly two compositions of comparatively late date, one of the xth century by Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, the other of the xvith by al-Maḳḳarī. The first

is called *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus wa'l-Maghrib*; of three volumes now known, two deal with Spain; the first covers the history of the Peninsula from the conquest to the death of the ḥādjīb al-Manṣūr b. Abi ʿAmir; as Dozy, its editor, has shown this volume reproduces almost in entirety the Spanish part of the work of a Cordovan annalist of the tenth century, ʿArīb b. Saʿd, who continued down to his time the chronicle of Tabarī (ed. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne intitulée al-Bayān 'l-moghrib*, Leyden 1848—1851; transl. into French by E. Fagnan, Algiers 1901—1904; partly translated into Spanish by Fernández González, Grenada 1862); the next volume which deals with the history of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate from the time of the ʿAmirid ʿAbd al-Malik and that of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* was discovered and published by E. Lévi-Provençal (*Textes arabes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Occident musulman*, ii., Paris 1930). The other work no less valuable for the history of the Umayyads is the *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* of the Maghribī al-Maḳḳarī. The first half was published by Dozy, Dugat, Krehl and Wright under the title *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden 1855—1861 (also at Būlak 1279 A. H. and Cairo). An English adaptation was made by P. de Gayangos, *The History of the Muhammadan Dynasties in Spain*, London 1840—1843. Ibn Khaldūn devotes a part of his *Kitāb al-Ibar* to the history of the Umayyads of Spain (Cairo ed., vol. iv., p. 116—155); as do the earlier historians Ibn al-Aṭṭar in his *Kāmil* (transl. by F. Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, Algiers 1901) and al-Nuwairī, author of the *Kitāb Nihāyat al-Arab* (*History of Spain*, ed. with Spanish translation by M. Gaspar Remiro, Granada 1917—1919).

This brief sketch of the Arabic sources for Umayyad history may be completed by consulting the valuable but now somewhat out of date work of F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos árabe-españoles*, Madrid 1898, and the brilliant survey by L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Recherches sur l'histoire politique du royaume asturien*, Tours 1921, p. 55—78.

B. European writers. In spite of its date, the *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* by R. Dozy (Leyden 1861; new ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, Leyden 1931; Span. transl. by M. Fuentes, Madrid 1920; Engl. transl. by F. Griffin Stokes, London 1913 etc.) is still the best and fullest modern work on the Umayyads in Spain. More recent but very short is that of A. González Palencia in his *Historia de la España musulmana* (Barcelona-Buenos-Aires 1925: 2nd ed., 1930). — On institutions and social life in the caliphate see also: E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du Xe siècle*, Paris 1932. Among European works we may also mention: R. Altamira, *Historia de España y de la civilización española*, Barcelona 1911, vol. i.; A. Ballesteros, *Historia de España*, Barcelona 1928, vol. i.; L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Le royaume asturien* (cf. above); F. Codera's studies which for the most part appeared in the *Boletín* of the Academy of History of Madrid; R. Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961*, Leyden 1873; R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-âge* 3, Leyden 1881; A. González Palencia, *El Califato*

occidental, in *Revista de Archivos*, Madrid 1922; do., *The Western Caliphate*, in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History* Cambridge 1922, iii. 400-442; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden-Paris 1931; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'Art musulman*, in *L'Architecture* (with valuable historical notes), i., Paris 1926; E. Saavedra, *Abderrahmān I. monografía histórica*, in *Revista de Archivos*, Madrid 1910; F. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, Madrid 1903.

(E. LÉVI PROVENÇAL)

UMM AL-KITĀB, the original copy of the Book with Allāh in heaven, from which the revelations of the *Qur'ān* come and from which Allāh "abrogates and confirms what He pleases" (*Sūra* xiii. 39). This original copy, called *Aṣl al-Kitāb* in *Ḥadīth* (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxv. 26), is according to *Sūra* lxxv. 21 written in a "carefully preserved table" (*fī lawḥ mahfūz*; cf. Enoch 93, 2; Book of Jubilees 5, 13; 16, 9; 32, 21). In the *Medīna* period *Umm al-Kitāb* is used in another sense: according to *Sūra* iii. 5, the book revealed by Allāh to Muḥammad, i.e. the *Qur'ān*, consists of verses "clearly expressed" (*āyāt muḥkamāt*) and of "others ambiguous" (*mutashābihāt*); only the first however constitute the *Umm al-Kitāb*. In keeping with this expression post-*Qur'ānic* linguistic usage calls the *Fātiḥa*, as containing the essential content of the Book, *Umm al-Kitāb* or *Umm al-Qur'ān*.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. *Umm*; Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 65. (J. HOROVITZ)

UMM KULTHŪM, daughter of Muḥammad. Tradition knows even less of her than of her sister Ruḳaiya and this little consists mainly of a repetition of what is told of the latter. *Umm Kulthūm* is said to have married a son of Abū Lahab but to have been divorced by him by his father's orders before the marriage was consummated; what this means is discussed in the article *ROḲAIYA*. The view there expressed that *Umm Kulthūm* was really married to a son of Abū Lahab is supported by the usual and literal interpretation of her *kunya* (her real name is nowhere recorded). That at a later date efforts should have made to suppress all record of such a grandson of the Prophet is only natural. Otherwise we are only told of her that her brother-in-law 'Othmān married her after Ruḳaiya's death during the *Badr* campaign. She died in *Shābān* of the year 9 without having borne a son to him.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 121; Ibn Sa'd, viii., p. 25 sq.; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2302; H. Lammens, *Fāṭima et les Filles de Mahomet*, 1912, p. 3 sqq.

(FR. BUHL)

UMM AL-WALAD (A.), a slave-girl who has borne her master a child.

1. The master's right to take his slave-girls as concubines was recognised by Muḥammad in continuation of a general practice of Arab paganism. In regard to the position of the children of such unions a change of view had been perceptible among the Arabs in the period just before the coming of Islām. In place of the previous unrestrictedness in marriage and concubinage a certain decree of regulation had grown up, and a higher value began to be attached to marriage with free women and to good birth on the mother's side also; corresponding to this however, the position of the

children of slaves became worse; they were as a rule called only after their mother and not after their father, and only received their freedom when expressly recognised by their father (this condition probably always held) and even then were not fully privileged: the slave-girl, it was argued, must not give birth to her future master as the son would reveal the qualities of a slave like his mother. The position of such a slave was not at all a privileged one. Even her designation *umm al-walad* ("mother of children") is in contrast to *umm al-banīn* ("mother of sons") as the name for a free woman. Although the personal position of a woman taken in war was hardly different from that of a slave, yet we frequently find a marriage in this case instead of concubinage, and her sons were considered free men, although they were as a rule only called after their mother and not regarded as having full privileges; but an endeavour was often made to remove even this stain due to the irregularity of the union by a new regular marriage.

2. This state of affairs was continued under Islām without any essential change at first. The *Qur'ān* permits concubinage with a man's own slaves in several passages dealing with the limits of lawful sexual intercourse as against *zinā* (iv. 3, 28 sq.; xxiii. 6; lxx. 30, all *Medīnese*; cf. the references in Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qurāns*, i.); the passage specially addressed to the Prophet (xxxiii. 49-51) expressly describes them as prisoners of war. In Islām therefore there was no distinction in theory between the slave-girl and the concubine taken in war, which is not surprising after the above remarks; in practice the old procedure towards a woman taken in war remained in operation (cf. e.g. Wellhausen, *Vakidi*, p. 178; do., in *N.G.W. Gött.*, 1893, p. 436; although not always historical in the particular case, yet typical). In the *Qur'ān* the position of the *umm al-walad* is not defined and it is certain that the Prophet issued no decree altering her position or that of her children. That he is said to have set free the slave-girl Māriya, when she had borne him his son Ibrāhīm (cf. Ibn Sa'd, viii. 155, 18; cf. also 156, 4) should not in any case be taken as a general rule; this episode is not at all prominent in the material of tradition relating to the *umm al-walad*. The story that the Prophet recognised Māriya's son only after serious consideration (*ibid.*, p. 154, 25) might be possible as regards substance but is incredible in the form in which it is given.

3. That an *umm al-walad* should become free *ipso iure* on the death of her master, and no longer liable to be sold (or given) was first ordained by the caliph 'Umar (cf. below). The starting point for this ordinance must be found in a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Abū Dāwūd (*ʿAtāḥ*, bāb 8) and Ibn Ḥanbal (vi. 360) the genuineness of which is thereby rendered certain (a later recasting: *Kanz al-Ummāl*, iv. 5126). According to this, a woman, who had been sold in the heathen period by her uncle as a slave had borne her master a son and now on the death of her master was to be sold again to pay his debts, lamented her sad lot to the Prophet; the latter ordered the administrator of the estate to manumit the woman and gave him a slave in compensation. Ibn Ḥanbal observes on this case with justice that the different possible interpretations of the Prophet's treatment of the case gave rise to later *ikhṭilāf*; there is

no doubt that it was a decision for this one case only. A tradition given by al-Bukhārī (*It̤k*, bāb 8; and several other passages) and al-Ṭahāwī (*Sharḥ Maʿānī l-Āḥkār*, ii. 66) deals with a dispute over the paternity of a child of a slave-woman; Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ claimed it as the illegitimate child of his dead brother ʿUṭba, in accordance with the latter's last wish and ʿAbd, the son of Zaʿma, claimed it as the legitimate child of his deceased father by his concubine. In spite of the child's resemblance to ʿUṭba, the Prophet decided on the principle *al-walad li l-firāsh* ("the child belongs to the legitimate bed"). In view of the difficulties of interpretation raised by this ḥadīth (cf the commentaries, especially al-ʿAinī, on al-Bukhārī) it might be in the main genuine (the secondary recast form which al-Ṭahāwī [ii. 67] also gives is certainly not genuine); in any case there is no mention of the manumission of the slave-woman here.

4. The above-mentioned ordinance of ʿUmar's is certain from numerous accounts, although the details vary and are embellished with legends (cf. especially *Kanz*, iv. 5118, 5122, 5124; al-Ṣanʿānī, *Subul al-Salām, Kitāb al-Buyūʿ*, on N^o. 11). Setting aside the settlement of the question whether it was preceded by another divergent ruling (*Kanz*, iv. 5118), the story that ʿUmar ordered the *umm al-walad* to be free from the birth of her child (al-Kḥwārizmī, *Djāmiʿ Masānīd al-Imām al-aʿṣam*, ii. 166; also *Kanz*, v. 5116?) must be regarded as a product of the later dispute over this question. For ʿUmar's decree in no way made a final settlement; it gave trouble under ʿUṭmān (*Kanz*, iv. 5122), ʿAlī again diverged from it (*ibid.*, p. 5129-5131). Ibn ʿAbbās is specially mentioned as another opponent of ʿUmar's view among the Companions of the Prophet. In the dispute that now arose between the different opinions, the attempt was made on the one side to ascribe ʿUmar's decision to the Prophet (*ibid.*, p. 5115, 5117) and to ascribe the same opinion even to ʿAlī and Ibn ʿAbbās (ʿAlī: *ibid.*, p. 5132; Ibn ʿAbbās: *ibid.*, p. 5039-5041; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 303; Ibn ʿAbbās from the Prophet: al-Dārimī, p. 18, 38; Ibn Mādja, *It̤k*, bāb 2; Ibn Saʿd, viii. 155, 20; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 317), on the other hand, it was insisted, sometimes quite polemically, that the Prophet approved the sale of the *umm al-walad* (Ibn Mādja, *ibid.*; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 321; al-Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 2200; *Kanz*, iv. 5125, 5127); against this, evidence was quoted to show that the Companions of the Prophet gave approval to ʿUmar's ordinance (Abū Dāwūd, *At̤k*, bāb 8; al-ʿAinī giving al-Bukhārī as authority, *It̤k* bāb 8). But these were not the only two theses put forward: another view ascribed to ʿUmar has already been mentioned (some traditions make the Prophet utter a corresponding opinion but one easily distorted to mean something else: Ibn Mādja, *It̤k*, bāb 2; Ibn Saʿd, viii. 155, 17 both transmitted through Ibn ʿAbbās; also *Kanz*, iv. 5128?); ʿAlī is credited with having said: "If the master wishes, he can set free his *umm al-walad* and consider her manumission as her bridal gift" (*Kanz*, iv. 5133) and Ibn Masʿūd held the view that the *umm al-walad* should be manumitted at the expense of the share of the estate falling to her child (presumed free) (al-ʿAinī, *ibid.*), both variants of the fundamental thesis. — From the point of view of the criticism of Muslim Tradition, none of these ḥadīths is unimpeachable with the exception of the one quoted

above in paragraph 3, which itself is not free from ambiguity, so that it is usually preferred simply to quote ʿUmar and his *raʿy* as authority for the view that later prevailed.

5. Al-ʿAinī (on al-Bukhārī, *It̤k*, bāb 8 at the end) is therefore able to give a list of seven different expressions of opinion on the *umm al-walad* in addition to ʿUmar's from the period of the earliest jurists before the origin of the *madhāhib*: 1. The master may release her for money (i. e. as *mukātaba*); 2. she may be sold without restriction; 3. the master may sell her at any time during his life-time and when he dies she becomes free (she is thus regarded as *mudabbara*; al-Shāfiʿi is said to have held this view); 4. she may be sold to pay a debt due by the estate; 5. she may be sold, but if her child is alive at the death of his father and her master, she is manumitted at the expense of any share he may have in the estate and inherits with him; 6. she can only be sold on condition she is set free; 7. even if she is contumacious and runs away, she cannot be sold, but only if she is immoral or becomes an unbeliever (according to al-Muzanī al-Shāfiʿi could not come to a decision on this point). But even by this time the thesis that the *umm al-walad* could not be sold but became free on the death of her master, had won most supporters, among whom al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAṭā, Muḍjahid, al-Zuhri, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (cf. on him al-Kḥwārizmī, *op. cit.*, ii. 167; *Kitāb al-Āḥkār*, p. 71, 102) and others are specially mentioned. Particular questions which now arise for the first time, are referred back to older authorities, such as the decision N^o. 5 to Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn al-Zubair (*ibid.*), decision N^o. 6 to ʿUmar (*ibid.*; also *Kanz*, iv. 5123), other details also to ʿUmar (*Muwattaʿa*, vulgata, *It̤k*, bāb 8, *riwāya* of al-Shaibānī, *Kitāb al-Buyūʿ*, *Bāb Baʿ Ummahāt al-Awlād*, al-Kḥwārizmī, *ibid.* etc.).

6. In the time of the formation of the *madhāhib* the view that the *umm al-walad* cannot be sold is held by Abū Ḥanīfa with Abū Yūsuf, Zufar, al-Shaibānī and their colleagues, al-Awzaʿī, al-Thawrī, al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, al-Laith b. Saʿd, Malik (*Muwattaʿa*, *loc. cit.*; *Mudawwana*, viii. 23) and his colleagues, Abū Ṭhawr and Ibn Ḥanbal. This is also the final opinion of al-Shāfiʿi and therefore that of his colleagues and pupils, while he, according to a reliable tradition, had previously sanctioned the sale of the *umm al-walad* (al-ʿAinī on the authority of al-Bukhārī, *It̤k*, bāb 8; al-Nawawī, *Madmūʿ*, ix. 243; cf. also above, section 5); the liberation of the *umm al-walad* was deduced therefrom in three ways (al-Nawawī, *ibid.*) so that in all we have four different opinions attributed to al-Shāfiʿi (al-Shawkānī, *Nail al-Awṭār, Kitāb al-ʿIt̤k, Bāb Umm al-Walad*, on N^o. 7). According to Dāwūd also, and the Ṣāhirīs, the Shīʿī Imāms and the Twelver-Imāms (here however sometimes with the qualification that she becomes free if she was still in the possession of her master at his death and her child is alive) and the Muʿtazilis (al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*), she can be sold. Although the four *madhāhib* in the end all declared that the *umm al-walad* could not be sold, the existence of *idmāʿ* on this point is nevertheless sometimes doubted (al-Ṣanʿānī, *op. cit.*, on N^o. 12; al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*), sometimes however also definitely asserted (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*). The verdict of a qāḍī who gave a decision opposed to this teaching is not absolutely without support (cf. e. g. Nawawī, *op. cit.* etc.).

7. In order to prevent the birth of a child the practice of 'azl was frequent in intercourse with slave-girls, and it is therefore often discussed in connection with the *umm al-walad*. The most important of the references in tradition on this subject have been collected by Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. "Intercourse": here it is sufficient to say that 'azl was considered to be permitted with a slave-girl. — To prevent a slave-girl becoming *umm al-walad* the master had also the possibility of not acknowledging the paternity of her child; this goes back to a similar usage in the pagan period (cf. above, sect. 1). While this was never so rigidly regulated as the case of disputing the paternity of a wife's child (cf. thereon Wensinck, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Child* and the article *LI'AN*), nevertheless an effort was made to restrict the right of disputing the paternity in the case of the *umm al-walad* also. *Ḥadīth*s are quoted from 'Umar and Ibn 'Umar to the effect that no one who has had intercourse with a slave-girl has the right to dispute the paternity of her child, even if he says he used 'azl or if there is another paternity possible. The *Mālikis* and *Shāfi'is* agree with this. The *Ḥanafis* on the other hand hold the view that the paternity of the child and the character of the slave as *umm al-walad* in this case depends entirely on an acknowledgment by the master. For this they cite traditions to the effect that Ibn 'Abbās and Zaid b. Thābit had disputed the paternity of children of their slave-women on the ground that they had used 'azl. This question is discussed by al-Ṭahāwī (*op. cit.*, p. 66, 68) and the traditions cited. — That the child borne by a slave to her master (on the assumption that his paternity is established) is free, has always been recognised in Islām without any difference of opinion and in the discussion of the position of the *umm al-walad* it is regarded as a presumption and argument for her not being sold. The deduction is natural that the father's recognition of children born in concubinage (cf. above, section 1) must as a rule have been regarded as a matter of course in the days just before Islām: the survival of considerable possibility of disputing paternity with regard to a concubine seems to have actually been caused primarily by the considerable improvement in the position of the *umm al-walad* under Islām at the expense of her master.

8. The details of the teaching of the *fiqh* about the *umm al-walad* are as follows. Every, even non-Muslim, slave-girl who has borne her master (even after his death) a child is considered *umm al-walad*; on the death of her master she becomes *ipso iure* free (so that she can neither be sold to pay off debts on the estate [cf. however below] nor can she be included in the third of the estate set aside for legacies); a legacy set aside by her master in her favour is therefore valid, as tradition even from 'Umar's time shows (al-Dārimī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 27); all legitimate and illegitimate children whom she has after becoming pregnant by her master are likewise free — in so far as they are not already free as children of her master. Even in the case of a stillborn child, the mother becomes *umm al-walad*; opinions differ regarding a miscarriage. There is also a difference of opinion in the case where a man marries a foreign slave, makes her pregnant, and then sells her, as well as in the case where a man makes his son's slave pregnant. From the *umm al-walad*'s expectancy of reversion to free-

dom, it follows that she cannot be sold or pledged; if she commits a crime the master cannot evade his responsibility for her by disposing of her. In other respects she remains a slave: she has no right to property; the *diya* or *arsh* paid for injuries to her belong to her master etc. On the question whether the master may marry her without her consent, opinions differ. In any case, the master has the right to her body and to her labour, but the *Mālikis* allow him only to demand light work from her and prohibit him hiring her out. On the legal position of the *umm al-walad* of a *mukātab* and that of a non-Muslim, who adopts Islām, opinions vary. — Apart from the fact that the *umm al-walad* can be sold to pay debts which her master had incurred before she became pregnant, she loses her reversion to liberty only, in the opinion of the *Ḥanafis* and *Mālikis*, if she deliberately kills her master. According to the *Ḥanafis*, in this case she is liable to *ḥiṣā*, but in the case of accidental killing nothing is done to her; according to the *Mālikis*, in the case of deliberate killing she becomes the slave of the heirs who can kill her or not; if they leave her alive she receives 100 lashes and is put in prison for a year. According to the *Shāfi'is*, she has to pay *diya* in both cases and among the *Ḥanbalis*, according to one *riwāya*, not more than her own value or the *diya*, according to another *riwāya*, her own value. — On the opinion of the *Shi'ī* imāms, which differs not inconsiderably, see Querry, *Droit Musulman*, ii. 147 *sqq.*

9. In Muslim law a most rigid distinction is made between marriage and concubinage, so much so that the master cannot enter into marriage with his slave at all. Divergences from this rule are extraordinarily rare. *Shadhād* b. *Ḥakim* (d. 210), a companion of *Zufar*'s, is said, when he bought a slave, to have married her on the ground that "perhaps she may be a free woman" ('*Abd al-Kādir, al-Djawāhir al-mudī'a*, i., No. 668; *Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā*, ed. Flügel, No. 81); and the *Fihrist* (p. 207, 15) records with reservation of al-Ṭahāwī (d. 322) that he wrote a work in which he justified marriage with slaves (but probably one's own). But the authenticity of such stories is not certain; the first is among a number of anecdotes and the second is based on hearsay only. A trace of the old Arab custom of a concubinage merging into a marriage (cf. section 1) is not necessarily however to be seen in this; the first story would be explained by the overgreat scrupulousness often shown by religious people in secular affairs, and the second by the also not rare complaisance towards princes, which could be attributed to al-Ṭahāwī in polemics.

10. In spite of all the ameliorations which the development of Muslim law brought to the position of the *umm al-walad*, the old contemptuous feeling towards a union with a slave and the children born from it long remained. Among the *ḥadīth*s which condemn the maintenance of concubines, one with a doubtless anti-Abbāsīd bias survived down to al-Bukhārī (*Imān*, bāb 37; *Itq*, bāb 8) and Muslim (*Imān*, trad. 1, 5, 7), but had its meaning distorted. This was the last echo of the old pre-Islamic point of view. Under the completely changed social conditions, the absolute equality of the children born from a marriage with a free-woman and in concubinage has now been long completely established.

Bibliography: On section 1 and 10: Lamens, *Le Berceau de l'Islām*, p. 276—306; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*², p. 89—91; Wellhausen, in *N. G. W. Gött.*, 1893, p. 435 sq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 136. The most important traditions in Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. Manumission, Slaves. On the regulations of the *ḥkh* cf. in addition to the Arabic works, to which now may be added for the Ḥanbalis Ibn Qudāma's *al-Mughnī*, xii. 488 sqq., especially Juynboll, *Handleiding*³, p. 236, 238 (*Handbuch*², p. 206, 236); Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, p. 127, 168 sqq.; Santilana, *Istituzioni*, i. 123 sq.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

UMMA, the Qur'ānic word for people, community, is not to be derived from the Arabic root *ʿmm*, but to be explained as a loanword from the Hebrew (*ummā*) or Aramaic (*ummeṯā*). It has therefore no direct connection with the homonyms also found in the Qur'ān, which mean "a period" (Sūra xi. 11; xii. 45) and "descent" (Sūra xliii. 21 sq.). Perhaps the loanword found its way into Arabic at a comparatively early period (see Horowitz's citation of the Ṣafā inscription, lii. 407). In any case the word was taken up by Muḥammad and henceforth becomes a specifically Islamic term.

The passages in the Qur'ān, in which the word *umma* (plur. *umam*) occurs are so varied that its meaning cannot be rigidly defined. This much however seems to be certain, that it always refers to ethnical, linguistic or religious bodies of people who are the objects of the divine plan of salvation. Even in passages like Sūra vii. 164 and xxviii. 22, where *umma* is used in quite a colourless fashion, there is a hint of this significance. The term is in isolated cases applied to the Djinn (Sūra, vii. 36; xli. 24; xlv. 17), indeed to all living creatures (Sūra vi. 38) but always with the implication that these creatures are to be included in the divine scheme of salvation and are liable to judgment. *Umma* is exceptionally applied in one passage (Sūra xvi. 121) to an individual, Abraham. Here the term either has the meaning of *imām* (so the Arab lexicographers), or Abraham is so called in his capacity as head of the community founded by him (Horowitz), by a use of the part for the whole. Otherwise *umma* always refers to whole groups or at least to groups within large communities.

God has sent to each *umma* a messenger (Sūra vi. 42; x. 48; xiii. 29; xvi. 38, 65; xxiii. 46; xxix. 17; xl. 5) or admonisher (Sūra xxxv. 22, 40) to guide them on the right path. But like Muḥammad, these messengers of God have often been attacked and called liars (Sūra xxiii. 46; xxix. 17; xl. 5). They will therefore appear on the day of judgment as witnesses against them (Sūra iv. 45; xvi. 86, 91; xxviii. 75; cf. ii. 137). For each *umma* is brought to judgment (Sūra vi. 108; vii. 32; x. 50; xv. 5; xxiii. 45; xxvii. 85; xlv. 27). In contrast to those who could not be converted, a number within the individual *ummas* however heeded the appeal of God's messenger and thus came on to the right path (Sūra xvi. 38). This is particularly true of the *ahl al-kitāb*.

The companies of the righteous among the *ahl al-kitāb* are also called *ummas* (Sūra iii. 109 sq.; v. 70; vii. 159; cf. ii. 128, 135; vii. 167, 180;

xi. 50). They are relatively small groups within larger communities.

Muḥammad frequently discusses the question why mankind consists of a plurality of *ummas* and has not remained a unit. He sees the ultimate reason for this in God's inscrutable decree. "Men were a single *umma*. Then they became disunited. If a word had not gone out from thy Lord, the matter would have been decided between them, about which they disagreed" (Sūra x. 20; cf. v. 53; xi. 120; xvi. 95; xlii. 6). Sometimes he traces this disruption to the malevolence of mankind (Sūra ii. 209; xxi. 92 sq.; xxiii. 54 sq.). In another passage it is traced to the division of the Israelites into 12 tribes (Sūra vii. 160; cf. 167). These rhetorical rather than logical utterances of Muḥammad are most likely to be taken as replies to objections raised by his opponents (of the *ahl al-kitāb*). The Prophet would hardly have come to tackle this difficult problem of his own accord.

As regards Muḥammad's *umma* in particular, we can trace a number of variations and changes in the meaning of the term. But the question is simpler here as we are dealing to some extent with a historical phenomenon.

In the first period of his prophetic activity Muḥammad regarded the Arabs in general or his Meccan countrymen as a closed *umma*. Just as the earlier messengers and admonishers of God had been sent to the *ummas* of the past (see above), so he had now been given the task of transmitting the divine message to the Arab *umma* which had hitherto been neglected, in order to show it the way to salvation. Like the earlier messengers (see above), he also was fiercely attacked by his *umma* and accused of lying. After he had finally broken off relations with the pagan Meccans and migrated with his followers to Madīna, he created a new community there. He went beyond the circle of Muslims proper and included those citizens of Madīna who had not yet heeded his religious appeal in one political combination. "The constitution of the community of Madīna", in which this unification was laid down in writing, expressly states that the citizens of the town, including the Jews, formed an *umma* (Ibn Hishām, p. 341, 8 sq., 342, 18 sqq.). The predominantly political character of this new *umma* was however only a makeshift. As soon as Muḥammad felt himself firmly established and had successfully attacked the pagan Meccans, he was able to exclude from his politico-religious community the Madīnese (especially the Jews) who had not yet adopted his religion. As time went on, his *umma* came more and more to consist only of his proper followers, the Muslims. In contrast to the *ahl al-kitāb*, with whom he had previously been in alliance, he now described the Muslims as an *umma* and laid stress on their religious and ethical qualities (Sūra iii. 100, 106). His final breaking away from the *ahl al-kitāb* had as a result that he turned more and more to the Meccans and their centre of worship, the Ka'ba (cf. in this connection Sūra ii. 119 sqq., esp. 122, and Sūra xxii. 35, 66). He only apparently resumed his original idea of an *umma* embracing all the Arabs. In reality the final result was fundamentally different from the starting-point. The Arab *umma*, which Muḥammad had originally taken for granted, was only created by him after much hard work. If it at first represented a community of Arabs, this was more or less a secondary phenomenon. The essential

thing was the religious foundation on which it was based. The umma of the Arabs was transformed into an umma of the Muslims. It is no wonder then that it spread very soon after Muḥammad's death far beyond the bounds of Arabia and in course of time brought together very different stocks and nations to form a higher unit.

Bibliography: E. W. Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon*, i. 90; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 51-53; do., *Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran* (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. ii., Cincinnati 1925, p. 145-227), p. 190; K. Ahrens, in *Z. D. M. G.*, N. F., ix. 37; Buhl-Schaeder, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, p. 209-212 (see further literature, note 24), 277, 343-345; Snouck-Hurgronje, *Der Islam* (*Chantepie de la Saussaye, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*⁴), p. 658-660, 672 sq.; on umma in the literature of Tradition see the references under *Community* in A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927. (R. PARET)

UMMĪ, an epithet of Muḥammad in the Kūrān, connected in some way with the word umma [q. v.]. It does not seem however to be a direct derivative, as it only appears after the Hidjra and has a different meaning from umma, which is already common in the period before the Hidjra. In Sūra iii. 19, Muḥammad invites the *ahl al-kitāb* and the ummis to adopt Islām (*kul li 'l-ladhina ūtu 'l-kitāb wa 'l-ummiyūn* . . .). *Ummiyyūn* here means "heathen", as it does in the same Sūra, verse 69, where the word is put with this meaning into the mouths of the *ahl al-kitāb*. The latter passage makes it probable that *ummī* or *ummiyyūn* is a word coined by the *ahl al-kitāb* (probably the Jews especially) to describe the heathen. This explanation is all the more probable since Horovitz has shown that it has an equivalent in the Hebrew *ummōt hā-'ōlām* (Greek = τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου).

In Sūra lxii. 2 there is an allusion to God having sent an apostle to the *ummiyyūn*. As Muḥammad here is unmistakably called an apostle from the heathen and for the heathen, it is natural to assume that he also refers to himself as the heathen prophet in the words *al-nabī al-ummī* (Sūra vii. 156, 158) and presents himself "to the Jews as a *nabī 'l-ummōt hā-'ōlām*" (Horovitz; cf. Sūra vii. 156: "whose name they find written in their *Taurāt* and the *Indjil*"). What further shades of meaning Muḥammad himself gave to this epithet is however very difficult to ascertain. If we compare the words of Sūra vii. 156 with the praise which Muḥammad gives in Sūra iii. 100, 106 to his *umma* we cannot help thinking that he might possibly also have been making a play on the etymology *ummī* < *umma*. In any case, he did not in the least consider the epithet *al-nabī al-ummī* as derogatory.

Frants Buhl has recently again put forward the thesis that *ummī* means not "heathen" (ἑθνικός) but "untaught" (ἀσίδος). In spite of the fact that this could very well fit the text of Sūra ii. 73, there is on the whole more against than for it. *Ummiyyūn* in Sūra ii. 73 can, if necessary, no doubt be translated "heathen", if one does not want to try something else (see Horovitz). On the other hand, the same word in Sūra iii. 69 cannot from the context possibly be translated "untaught", even if we really understand the heathen by it. *Ummī* would also on etymological grounds be difficult to

explain as "layman" for neither the Arabic *umma* nor the Hebrew *ummā* nor the Aramaic *ummeṯhā* means people in the sense of the laity. Finally Buhl's objection to the Prophet calling himself a "heathen prophet" loses weight when we remember that Muḥammad was perhaps not quite clear about the full significance of the Jewish conception of "heathen" and that he, as above indicated, may have given it a new significance.

The application of the term *ummī* to Muḥammad was often quoted as evidence that he could not read or write. In reality the expression has no bearing on the question. For the text of Sūra ii. 73 which gives rise to this assumption does not charge the *ummiyyūn* with ignorance of reading and writing, but with a deficient knowledge of the holy scriptures.

Bibliography: A. J. Wensinck, *Acta Orientalia II* (Leiden 1924), p. 191 sq.; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 51-53; do., *Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran* (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii., Cincinnati 1925, p. 145-227), p. 190 sq.; K. Ahrens, *Z. D. M. G.*, *Neue Folge*, ix. 37; Buhl-Schaeder, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, p. 56, 131. (R. PARET)

'UMRA, "the little pilgrimage". 1. The ceremonies of the (Muslim) 'umra. The 'umra, like the ḥadjj [q. v.], can only be performed in a state of ritual purity (*iḥrām* [q. v.]). On assuming the *iḥrām*, the pilgrim (*mu'tamir*) must make up his mind whether he is going to perform the 'umra by itself or in combination with the ḥadjj and express his intention in an appropriate *niya* [q. v.]. If he combines the 'umra with the ḥadjj (see below) he can assume the *iḥrām* for both pilgrimages at once; in the other case the *iḥrām* must be specially assumed for the 'umra in the unconsecrated area (*ḥill*) outside of the ḥaram of Mecca. This holds also for native Meccans who, when they are going to perform the ḥadjj, can assume the *iḥrām* within Mecca. Three places are preferred for the assumption of the *iḥrām* for the 'umra: *Djirāna*, *Ḥudaibiya* and especially *Tan'im*. The latter place was therefore also known as al-'Umra. With the utterance of the *labbaika* [q. v.] formula, the actual ceremony of the pilgrimage begins. The *mu'tamir* goes to Mecca in order first of all to go around the Ka'ba [cf. ṬAWĀF]. He enters the mosque through the north door of the north-east side (*Bāb al-Salām*), goes under the portal of the Banū *Shāiba* to the Black Stone built into the wall of the Ka'ba and, turning right, begins the sevenfold circumambulation of the Ka'ba, saying prayers all the while. The first three circumambulations are performed at a rapid pace (*ramal*), the four last at an ordinary rate. After this is finished, in order to acquire a special blessing he presses himself against the part of the Ka'ba wall which lies between the Black Stone and the door of the Ka'ba. In conclusion he prays two rak'as behind the Maḥam Ibrāhīm, drinks a draught of the holy Zemzem water and touches once again in farewell the Black Stone (these last ceremonies are however not considered absolutely necessary). The *mu'tamir* now leaves the mosque through the great al-*Ṣafā* door in order to perform the second essential part of the 'umra, the running between al-*Ṣafā* and al-Marwa [cf. the article *sa'y*]. He goes to the hill al-*Ṣafā* and utters a few prayers there. He then goes to the hill al-Marwa, over

four hundred yards farther north, past the north-east side of the mosque. A short low-lying stretch at the east corner of the mosque is covered at a more rapid pace (*harwal* or *khbab*). Reaching al-Marwa, the mu'tamir again utters a prayer. He then returns the same way in the reverse direction and so on until he has covered the distance seven times and ends at al-Marwa. He has thus completed the ceremony of the 'umra, and has only to have his hair cut or be shaved by one of the barbers waiting there. If he is making the 'umra in combination with the ḥajj, he only has his hair trimmed and has the proper cutting done on the 10th *Dhu 'l-Hijja* at the end of the ḥajj.

2. The History of the 'Umra and its relation to the Ḥajj. The ceremonies which make up the Muslim 'umra are undoubtedly for the most part taken over from the pre-Islamic period. They completely lack any close connection with the religion preached by Muḥammad, except for the Muḥammadan prayers used in them. The Prophet did not alter these practices but only assimilated them to his teaching. This he could all the more readily do as their original significance seems to have become but obscurely understood by his contemporaries. That he allowed them to persist at all is probably less to be attributed to his personal reverence for them than to his political instinct which made him respect the traditions of his conservative fellow-countrymen.

On the parts played by the separate ceremonies of the Muslim 'umra in the pre-Islamic period see the articles *IHRĀM*, *SA'Y* and *ṬAWĀF*. The Muslim 'umra as a group of ceremonies forming a single whole also goes back to a pre-Muḥammadan institution. This is shown by the very fact that Muḥammad refers to it by a name which in his time seems already to have been a special term and enables us to assume that the thing itself was well-known. This however does not mean that the separate parts of the pre-Islamic 'umra exactly corresponded to those of the Muslim 'umra. The two institutions, so far as we can see, did not exactly coincide. It is however very difficult to make out in what the difference lay, as we do not even know the earliest form of the Muslim 'umra, much less that of the *Djāhiliya*. We have therefore to make up for the lack of authentic sources by deductions from material which is not absolutely above reproach.

The pre-Muḥammadan 'umra probably consisted of ritual acts, which were performed in a state of *ihrām* within Mecca and included the *ṭawāf* of the Ka'ba. On the other hand, the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (*sa'y*) does not seem to have been included. This follows from the text of *Sūra* ii. 153, which clearly distinguishes between ḥajj and 'umra on the one hand and the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa on the other and describes the performance of the latter in connection with the ḥajj or 'umra as irreproachable, indeed even meritorious, but still as a work of supererogation. Muḥammad himself performed it in 632 following the *ṭawāf* and thus by his example gave a further stimulus to the incorporation of the *sa'y* into the Muslim 'umra. If the Muslim 'umra in this respect shows an accretion compared with that of the pre-Muḥammadan period, it seems also to have lost something. For the 'umra in the *Djāhiliya* can hardly have consisted of the *ṭawāf* only. Probably an additional essential element in it was

the sacrifice of animals bought for the special purpose, a custom which was later mainly confined to the ḥajj. Muḥammad himself brought sacrificial animals to the unfortunate 'umra of al-Hudaibiya and a year later to the so-called '*Umrāt al-Kadā'*.

As to the relation of the 'umra to the ḥajj, the very similarity of these two institutions has contributed to confuse them and to blend their distinguishing features. Their reciprocal fusion had already begun in the last years of the Prophet. Muḥammad began the only ḥajj in which he took part as head of the Muslim community shortly before his death, by performing the *ṭawāf* and *sa'y* after his arrival in Mecca, ceremonies which did not originally form the beginning of the ḥajj but were elements of the Muslim 'umra. He thereupon put off the *ihrām* and said that the ceremonies so far performed formed an 'umra. When moreover 'Umar and others of those with him did not approve of putting off the *ihrām* and did not follow him, this clearly shows how closely the ceremonies of the 'umra were associated with those of the ḥajj for them and that in their view these holy acts should be performed in one and the same *ihrām*. If we reflect that the revelation announced on this occasion (*Sūra* ii. 192) laid down a penance for using the ḥajj for the 'umra in this way and that Muḥammad to some extent acknowledged himself guilty, then it is natural to suppose that Muḥammad had only put off the *ihrām* in order to be able to associate with his wives who were there and not with the object of keeping 'umra and ḥajj absolutely distinct (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 83—102). In any case, Muḥammad in the year 632 made the 'umra precede the performance of the ḥajj and thus put his approval on the combination of ḥajj and 'umra. This combination had a deeper cause: Muḥammad on the one hand proclaimed Mecca with the Ka'ba as the centre of the worship of Islām and on the other took over the ḥajj, which originally had very little, if anything at all, to do with Mecca, into Islām. He had indeed every reason to bring the Muslim ḥajj into connection with the sanctuary of Mecca. The more he succeeded, however, the more the 'umra lost its *raison d'être* as a special pilgrimage to Mecca. It was therefore quite a natural development when the Muslim 'umra became more associated with the Muslim ḥajj and original elements of the 'umra were absorbed by the corresponding elements of the ḥajj, as was presumably the case with the sacrifices (see above). The 'umra and the ḥajj did not however absolutely combine into one. This was prevented by, amongst other things, the fact that Muḥammad in the pilgrimage above mentioned drew a line of separation between the two by discarding the *ihrām*.

In the consensus (*idmā'*) of Muslim opinion, two ways of combining the 'umra with the ḥajj came to be recognised in course of time: *tamattu'* and *ḳirān*. The former term was applied, following *Sūra* ii. 192 (*man tamatta'a bi 'l-umra'i ila 'l-ḥajj*), to the way which Muḥammad had actually followed, namely combining 'umra and ḥajj with a break in the *ihrām*. 'Umar threatened during his caliphate to punish its observance with the punishment of stoning and even under the early Omayyads it does not seem to have been usual. *Ḳirān* is the name given to the combination

of ‘umra and ḥajj without breaking the *iḥrām*. In this the *iḥrām* is assumed for the ‘umra and the ḥajj at the same time. As in the Muslim ḥajj the ceremonies which constitute an ‘umra are also performed, according to the prevailing view an ‘umra is completely carried out when they have been performed, so that — if the *niya* of *ḥirān* has been taken — the ḥajj is completed. Some authorities however demand that the ceremonies of the ‘umra should be specially carried through. The *iḥrām* must not be broken in any circumstances.

The ‘umra, in spite of its partial absorption in the ḥajj, has however retained its independence, although only to a limited degree. When the ḥajj is performed alone in the *ifrād*, i. e. by itself (in contrast to *tamattu’* and *ḥirān*), the ‘umra also must be performed separately. Pilgrims who come from outside to Mecca seem as a rule in this case to perform the ‘umra after the completion of the ḥajj ceremonies so that they naturally have to assume the *iḥrām* again. In the course of time this independent ‘umra ceremony seems to have become gradually confined to such Muslims as were permanently or for a considerable time resident in Mecca or came there at a time other than that of the ḥajj. But it was just this local limitation of the independent ‘umra that favoured the survival of traditions from the pre-Muḥammadan period. If we therefore learn that the ‘umra for centuries was celebrated as an independent ceremony, preferably in the month of Radjab, we can probably see in this a survival of pre-Islāmic tradition: the ‘umra in the time of Djahiliya was presumably a ceremony observed annually in Radjab and therefore had nothing to do with the ḥajj, the pilgrimage in Dhu ‘l-Hidjja (cf. also the tradition according to which ‘Ukkāsha had his hair cut in Radjab of the year 2 to make himself look like a pilgrim). As Muḥammad could only prepare the way for the combination of the ‘umra with the ḥajj but not complete it, the old tradition of performing it in Radjab survived for centuries later. It is only in comparatively modern times that Radjab seems to have lost its significance for the performance of the ‘umra. The custom of the Meccans of journeying to the holy places of Medina in Radjab perhaps broke it down. When ‘umras are now performed in dissociation from the ḥajj (i. e. in *ifrād*), the nights of the months of the fast (Ramaḍān) are specially favoured for this purpose and especially the last ten which are connected with the *lailat al-ḥaḍr*.

3. The significance of the pre-Islāmic and the Islāmic ‘umra. If the pre-Islāmic ‘umra was annually performed in Radjab and also if the calculation is correct which places Radjab originally in the spring, its similarity with the Jewish passover strikes one at once. The animals which are sacrificed at it were perhaps, as in the Jewish ceremony, originally first borns (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 98 sq.; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*³, p. 227 sq., 464). In Muḥammad’s time however, the original significance of the ‘umra seems to have been practically forgotten and it no longer fell in the spring.

The Islāmic ‘umra is an expression of piety, mainly of a personal nature, especially if it is undertaken separately and not with the ḥajj, the ceremony observed annually by the Muslim

community together. Probably this individual character is the result of the fact that it lost its independence in time and so far as it was not associated with the ḥajj constituted a work of supererogation. Before Islām the ‘umra had probably a more collective character.

The question, answered differently by the different madhāhab, whether the Muslim is bound to the same degree to perform the ‘umra as he is the ḥajj is of little significance, in as much as every Muslim who performs the ḥajj as a rule performs the ‘umra at the same time. The case of a pilgrim who has begun a ḥajj and for any reason cannot complete it, is a special one. Under these circumstances he is bound to perform an ‘umra in order to be able to put off the *iḥrām* for a time. The omission is however not made good by this. The ḥajj on the contrary must be made good in the following year.

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(R. PARET)

‘UNAIZA, one of the most important towns in southern Naḍj, and of the district of Ḳaṣīm. The vocalisation used here is confirmed by the Arab geographers (e. g. expressly by al-Bakrī, *Muḍjam*, p. 670; Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, iii. 737 and *pass.*) and lexicographers (e. g. *Liṣān al-‘Arab*, vii. 251) and also by the modern pronunciation [C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888 (London 1924), ii. 551 gives for it as his authority the educated negro Shaikh b. ‘Ā‘idh at ‘Unaiza]. The transcription varies with different writers [Aneyzeh, Aneizeh, ‘Aneiza, Aneiseh, Anēze(h), Anezeh, Anāse; English also Anizeh, ‘Aneyza(h), Aneiza, Anaiza; French Eneyzé, ‘Anéizeh] and sometimes agrees with that of the tribe ‘Anaza, transcribed in different ways. As regards the etymology, M. v. Oppenheim (*Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 54) deduces too much from the assonance when he thinks that the name suggests the original home of the ‘Anaza. If any etymological relation between the two names may be assumed, the most we can

say is that the foundation of the town may be ascribed to the tribe. The note in the *Tādī al-‘Arūs*, iv. 62 (cf. *Lisān*, *op. cit.*) is also based on a connection with a tribe-names. The explanation given to Doughty (*op. cit.*, ii. 562, s. v. *Blackstone* [of ‘Aneyza]) is untenable: “The name of ‘Aneyza is from a berg upon which it is built”.

In ancient times the site of ‘Unaiza seems to have been occupied by *Ṭōḍa* (Ptol. vi. 7, 31), i. e. the *Djarad al-Ḳaṣīm* of the Arab geographers (e. g. *Yākūt*, ii. 56), the old capital of *Ḳaṣīm*; none of the positions given by Ptolemy corresponds to the position of ‘Unaiza so closely as that of *Gorda*, 76° 10', 24° 30' (still better the vulgate 24° 10'). *Djarad(a)* was located by A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, p. 168, in the vicinity of the modern *Buraida* or *‘Uyūn* (north of ‘Unaiza), by Doughty (*op. cit.*, ii. 606) with more reason, in the ruined site of the modern *el-Eṭḥeli* on the *Wādī 'l-Rumma*, east of *al-Rass* (S. W. of ‘Unaiza). ‘Unaiza is mentioned in the older Arabic poetry, e. g. in the *Ḥamāsa*, p. 211, 501 (ed. Freytag), in *Imru'ū 'l-Ḳais* (ed. Ahlwardt, *The Divans*), N^o. 34, 3, in the *Naḳā'id* (ed. Bevan), p. 334, 964, in a quotation from *Aws b. Ḥāritha* in *al-Hamdānī*, *Djazira* (ed. D. H. Müller), p. 172; there is also the ‘Unaizatain in the *Mu'allaka* of ‘Antara, verse 9, which however does not quite fit (the dual form also in the quotation from a poet in *Yākūt*, ii. 135 etc.), a place-name, which according to *al-Bakrī*, *op. cit.*, and *Yākūt*, iii. 739 is identical with ‘Unaiza; it perhaps was applied to two adjacent settlements (cf. *al-Ḳaryatain* of the same tribe, and similarly with ‘Unaizāt in *Yākūt*, iii. 298. It should be remembered however that other places in southern *Nadjd* with dual endings can be cited, like *Sirrāin*, *Rāmatain*, *Ushaiyain*; but one can hardly see in this simply a local fondness for dual names, as Sprenger, *Z.D.M.G.*, xlii. (1888), p. 329 would like to. However little they may weigh singly, these references enable us to conclude that the place was already of some importance in ancient times, as one might expect from its natural situation. It was only in the later Muslim period that its importance began to increase. — Of the references in the Arab geographers the most comprehensive is that in *Yākūt*, iii. 737—739; according to him, ‘Unaiza lies between *Baṣra* and *Mecca* (i. e. the halfway caravan station), in the *Baṭn al-Rumma*, the gathering-place of the waters of the *wādīs*, near a hill, which served as a dam (cf. *al-Bakrī*, p. 207). The place belonged to the *Banū 'Amir b. Kuraiz*. This emphasises the features which made ‘Unaiza important at a later date also, its central position on one of the great roads of northern Arabia and the fact that it was at the place where numerous small streams combined to form the main *wādī*. In this main passage *Yākūt* only adds scraps of information relating to the plentiful water-supply of the district, which include the statement that (according to *Ibn al-Faḳīh*) ‘Unaiza was one of the *wādīs* of *al-Yamāma* (inaccurate for *Nadjd* or *Ḳaṣīm*) near (mount) *Suwādī*, and quotations from poets (including early ones) which are of as little importance as the references to other mentions in poetry in other passages such as i. 626, 762; ii. 259, 855; iii. 262, 298, 398; iv. 93 or the passages from poets in *al-Bakrī*, p. 207, 310, 670, 684, 801 842. *Yākūt* refers, iv. 77, s. v. *Ḳaryatān* (cf. the article *GIRATHA* in *Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyklo-*

pädie der klass. Altertumswissensch.) only briefly to the state of the water-supply in the vicinity of ‘Unaiza. No further information is afforded by the passages quoted from the poets by *al-Hamdānī*, p. 172 (see above) and in the list of old watering-places (verses from *Muhalhil* also given with variations by *Yākūt*, iii. 739). In *al-Hamdānī*, p. 178, ‘Unaiza (with *Wadja* and *Zaby*) is mentioned among the watering-places of the *Kalb* (and so described by B. Moritz, *Arabien*, Hanover 1923, p. 56). *Hamdānī's* editor (D. H. Müller, ii. 188) has already called attention to the fact that *al-Hamdānī* in this passage seems to have taken the female name ‘Unaiza in the *Mu'allaka* of *Imru'ū 'l-Ḳais*, verse 11 as a place-name (and so have others, cf. *Lisān*, vii. 251); *Wadja* also is derived from this *Mu'allaka*, verse 30, and *Zaby* from verse 36. The preceding place-names in *Hamdānī*, p. 177, 8 are also taken from the poem; this passage is therefore rightly omitted from the *Index geographicus* in Müller, ii. 83b. — In the excerpt from *Yākūt* in the *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'* (ed. Juynboll, ii. 286), *Ṣafī al-Dīn* gives ‘Unaiza as a place between *Baṣra* and *Mecca*, then as a *wādī* near *Mount Suwādī* in *al-Yamāma*, and lastly as a well 2 miles from *al-Ḳaryatain* in the *Wādī 'l-Rumma* (the original is *Yākūt*, iii. 738; iv. 77). — Sprenger's statement (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 171) that *Ibn Khurdādhbih* mentions along with other stations ‘Unaiza after *Bina*, a station on the road leading from the S.E., does not agree with the text but the place-names in this passage cannot be read with certainty (see *B.G.A.*, vi. 191). Sprenger's remark: “The shortest route from *Yamāma* to *Mecca*, no itinerary of which is known to me, joins the *Baṣra-Mecca* road at *Ḍarīya* and the road to *Medina* joins it at ‘Unaiza or near it” as regards the second statement is by no means indisputable. The maps show why we cannot agree with the first. The pilgrim road from *al-Yamāma* joins the great caravan-road ‘Unaiza-Mecca at the watering-place of *Sharma* (North of the *Djabal Khāl*). Sprenger's idea (*Z. D.M.G.*, xlii. 324, 326) that the ‘Unaiza of the Arabic sources is different from the present ‘Unaiza would not be without parallel but there is not sufficient foundation for it. The statements in the Arab authors are perfectly applicable to the modern town. There are ruins of an old settlement of the *Banū Khālīd*, *Djannah*, not far from ‘Unaiza (Doughty, *op. cit.*, ii. 354 sq.); if the name ‘Unaiza really used to be attached to another town, it was scarcely farther away from the modern town than *Djannah*. The latter place is said to have been founded about 1300 A.D. by the *Ḳaisī Sabai'*, who also established other settlements in *Ḳaṣīm* (Doughty, ii. 241, 355; on this tribe we now have more accurate information in H. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922, ii. 350, index).

Of modern geographers, the first to mention ‘Unaiza is C. Niebuhr, from second-hand information however. In 1763 he ascertained that “*Anāse*” was 10 days' journey from *Baṣra* (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 344; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiii. 343, 873^a, separates this name and its mention from his *Aneyzeh*, p. 873^b). The first more accurate information about the interior of northern Arabia dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century, as a scientific result of the Turkish and Egyptian operations against the *Wahhābis*. L. A. Corancé's *Histoire des Wahabis* (Paris

1810) already contains reliable geographical information, in the publication of which S. de Sacy co-operated. The latter in the *Tableau*, note 39, p. 214 on p. 218 of this *Histoire* (appendix) gave the first fairly accurate list of the divisions of the Wahhābī kingdom and gave the provinces of al-Nadjd including among them in the third place Kašim, with the three towns "Kasym, Berydé (Buraida) and Enceyzé" and ten more (cf. the extract in Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 467 sq.). When the Egyptian troops under Tusun, the second son of Muḥammad 'Alī, Pasha and afterwards viceroy of Egypt, in the campaign against the Wahhābis in 1815 had advanced into the interior of Nadjd as far as the borders of Kašim and then began to retire, 'Abd Allāh, son and successor of the Wahhābī ruler Sa'ūd who died in 1814, was in 'Unaiza with a hostile force but did not allow himself to be involved in a battle for a decision. After the withdrawal of the viceroy, 'Abd Allāh deposed in 'Unaiza as a punishment the chiefs of Kašim who had joined the enemy, and incited the Arab tribes against one another (cf. on the events of the campaign: F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, Paris 1823, ii. 33 sqq.). On Ibrāhīm Pasha, the eldest son of Muḥammad 'Alī, advancing on Nadjd in 1816, 'Abd Allāh again collected his forces in 'Unaiza. Ibrāhīm forced his way into 'Unaiza out of which 'Abd Allāh had retired to Buraida a few hours before. The citadel of 'Unaiza, about a quarter of an hour from the town, surrendered after several days' bombardment whereupon the town itself which had been abandoned by most of its inhabitants also surrendered (cf. Mengin, *op. cit.*, p. 105 sq.). After the fall of 'Unaiza the rest of Kašim soon submitted to Ibrāhīm, who had nearly 6,000 palm-trees cut down in 'Unaiza to use them in the manufacture of war material. — Just before the defeat of the Wahhābis, J. L. Burckhardt (1815 and 1816) had collected at Mecca information about 'Unaiza and Kašim (cf. his *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, app. vi., p. 457 sqq.). He gives Buraida as the capital of Kašim because this was the residence of the *Shaiḫ* at this time; but 'Unaiza was much greater in size, which he compares with Siyūt in Upper Egypt (3,000 houses!). He mentions bazaars and prominent merchants in the town (extract in Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 452 sqq.). — The next eye-witness was Captain G. F. Sadlier, who (1819) was the first European to cross Nadjd from east to west, from Kaṭif to Medina. He mentions (*Account of a journey from Katif... to Yambo*, in *Transactions of the Lit. Soc. of Bombay*, London 1823, iii. 474) "Anizeh" as a place of importance, but it like other towns had been for the most part destroyed in the fighting: a few date-palm groves had survived. According to him, 'Unaiza was the capital of southern Kašim and as a result of its central position in a well watered valley was the centre of a busy trade, indeed the emporium for a considerable part of North Arabia, a junction of caravan routes from Basra, Kaṭif and al-Aḥsā to Medina and Yambu'. The town thus had a political as well as a commercial importance. Sadlier still found a number of merchants in the devastated town. His journey was frankly too hurried to enable him to gather scientific information of value. — Berghaus, *Arabia* (Gotha 1835), p. 88 sq. calculated the geographical position of 'Unaiza as 26° 26' N. Lat. and 41° 17' East Long. Paris (more exactly 26° 23' N. Lat., 41° 30' East Long.

Paris [44° 7' East Long. of Greenwich]; on Moritz's map the position is put too far to the south and east). Ritter published (*op. cit.*, xiii. 523) from W. Schimper's *Arabische Reise* (MS.) a table of population statistics which the botanist had drawn up in Ṭā'if from the unchecked statements of a Wahhābī in 1836, i.e. about 15 years after the war; 'Unaiza according to this had 25,000 inhabitants, which is probably too high a figure. The cruelty of Ibrāhīm's hordes had only stimulated Wahhābism and about 1849 the last remnant of Turkish-Egyptian influence in Nadjd disappeared. — Later explorers of North and Central Arabia went through Ḥā'il to the north, passing 'Unaiza. W. G. Palgrave (*A narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, 1865) in 1862—1863 on his journey from Ḥā'il only came as far as Buraida. His statement that 'Unaiza has 32,000 inhabitants is untenable, like his other figures for Kašim. His account has always been distrusted; cf. most recently Philby's doubts (*op. cit.*, ii. 134 sqq.) on the reliability of Palgrave's account of his stay south of Ḥā'il and his polemic against D. G. Hogarth (*The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905, p. 248 sqq.) and other champions of Palgrave; among the latter are F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients* [*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, sect. iii., part i., book 1, 2nd half], Munich 1926, p. 527. From about 1855 Faiṣal, who lived in Riyāḍ and was presumably a grandson of 'Abd Allāh, was trying to take 'Unaiza; but the warlike inhabitants led by Zāmil repelled his attacks and peace was made. The treacherous Faiṣal however again began fighting in 1862; the town could not hold out against the superior numbers of the enemy and after its defenders had suffered a disastrous defeat, it was incorporated with the rest of Kašim in the Wahhābī state of Nadjd (on the events after 1847 see Palgrave in A. Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber seit hundert Jahren*, Halle 1875, p. 379 sqq.). The fetters of dependence were soon cast off however for by Doughty's time 'Unaiza was again the model of a free independent community in Arabia. — In 1864 C. Guarmani (*Il Neged Settentrionale, itinerario da Gerusalemme a Anizeh nel Cassim*, Jerusalem 1866; with a map [N^o. 7] of his road from Buraida to 'Unaiza) tried to penetrate into Kašim from Ḥā'il southwards but was taken for a Turkish spy and was brought a prisoner to 'Unaiza, the base of operations of 'Abd Allāh b. Faiṣal, who was at war with the Beduins; the emir Zāmil however released him and he went to the *Djabal Shammar*. The fact that he was a prisoner prevented him making any special observations in 'Unaiza. According to him, it is the most important town in Central Arabia, the capital of Kašim and has 15,000 inhabitants in seven quarters. He confirms isolated statements by Palgrave. — Shaikh Ḥāmid of al-Rass, J. G. Wetzstein's authority (*Nordarabien und die syrische Wüste nach den Angaben der Eingeborenen*, in *Zeitschr. f. allgem. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1865, xviii. 408 sqq.), talks of an alliance between 'Unaiza and Buraida for protection against the people of the *Shammar* territory, the capital of which is Ḥā'il and gives a few geographical statements, e.g. on the stations on the road from 'Unaiza to Buraida. 'Unaiza, "the mother of Nadjd", he calls the largest town of Nadjd; it is surrounded by gardens; the palms cut down by Ibrāhīm had been

replanted (cf. e. g. J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, ii., Leyden 1914, p. 14 on dates from 'Unaiza).

The information so far available only enabled a rough picture of the appearance of the town to be drawn. It was known for example, that outside the strong city wall lay palm-groves around which there ran an outer wall. The first and so far the only traveller to give a full and reliable account of 'Unaiza is Doughty (in *Arabia Deserta*; a not always well chosen abridgment is E. Garnett's *Wanderings in Arabia*, London 1912²). On his journey through northern Arabia, which occupied nearly two years (1876—1878) he also visited Ḥā'il and when he was driven from there and afterwards from Buraida also, was given a better reception, at first at least, in the rival of the latter town. Under Zāmil's patronage, he was enabled to stay some months in 'Unaiza (April 29—July 16, 1878), unlike other European travellers before and after him, and had therefore sufficient leisure for thorough exploration and observation. He describes (*Arab. Des.*, ii. 337 sqq.; *Wanderings*, ii. 161 sqq.) the aspect and the walls of the town, the town itself, its streets, the houses outside and inside, the wells and water-supply, the date-groves around the town; he gives a vivid picture of the life of the citizens, their personal qualities and manners and customs, their food and clothing, the religious and secular life of rich and poor, the social conditions, and the distribution of labour. In a special chapter (*Life in Aneyza*, ii. 365 sqq.) are collected observations on the characteristic features of tribal life, the defences and other aspects of the life and work of the town. Commerce is especially well developed; among the numerous merchants are some from abroad; merchants of 'Unaiza on the other hand have their depots in Djidda, Mesopotamia and elsewhere. Caravans (coming from Baṣra) go from there to Mecca and Medina. Various classes of artisans and tradesmen are to be found there (field-labourers, masons, gold- and silversmiths and other workers in fine crafts whose filigree work is much esteemed in Mecca; cf. also Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 57). From his account it is clear that the city occupied an outstanding position in Central Arabia for its prosperity and culture. In the fifteen years before Doughty's visit, it had doubled in size and now had about 15,000 inhabitants; Guarmāni gave about the same number. It is called the centre of Arabia from its position in the middle of the caravan route from Baṣra to Mecca; it could really be regarded as the metropolis of Naǧd. Learning is held in high esteem by the rich merchants. Half of the townspeople are Wahhābīs (on the movements of Wahhābism for 25 years before Doughty's arrival see ii. 428 sqq.). Wahhābī fanaticism brought about Doughty's expulsion from 'Unaiza; the "Nasrāny" set out towards Mecca with the "butter caravan" which had come from Baṣra. — Doughty's investigations established the main lines of the system of wādis of North Arabia and ascertained that the wādī, which runs south of Buraida, just above 'Unaiza (on this region see Leachman, *Geogr. Journal*, London 1914, p. 512, the first to visit it since Nolde), is the Wādī 'l-Rumma (according to Yāḳūt, ii. 823, to be written with one *m*, not Rumma, as Ibn Duraid for example requires; pronounced ʿr-Rmeh in northern Arabia, see Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 22), about the course of which erroneous ideas were previously

current (cf. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*). Southern Ḳaṣīm may be called a gift from this wādī.

What we are told about 'Unaiza by writers since Doughty amounts only to a few notes on local history. Euting (*op. cit.*, i. 63) records in his diaries for 1883 (at Kāf) the struggle between the two Wahhābī families, that of Ibn Saʿīd and that of Ibn Rashīd, for supremacy in North Arabia; ii. 226 (in 1884 at el-ʿOlā) a message of victory from Ibn Rashīd. — Ch. Huber, who came in 1884 from Ḥā'il via Buraida to 'Unaiza, where he only stopped a few hours, mentions in his *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1891, p. 685, that 'Unaiza was completely independent and had over 5,000 rifles; Palgrave gives a similar estimate for the fighting men of 'Unaiza and the villages belonging to it (cf. Zehme, *op. cit.*, p. 380). Huber (p. 709) gives only a few cursory remarks on the immediate neighbourhood of the town; his map N^o. 13 gives a very useful sketch of the route for the stretch from Buraida to the Djabal al-Nir. — E. v. Nolde in 1893 on his journey to the camp of the emir of Ḥā'il, Muḥammad b. Rashīd (between Shaḳrā and Riyāḍ), also made a brief visit to 'Unaiza; in his *Reise nach Innerarabien, Kurdistan und Armenien 1892* [recte 1893!], Brunswick 1905, p. 78 sqq., he gives only details that were already known. His statement based on his enquiries, that 'Unaiza has about 35,000 inhabitants, is wrong. His information about the wars of Ibn Rashīd (p. 68 sq.) who became lord of Naǧd after taking 'Unaiza in 1891, is more valuable. — As Nolde (p. 69) had prophesied, the situation changed; soon after the death of Ibn Rashīd (1897), the political preponderance of the Shammar capital Ḥā'il disappeared and 'Unaiza again became independent. Buraida which is smaller, has recently come much to the front in the hegemony of Ḳaṣīm. — Philby is the first to have acquired a knowledge of the land S.W. and S. of the political capital of Naǧd (Riyāḍ), especially of the district of al-Aḥḳāḍ; in 1917—1918 he went from Riyāḍ around the whole Ṭuāik range to the south to the Wādī Dawāsir. He tells us nothing special about 'Unaiza, although (*op. cit.*, ii. 120) he went not only to Miḡnab, but also via Buraida into Ḳaṣīm, where Raunkjaer had been some seven years before him and Leachman in 1912, as far as Ḳuṣaiba (cf. also his references to 'Unaiza, i. 47, 54, 365). He gives in some details an account of the most recent developments of Wahhābism (see ii. 334, index).

Bibliography: The authors of the standard works (such as Yāḳūt, al-Bakrī, al-Hamdānī; of modern writers: Burckhardt, Sadlier, Ritter, Guarmāni, Palgrave, Zehme, Sprenger, Doughty, Huber, Nolde, Philby, Moritz) are given in the article with the necessary bibliographical details.

(J. TKATSCH)

'UNŞUR (plur. 'ANĀŞİR) means, like *aşl*, *rukn*, *istūḳis* (στοιχείον) etc., principle, basis, element in the general sense. It is used in the special sense of *materia prima*. The hellenising philosophers, as a rule, use *arkān* or *istūḳisāt* for the four elements of the sublunar world, which are composed of matter and form and, according to the prevailing view, are mutable. The material of the heavenly spheres is called *rukn* by these philosophers, more frequently however a fifth nature (*ṭab*).

Bibliography: Sprenger, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 960 sqq. (TJ. DE BOER)

'UNŞURÎ, ABU 'L-KĀSIM ḤASAN B. AḤMAD AL-'UNŞURÎ of Balkh, a Persian poet. The year of his birth is unknown and that of his death is variously given, the most probable date being 441 (1049—1050). Very little is known of his life. The matter, mainly anecdotes, recorded by the Persian literary historians is of very little value. According to a very late source, Riḍā Ḳulī Khān's *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣahā'* (Teherān 1295, i. 355), he was captured by robbers while on a trading journey in his youth and deprived of all his goods. He was later brought by Amīr Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, to the latter's court, where he was highly esteemed as a court poet. According to the Persian sources, he held the office of poet laureate (*shāh-i shu'arā'*) at the head of 400 other poets. How far this is accurate, it is impossible to say. That 'Unşurî was highly esteemed by his contemporaries as an artist is evident, at any rate from the reverence in which he is held by Minū-čihri. The latter sang his praises in the celebrated *kaṣida* of the candles (N^o. xxxiii. in Kasimirski's edition). The stories however which tell how 'Unşurî was commissioned by King Maḥmūd to produce a poetic version of the Irānian epic and how he did not feel fit for the task and recommended Firdawsî to the king for the work (e.g. Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Browne, p. 51), are part of the legend that has grown up around the great author of the *Shāhnāma*.

Works. 'Unşurî wrote three *mathnawīs* all of which are lost. Their titles were *Khing But u-surkh But* (The White and the Red Idol), *Nahr-i 'Ain al-Hayāt* (this is the most probable reading but the forms in which this title is given vary) and *Wāmik u-Adhrā*. His *Diwān* however has survived and exist in manuscripts and in a Teherān edition of 1298 (1881).

A. The *Mathnawīs*. While the two first mentioned romantic poems by 'Unşurî are mere titles to us, we know at least the contents of his *Wāmik u-Adhrā*. The subject was taken later by several Persian poets, but not much seems to have survived of this poem. There is a fragment of a Persian *Wāmik u-Adhrā* poem by a certain Nāmī in a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 7721, cf. Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii. 813). The version of this romantic theme by the Ottoman poet Lāmi'î (d. c. 940 = 1533) is well known [cf. J. v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit*, ii. 45 sq., where a full synopsis is given. We may note that von Hammer's much abbreviated verse translation *Wāmik und Asra* (Vienna 1833) does not give a proper idea of the contents of the original].

Lāmi'î mentions 'Unşurî as his precursor in the poetical treatment of this subject in the following lines:

sābiḳān bu ḳissa-i khosh manzarī
nāzm edib yazmīsh meger kim 'Unşurî;
Rūma dūshmīsh ākhīr ol ḥūrī-lībās
Türkī dilden ḥullasın ḳılmīsh palās
 (from the Leyden MS. N^o. 566).

The subject of the romance is the love story of Wāmik, son of the Khākān of Čin, and the princess 'Adhrā. The young man falls in love with a picture of the princess and has to go through many adventures and suffer much before he is united with his beloved. He is for example taken prisoner in war, falls into the hands of the

black fire-worshippers, who wish to sacrifice him but he escapes, because the flames will not attack him and has adventures with *peris* (whose king is his friend) and *djinn*. 'Adhrā has not much better fortune. She also falls into dangers of all kinds, until the lovers meet at the court of King Mīzbān of Tūs, where not only is their marriage celebrated in brilliant fashion but several other happy couples, secondary characters in the romance, are also united. The Turkish poem of course only enables us to learn the subject of the lost 'Unşurî poem; its external form with its numerous lyrics and rather precious style is a creation of Lāmi'î. The nature of 'Unşurî's poem would have been quite unknown to us if a few verses had not been preserved in Asadi's Persian dictionary *Lughat al-Furs* (ed. P. Horn, p. 25 where these fragments are given). We thus learn that the romance was written in *mutakārib*; this metre survived in later times only for the heroic epic, while the romantic epic used other metres.

As to the subject of the poem we know — only on the very poor authority of Dawlatshāh however — that a romance of Wāmik and 'Adhrā had already been written in Pahlavi for Khusrāw I and that a copy was brought to 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir. The latter, however, is said to have ordered it to be destroyed because, as he said, he abominated the books of the fireworshippers (Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, p. 30; cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsī to Sa'dī*, p. 275 sq.). This story probably caused von Hammer (*G. O. D.*, ii. 45) to say: "The cause of the disappearance of this poem in Islām seems to have been mainly the fact that it originally contained the teaching of the fire-worshippers. . . . in its present form therefore it cannot be regarded as the original story but only as a feeble echo of it". E. J. W. Gibb's judgment (*Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 26) is also based on this passage.

Von Hammer's assumption is however unnecessary even if we grant that there was a Pahlavi original. The subject of the poem is the final union of two lovers in spite of all obstacles. This very subject is the main theme of the Hellenistic romances of the early centuries A. D. We may perhaps assume that there were free versions of such romances in Pahlavi literature (which perhaps came through Syriac) and that the original story of Wāmik was based on a work of this kind. The matter must of course have been adapted to the East and Muslim authors must have later contributed their share. That the supposed Pahlavi original had a religious bias, as von Hammer thinks, can never be proved and is, besides, very improbable. One circumstance which makes the assumption of a Pahlavi original less probable is the fact that the two chief characters in the poem have Arabic names, as P. Horn (*Gesch. d. Pers. Litt.*, p. 178) has already recognised.

B. The *Diwān*. 'Unşurî's *Diwān* contains, as one might expect, mainly *kaṣidas* in praise of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, his brother Naṣr and his son Mas'ūd as well as of nobles like the vizier Maimandī. It of course also contains *ghazals*, *ḳifās* and *rubā'is*; the author himself says that he is a writer of love-poems as well as a panegyrist:

marā bahra du izz āmad zi gūzī
dil-i pāk u-zabān-i madḡ-gustar:
yakī bar mihr-i dūnān waḳf kardam
yakī bar madḡ-i Shāhanshāh-i kishkar
 (*Madjma' al-Fuṣṣahā'*, i. 357).

'Unşuri's primary importance is as a writer of *kaşidas*. The oriental literary historians are most enthusiastic about these panegyrics but the value of their judgment is lessened by the wellknown fact that in most cases they are too lavish in their praise. To a European, the whole panegyric poetry of the Persians offers little attraction; one must however recognise that 'Unşuri shows himself by no means unfitted for his task. The subjects of the *kaşidas* are usually the great deeds of King Maḥmūd: in these cases the poems contain an epic element. There are other subjects which we find in other panegyrists, e.g. Minūcihri, such as the descriptions of festivals (*djashn-i sada* etc.) or the king's war-horse. 'Unşuri also writes on Maḥmūd's war-elephant and his sword. That the poet occasionally expresses the same ideas and images in different *kaşidas* can hardly be avoided in view of the uniformity of his subjects. 'Unşuri's *tashbibs* are often erotic but we also find the descriptions of nature which we know so well from Minūcihri and Azraḳi for example. In such *wasfs* we often find quite beautiful lines, for example in a description of the beginning of spring:

Afsar-i simin firū girad zi sar kūh-i buland
(*Madjima' al-Fuṣṣaḥā*, i. 356). His *gurūzgāhs* (transitions from *tashbib* to *madh*) not infrequently contain original ideas, as when he says that in spring the days increase in length like the power of the king and the nights become shorter like the lives of Maḥmūd's enemies.

In these poems we find all the rhetorical embellishments of the period just as in the panegyrists of the later Ghaznawids and Saldjūks. We frequently find very pretty comparisons: e.g. in the description of one of the king's victories:

bar āb dar hamah gharka shudand čūn
[Fīr'awn,
čū bar gudḥašt bar ān āb shāh Mūsawār
(*Madjima' al-Fuṣṣaḥā*, i. 358).

Very neat is an allusion like:

ān kih dar har čiz dārad rasmi hamčūn
[nām-i *khwad* (= Maḥmūd)
w'ān kih dar har kām dārad gām čūn
[rām-i *pusar* (= Mas'ūd)
(*Madjima' al-Fuṣṣaḥā*, i. 360).

Less fine, even to European taste rather frigid, pictures are not lacking; thus he compares a garden bright with flowers to a copy of the book of Euclid with its many mathematical figures.

In one pleasing and ingenious form of poem he attained considerable success, e.g. in the poem on Naṣr, which consists of questions and answers (transl. by Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia from Firdawsī to Sa'dī*, p. 121 sq.), as in another *kaşida* on the same prince (*Madjima' al-Fuṣṣaḥā*, i. 362) which has three internal rhymes in each couplet:

khiradrā tādī u-pirāya, adabrā djawhar
[u-māya,
ba dīl ba fakhr hamsāya, ba himmat ba
[kadā hambar.

The reading aloud of such a piece must have been very effective, but practically all the beauty of these pieces disappears in translation (cf. P. Horn's observations in his *Gesch. d. Pers. Litt.*, p. 80).

Some of 'Unşuri's smaller poems are said by the literary historians to be improvisations composed on certain occasions. The best known is the quatrain which he is said to have uttered when Maḥmūd had his favourite Ayāz's locks shorn and regretted it afterwards (cf. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 38). Other short poems were improvised on the king's falling from his horse and on Maḥmūd being bled.

Even in the middle ages 'Unşuri was reckoned a classic. Ibn Kaïs, the celebrated writer on poetics, quotes him ten times (cf. Ibn Kaïs, *Mu'djam* [G. M. S., x.], index). We may note the passages on p. 323, where the line which is given as an example of the figure of speech called *tashbih-i ma'kūs* may be a fragment of the *Wamīk*; on p. 445, where in the discourse of borrowing in poetry (*naql*), a passage from 'Unşuri's poetry is quoted, the idea of which is borrowed from Rūdakī but is better expressed by 'Unşuri, and lastly on p. 269 where Ibn Kaïs cites a passage in 'Unşuri for the archaic form *abar* instead of *bar*, of which idiom he however disapproves.

Bibliography: 'Awfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb* (ed. Browne), ii. 29 sqq.; Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā* (ed. Browne), p. 44 sqq.; Luṭf 'Alī Beg, *Atashkadda*, Bombay 1299, p. 319 sqq.; Riḍā Kulī Khān, *Madjima' al-Fuṣṣaḥā*, Teheran 1295, i. 355 sqq.; *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 224, 239 sq., 368; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsī to Sa'dī* (index); Rieu, *Supplement* (index).

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

'UNWĀN, MUHAMMAD RIḌĀ B. ḤĀDJIRI ŠĀLIḤ TABRIZI, Persian poet who flourished in the middle of the xith (xviith) century. He lived in Meshhed; Tāhir Naṣr-Ābādī met him there and quotes him in his *Tadhkira* completed in 1089 (1678). His diwān is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue*, coll. Curzon, Calcutta 1926, p. 198).

Bibliography: 'Alī-Kulī Wāliḥ Dāghistāni, *Riyāḍ al-Shu'arā* (apud Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat.*, coll. Curzon, Calcutta 1926, p. 41; wrongly transcribed 'inwān); Sprenger, *Cat. Oudh* (Calcutta 1854), i. 102. (CL. HUART)

'UNWĀN (A.), the title of a book, usually decorated in fine manuscripts by a frame work of arabesques which the printers have sought to imitate by a happy arrangement of fleurons, tail-pieces and other printers' ornaments. In Persian manuscripts the first two pages, very much ornamented with floral patterns, are called *sar-lawḥ* "head-plate". (CL. HUART)

'URBĀN. [See ARABIA, b.]

URDŪ, an Indian language. The Urdū language, which as the result of a series of causes has now come to occupy the position of a *lingua franca* for India, is of mixed origin. Neither Indo-Aryan nor Persian can claim a monopoly in its creation and formation; it has, lexically and grammatically, thrived upon the linguistic and cultural stocks borrowed from both. It is the ineffaceable monument of the mingling of two peoples and their cultures — the Hindū and the Muslim.

With the advent of the Muḥammadan conquerors from the North-West the first foundations of this language were laid in India. During the reigns of sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazni [q.v.] and his son Mas'ūd [q.v.], many Hindūs, such as Tilak, Nāth and others, held highly responsible posts at the court

of Ghazni. A Hindū army also was stationed there, of which, during Maḥmūd's reign, Swendra Rāo, a Hindū, was the commander. The last rulers of the Ghaznawī dynasty left Ghazni and settled in the Panjāb, where they continued to live until their rule came to an end. Thus, both in Ghazni and at Lāhor, Hindūs and Muḥammadans began to enter into close contact with each other. Many lords, nobles, and other protégés of Maṣ'ūd's court, whom the raids of the Saldjūk Turks had made homeless wanderers, also sought his protection and made Lāhor their permanent home. This daily contact between the Hindūs and the Muḥammadans had a far-reaching influence on the languages spoken by the two communities. Thus we find in *Prithvī Rādj Rāso*, the famous work of Čand Bardāi, the court poet of Prithvī Rādj (died A. D. 1192), distinct traces of this influence, for, as he himself states, he "has made use of the Qur'ānic language" (canto i. 23), and his book contains in fact many Arabic and Persian words.

Urdū is a Turkish word meaning "camp" or "army". As the Turks, Persians, and Indians all lived together in the Royal camp, their language, which was an admixture of these three languages, was called the language of the *Ahl-i Urdū*, "people of the camp", or more simply, the language of the *Urdū*, the camp, and after some time the language itself became known as Urdū. Whilst the Muḥammadan rulers of India spoke Persian, which enjoyed the prestige of being their court language, the common language of the country continued to be Hindī, derived through Prākṛit from Sanskrit. On this dialect of the common people was grafted the Persian language, which brought a new language, Urdū, into existence. Sir George Grierson, in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, assigns no distinct place to Urdū, but treats it as an offshoot of Western Hindī. This view overlooks the preponderating influence of Persian, which has deeply affected Urdū in its formative process. It is not merely words that are borrowed; the whole poetry of Urdū — its prosody, themes, style, imagery, allusions, grammar, and peculiarities of construction — and even its prose are saturated with Persian. It cannot strictly be called either a branch of Hindī or an offshoot of Persian, but is a distinct language of a mixed character.

The first great Persian poet and writer of India who used Hindī words in his compositions was Amir Khusrō (653-725 = 1255-1325) [see KHUSRŪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN AMIR]. It is generally believed, and has been mentioned in some *Tadhkiras*, that Amir Khusrō composed many works in Hindī; but these, unfortunately, are not extant, though one or two of his ghazals are still frequently quoted in which one *miṣrāʿ* (hemistich) is in Persian and the other in Hindī, and also many versified conundrums (*ʿiṣṭā*) etc. in the mixed language.

This practice of writing mixed poetry, with alternate hemistichs in Hindī and Persian, continued long after the time of Khusrō, and it was for this reason that such poetry was called *Rēkhta*. Now the word *rēkhta* has various meanings, one of which is to produce and rhyme something new. After Amir Khusrō had succeeded in producing a new combination of Persian and Indian rhymes, the word *rēkhta* came to be used as a term of music, denoting a composition of such mixed Hindī and Persian verses or hemistichs as were in harmony both in respect of the subject matter and of the

tune. Gradually, however, the term lost this strictly musical sense, and came to be loosely applied to such bilingual metrical compositions. Still later, every branch of Urdū poetry was called by this name, and finally the language itself came to be known as *Rēkhta*. The word *Rēkhta* is thus another proof of the mixed character of the Urdū language.

For a long time this new language was called Hindī or Hindwī; subsequently it became known as *Rēkhta*, and after some time was called Urdū. This name was the one most popularly accepted, and it survives to this day. During the days of the East India Company, Urdū was called *Hindustānī* (i. e. the Indian language), which is a recognition of the fact that of the numerous languages of India this alone deserves to be regarded as an Indian *lingua franca*.

Though the Urdū language originated in the Dōāb (the land of the Two Rivers, the Ganges and the Djamna), or more strictly in Dihli and its vicinity, it was in the tableland of the Dakhan [q. v.] that it first assumed literary form. The earliest users and promoters of Urdū were mostly the learned Ṣūfis, who may be regarded as the real patrons of this language. Just as the great Buddha had given up Sanskrit for Pāli in order to carry his divine message to the masses, so too these learned saints, realising that to reach the people the language of the people must be used, employed Urdū instead of Arabic and Persian, which were the two polished languages of the day; and when in the course of their wanderings they came to such parts of the Dakhan as Dawlatābād, Gulbarga, Aḥmadābād, Bidjāpur, Patan (Gudjarāt), etc., they preached to the natives of those parts in the language which they had brought with them from Dihli. Some of them, e. g. Saiyid Muḥammad Banda Nawāz (who came to the Dakhan in 800 = 1398 and whose tomb is at Gulbarga), wrote brochures, verses and books in this language. Their example was followed by their disciples, who also wrote books in this language and contributed in no small measure to its popularity. The frequent use in it of Arabic and Persian words and phrases and the use of Persian script distinguished it from Hindī proper.

Besides Banda Nawāz, whose brochure *Mīrādī al-ʿAshiqin* has been edited by the present writer (Hyderabad, Dakhan, 1900), there are many other Ṣūfis who used Urdū as the vehicle of their prose and poetic productions. Mirādī, surnamed Shams al-Ushshāq (died A. H. 902), a saint of Bidjāpur and follower of a disciple of Banda Nawāz, together with his son and successor Shāh Burhān Dīnām (d. 990) and the latter's son Amin al-Dīn A'īlā (d. 1076), were prose and poetry writers of no mean order in Dakhanī Urdū. Similarly in Gudjarāt the credit of popularising the Urdū language goes to Ṣūfis. Shāh 'Alī Muḥammad Dīw (d. 973) was a great Ṣūfī poet, the collection of whose verses is known as *Djavāhir al-Asrār*. Another Ṣūfī poet, Shaikh Khūb Muḥammad, was the author of the *mathnawī* called *Khūb Tarang* (written in 986 = 1578). Amin, author of *Yusuf Zulekha* (1109 = 1697), also belongs to Gudjarāt.

There were three great centres of Urdū in the Dakhan, viz. Golkunda, the capital of the Kutub Shāhī kings; Bidjāpur, the capital of the 'Adil Shāhī kings; and Aḥmadābād (Gudjarāt); and it is interesting to note that the language spoken

in each of these three centres shows slight local variations.

While almost all the rulers of the *Ḳuṭub Shāhī* dynasty were great patrons of art and learning, sultān Muḥammad *Ḳulī Ḳuṭub Shāh* (reigned 899—1020 = 1580—1611), whose *Kulliyāt* is a voluminous work, was a poet of versatile genius, and his two successors, sultān Muḥammad *Ḳuṭub Shāh* (1020—1035 = 1611—1626) and sultān 'Abd Allāh *Ḳuṭub Shāh* (1035—1083 = 1625—1672), and also Tānā *Shāh* (1083—1098 = 1672—1687), the last ruler of the dynasty, were themselves good poets and used to compose Urdū verses. Other famous poets of the *Ḳuṭub Shāhī* period are: 1. Wadjhī, who related a love-story of Muḥammad *Ḳulī Ḳuṭub Shāh* in his mathnawī *Ḳuṭub o Mushtarī*, written in 1018 A.H.; 2. Shihāb al-Dīn *Ḳuraishī*, author of *Bhog Bal*; 3. Shaikh Ahmad Sharif, author of a mathnawī on medicine; 4. Ghaw-wāshī, author of *Saif al-Mulūk wa-Badī' al-Djamāl* (1035) and *Tuḡī Nāma* (1049); 5. Ibn Nishāṭī, author of *Phūl Ban* (1076); 6. Rāzī or *Ḳuṭubī*, translator of *Tuḥfat al-Naṣā'ih* or *Pandū kā Tuḥfa*; 7. Ṭabī, author of *Bahrām o Gulandām*; 8. Wālah, author of *Talīb o Mohnī*; 9. Muzaḥfar, author of *Zafar Nāma-i 'Ishk* (the four last-named belong to the period of 'Abd Allāh *Ḳuṭub Shāh*); 10. Fā'iz, author of *Riqdūn Shāh Rūh-Afzā*; 11. Shāhī and 12. Mīrzā, both elegists; 13. Nūrī of Hyderabad and others flourished under Abu 'l-Ḥasan Tānā *Shāh*.

The 'Adil *Shāhī* kings were also great patrons of art and learning. Under Muḥammad 'Adil *Shāh* (1035—1067 = 1626—1656) there flourished four great poets: 1. Hasan Shawkī, author of *Fath-nāma-i Nizām Shāh* (describing the battle of Talikotā), and of *Mizbān-i 'Adil Shāh*; 2. Muḳīmī (Mīrzā Muḳīm *Khān*), author of *Fath-nāma-i Yakh-herī* (an account of the victory of 'Adil *Shāh*) and a love-poem of Mahyār o Čandar Bhān; 3. Rustamī (Kamāl *Khān*), author of the voluminous mathnawī *Khāwārnāma* (an account of the wars of the *Khālifa* 'Alī), written in 1059 A.H.; 4. Malik *Khushnūd*, author of *Djannat Singār* (the story of Bahrām), written in 1055. Whilst it was Ibrāhīm 'Adil *Shāh* II (988—1035 = 1580—1626), called the *Djagat-Guru* on account of his mastery of music, and author of the famous book *Nauras* on Hindī music, who made Hindī (or, more correctly, Dakhani Urdū) his court language in place of Persian, 'Alī 'Adil *Shāh* II (1067—1083 = 1656—1673) was particularly interested in the Urdū language. Amongst the Dakhani Urdū writers who were active during his reign are: 1. Mullā Nuṣratī, the famous author of *Gulshan-i 'Ishk* and *'Alināma*; 2. Ayāghī (Muḥammad Amin), author of *Nadājātnāma* (1076) and *Shamā'il-nāma*; 3. Saiyid Bulāḳī, author of *Mīrāj-nāma* (1065). During the reign of Sikandar 'Adil *Shāh* we find the following poets: 1. Shāh Amin al-Dīn A'lā (see above); 2. 'Abd al-Mu'min of Bidjāpur, author of *'Ishk-nāma* (an account of Saiyid Muḥammad of Djawnpur, *Mahdī-i mau'ūd*); 3. Hāshimī, the author of *Yusuf Zulaikha*, the best-known and greatest poet of this period. He was born blind. It was perhaps he who laid the foundation of *rekhtī*, i. e. poems written in the language and idioms of women, developed by Rangin (see below).

Behri (Kāzi Maḥmūd) of Gogi author of *Man Lagan* (1112 = 1700), Wadjdi author of *Panchhi Bacha*, the translator of Aṭṭār's *Mantiq al-Tair* and

some other poets flourished in the 12th century when Awrangzeb conquered the Deccan. In prose, the first books to be written in Urdū were in the Dakhani idiom. Besides sayings of the saints (such as *Shāh Rādjū Saiyid Ḳattāl*, Saiyid Muḥammad Banda Nawāz, and *Shāh Amin al-Dīn A'lā*), some short treatises on mysticism composed by them are still extant, but these do not possess any great literary significance. Other more voluminous and important works on literature and theology were also written, such as the *Sharh-i Sharh-i Tamhīd*. This was a translation into Dakhani Urdū by Saiyid Mīrā of Hyderabad (died 1074 = 1663) of the Persian work called *Tamhīdat* written by *ḳāḍī* 'Ain al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadānī (died 533 = 1137).

The above-mentioned poet Wadjhī or Wadjhi was the author of a prose work which has great literary significance, called *Sab-Ras* or *Husn o Dil* ("Beauty and the Heart"). It is a kind of allegory, describing the conflict between beauty on the one hand and the love sentiments of the heart on the other. The whole book is written in rhymed prose, and was composed in 1045 (1635). Another voluminous prose work, bearing the name of *Tardjama-i Shamā'il al-Atḳiyā*, is a translation, made by Mīrā Ya'qūb about 1080 (1670), of the Persian book of Rukn 'Imād al-Dīn, who was a spiritual disciple of *Khwājda* Burhān al-Dīn (died 732 = 1332 at Dawlatābād). Many other prose works were also written soon after this time.

In this early language, just as Arabic and Persian words have been allowed to intermingle freely with Hindī words, so also the authors have drawn freely upon both Hindū and Muḥammadan legends for the subject matter. While some of the themes versified are translations from Persian writers and poets, for others the authors are indebted to popular legends in the Sanskrit and Hindī languages, and also to Hindū folklore, e. g. Nal Daman, or Nuṣratī's famous mathnawī *Gulshan-i 'Ishk*, which is a love story of Madmālī and Manohar, or the story of Kām-rūp Kāmtā. In the books written by the Ṣūfis, words of all three languages, Arabic, Persian and Hindī, have been freely used, and the poets too have drawn their similes and metaphors from all three.

It was, however, only when these works began to be written in Persian characters, and the system of Persian (or Arabic) prosody was adopted, that the real foundations of the Urdū language can be said to have been laid. The *Padmāvat* of Malik Muḥammad of Dja'is (947 = 1540), although composed in the perfect Hindī of that period and containing but a sprinkling of Arabic and Persian words, was nevertheless written in Persian characters. The prose works as well as the verses composed in the early Dakhani Urdū were similarly written, and the majority of the poems have Persian metres. Malik Muḥammad, by presenting the pure Hindī language of that period in Persian characters, represents the fusion of Indian and Islāmic cultures. The writers who came after him went a step further, and by writing prose and poetry in a combination of Hindī, Persian and Arabic words still more closely cemented this alliance. Their adoption too of Persian (i. e. Arabic) prosody helped to make the foundations of the new language permanently strong. This may be ascribed to the influence of Persian culture, which was then predominant. Closely in the wake of foreign prosody

came foreign music, and these two helped to give an entirely new colouring to the nature and moral tone of Urdū poetry.

The beginnings of what may be called modern Urdū poetry were made in the time of Muḥammad Shāh (1131—1161 = 1719—1748). Even Walī Dakhānī (1099—1159 = 1688—1744) of Awrangābād learned from the masters who were then at Dihli, and drew his inspiration from them. His verse shows a tendency to select and refine, and he sincerely endeavours to choose the most polished words and idioms. The proportion of Hindī and Persian elements in his verse, both as regards diction and subject-matter, is about equal. His contemporary Sirādj is also a good poet, and uses a purer language than Walī.

The classical period of Urdū poetry begins with Mir Taqī (1137—1225 = 1713—1799). Mir's poetry truly reflects his own life. As he was the son of a pious darwīsh who had kept himself strictly aloof from everything worldly, the tender and impressionable years of his life were spent in the society of saintly darwīshes. He lost his father at the age of eleven, and leaving Āgra, his native place, came to Dihli to earn his living. At this time, the once famous and powerful Mughal empire was fast crumbling to pieces, and the frequent incursions of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, coupled with the plundering activities of the *Djāts* and the *Marāṭhas*, had deprived it of even that meagre share of prestige which had been left to it after the devastating onslaughts of Nadir Shāh. All this had a deep effect upon Mir (see his autobiography *Dhikr-i Mir*), and accounts for the general pessimism and tender pathos of his poetry. His verses are lyrical and are couched in the sweetest, simplest and most melodious language, a combination but rarely met with in other poets. His *ghazals* and *mathnawīs* are by far the best to be found in Urdū literature, and their merit has been acknowledged by almost all the great poets in Urdū. Mir was a man of very strong character, self-respecting even to a fault, and led a severely disciplined life. During the reign of Shāh 'Ālam (1759—1806), when there was no one left in Dihli to encourage poetry, a number of poets migrated to Lakhnāū, which was then the seat of a flourishing court. Mir too, on the invitation of Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla of Awadh, went to Lakhnāū and remained there until his death in A. D. 1799.

Sawdā (1125—1195 = 1713—1781), a contemporary of Mir, was also a good poet, but he falls far short of the latter. He was impatient of criticism, had no control over his temper, and wrote long satires, but is nevertheless to be ranked among the masters. The chaste and graceful poetry of Khwādja Mir Dard [see the article DARD] (1133—1199 = 1721—1784) reflects the mystic religion of his age. The realist Mir Ḥasan (d. 1201 = 1786), a follower of Mir Dard, depicts in his poetry the social manners and customs of the age to which he belonged. His famous *mathnawī* *Siḥr al-Bayān*, in which he describes both human passions and natural scenes with remarkable fidelity, is the best and most popular *mathnawī* in Urdū.

We now come to the age of Rangin and Inshā' (d. 1233 = 1817), both of whom, like Sawdā, Mir, and Mir Ḥasan, migrated to Lakhnāū. At that period Lakhnāū was the home of fashion and follies and the centre of a polished and pleasure-loving society, which fact could not but

be reflected in the poetry written there. Rangin is generally considered the real originator of *rekhtī* (see above under Hāshimī), a form of verse in which everything was written only about women and in the language and idioms used only by them. He is fond of using Hindī words but his standard is very low, and his verses are full of erotic suggestions and other obscenities. Inshā', on the other hand, is not sensual but mirthful. He was a true poet but born in a decadent age, when the place of honour was usurped by servility. He regards life as a sport, and in his poetry, though the colours are usually heightened, the sentiment is often falsified. But it should be remembered that he is a master of technique, and that, while his affectations harmed Urdū literature in a general way, they also contributed to it an element of refinement and freshness. Thus his influence on literature has been both good and bad. His book *Daryā-i Lafāfat* bears eloquent testimony to his mastery of the Urdū language.

Naẓir (d. 1830) stands out as a solitary figure in the history of Urdū literature. Though one of the most neglected of Urdū poets, and by some biographers even refused the title of poet, he is an Indian poet in the real sense of the word. Even when swayed now and then by sensual pleasures, he does not cease to be a perfect artist. His best poems are those in which he merrily sings the songs of his native land, or on common topics which appeal alike to young and old, poor and rich. Like nature in India, his imagination too is rich and fertile. Several of his poems on birds and beasts (e.g. "The poor Swan", "The Bear-Cub", and "The young Squirrel") indirectly criticise the social manners and customs of his period. In some of his poems he has portrayed the happy scenes witnessed at Indian festivals, and his love of nature is shown in his vivid descriptions of the seasons. His style, however, is sometimes careless, his verse is faulty, and he has no feeling for the choice of words. He is really a poet of the people and allows nothing to stand between himself and his swiftly-flowing narrative.

Dhawḳ (d. 1272 = 1855) is a follower of a long line of Persian poets who reduced literary flattery to a fine art. His *qasidas*, most of which were written in praise of the last ruler of the Mughal dynasty, are famous in Urdū literature. Not so, however, are his *ghazals*, to which his genius was totally unsuited.

At this stage in the history of Urdū literature poetry seemed to have come to a standstill. The poetical productions of the period were mostly imitative, inartistic, and uninspiring, repeating with wearisome monotony the old ideas, themes and even the words which had been again and again employed by earlier poets. At this moment Ḡhalib suddenly appeared like a new planet in the literary firmament.

Ḡhalib (1212—1286 = 1787—1869) was descended from a family of warriors, and the warm blood of the Aibek Turks in his veins shows itself in his poetry. While yet a schoolboy he had begun to compose verses, but his real merit as a poet shone out only after the great mutiny of 1857. This revolution, representing as it did the conflict of contradictory forces, was destructive of much that ought not to have perished. The complete destruction of many a useful institution of

the Mughal reign, and the extinction of the great Mughal dynasty itself, deeply moved Ghālīb and imbued his poetry with that pathos which makes it so poignant. Like all truly great men, he was far ahead of his time, and for this very reason was not appreciated by his contemporaries. He was a pioneer of the modern movement in Urdū poetry. In the whole realm of Urdū literature there is none to surpass him in originality, strength of imagination, or flight of fancy. Ghālīb was the first to introduce philosophical conceptions into Urdū poetry, with the result that his verses offer a captivating combination of philosophy, mysticism and pathos. His style is decorative, expressive, and pleasing to the ear. Its one defect is that its literary idiom is Persian, but in spite of this a considerable number of his verses were written in a clear and simple style.

The most famous of the Persian elegies on the martyrdom of Ḥusain, the *Haft Band* of Muḥtasham Kāshī, served as model for the Indian elegiac poets. But Anīs (1802–1874) and Dabīr (1803–1875) have far excelled their Persian prototype, except that, as in it, the nature of their grief is far from manly. Religious devotion and the literary excellence of their poems have accorded to them a very high position in Urdū literature. Anīs is so graphic in his description of battle scenes, and so realistic in his portrayal of the Martyrs of Karbālā, that the whole narrative seems to be alive and is surprisingly true in details. The verse is fluent and majestic, and in places so simple as to be suitable for every-day conversation. But a veil of gloom drapes all the poems. Instead of recounting the heroic deeds of the Imām in a vigorous epic strain, both Anīs and Dabīr mourn for him, for his sufferings and death, with true feminine grief. The Imām as depicted in these verses does not possess that forcefulness of character which marks all those who have gained martyrdom in the cause of truth. In spite of these defects of characterisation, however, Anīs is a true master of language and of the art of poetry.

The period which marks the downfall of Lakhnāwī is one of stagnation and reaction in the history of Urdū literature. The poets are innocent of originality, in matter as in style, and overlaid their verse with redundant figures of speech. Ātish and Nāsikh are both great masters of technique, but they do not deserve to be ranked with the other great poets of the Urdū language, and the entire "poetical" talent of their followers and pupils consists in puns and plays upon words. The mathnawi of Dayā Shānkār Nāsīm (1811–1843), written about this time, is a fine specimen of perfect versifying skill, and would have been good poetry had it not been figurative and ornamental to a fault. The various mathnawīs by Shāwḥ are nothing more than more word-pictures of the corrupt and free manners which characterised the society of that period, and in writing them the poet has drawn his inspiration from the gay and gallant court of Wāḍjid ‘Alī Shāh, the last ruler of Awadh. But to do him justice, wanton mirth is not unmixed with grace of art. That is all that can be said in justification of his mathnawīs. The poet has sacrificed his art on the altar of frivolity.

After Dāgh (1831–1905) and Amīr (1828–1900), the foundations laid by Mīr's classical

poetry may be truly said to have fallen asunder. The poetry of both of these shows marked degeneration; both are upholders of that effete tradition which devoted its entire efforts to purposeless but sometimes decorative word-play. Of the two, however, Dāgh is a master of expression, and he has certainly enriched the language by introducing into his poetry colloquial idioms and some exquisite expressions.

It was, however, at this stage in the decline of Urdū poetry, when literature had degenerated into a mere farce, that the influence of the West began to make itself felt in the intellectual life of the country. The West formed a new world of thought laid open for the benefit of the Indian mind. Old traditions were changed; modern sciences replaced subjective egoism by objective art; instead of the classical, ornamental, and rhymed language, a simpler and more natural style of expression was adopted, and the effeminate diletantism of the age gave way to manliness and self-confidence. In short, there began the true renaissance of Urdū letters.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād (d. 1910) was a remarkable embodiment of the characteristics of this period. He was the first poet to drink deep of the fountain of the Occident. He was a philologist and a master of the *musadīqā* metrical prose; but he was not a great poet. His contemporary Ḥālī, however, was altogether different. Ḥālī was born at Pānīpat in 1253 (1837) and died in 1332 (1914). His boyhood and youth were spent at Dihli at a time when the Mughal empire was fast declining, and as is natural at all such times, social and political upheavals were the order of the day. Ḥālī was an eye-witness of the setting sun of the Mughals, and all that he saw had a deep effect on his sensitive soul. Though in his literary pursuits he was the successor and pupil of Ghālīb and Shefta, yet intellectually he was a true descendant of the great Arab poets of pre-Islamic days.

His early poetical productions were of the type then common, but gradually the modern tendencies of the age began to influence him and led him ultimately to Naturalism and to a minute study of the society around him. The genesis of his didactic poetry was the 'Aligarh movement. Through the efforts of Sir Saiyid Aḥmad Khān the era of a new humanism dawned upon India, and a new spirit suffused the intellectual and cultural life of Indian Muslims. Ḥālī was destined to be the bard of this new movement. In his *Musaddas* he not only made the dead past of History a living present, but he also described with surprising detail the national life of the Indian Musalmāns. Although his poetry is founded on a deep pessimism, he was filled with a passionate longing for truth and burned with the desire to rebuild and reconstruct. Besides being a great poet, Ḥālī was also one of the interpreters of English literature to the Indian people. But he was a true realist, and never allowed the surging tide of Occidental ideas to carry him off his feet. Before his time, literature was but a medium for expressing the ideas of a class. It was he who opened it up to the masses, and expressed himself in the common language, which was essential for the success of his mission. This, as was to be expected, raised a storm of hostile criticism and satire, but time has vindicated him against his critics. Moreover

his diction is immaculate, and he uses Hindī words in his verse with great beauty and skill.

In face of the flood of new ideas that swept away old-time conventions, Akbar Husain (1846—1921) raised his voice in support of what to him was Oriental culture, and indulged his humour at the expense of the admirers of Europe and of their follies. Even the modernism of 'Aligarh could not escape his venomous satires. He regarded Islām and Islāmic culture as in grave danger of submersion under the swelling tide of Western materialism, and made it the aim of his poetry to avert this catastrophe. Newfangled ideas came in for a good deal of criticism at his hands, and he has nothing but supreme contempt for those short-sighted Indians who blindly imitated Europeans. His style, at its best, is polished and humorous, even though his verse is marred by a too-studied effort to create effect by word-play and rhyme. It is doubtful if he will be popular with posterity once his present utility as a satirist is exhausted. Though he is not one of the great ones among the poets he is certainly the least imitable of them all.

In modern Urdū poetry three figures stand out preeminent: Ghālīb, Hālī and Ikbal. Ghālīb's soaring imagination and philosophical ideas broke through the crust of old-time poetry, but his verse is filled with the deepest pessimism. Hālī is one who stands alone amid the fast crumbling ruins of ancient grandeur and weeps over it, but who yet burns with the desire to reconstruct and to revive that which is fast decaying. Ikbal may not possess the soaring imagination of Ghālīb nor the deep pathos of Hālī, but he has a vigour, an enthusiasm and a creative force all his own. Though not favourably disposed to occidentalism, he has, more than any other of the poets, availed himself of western ideas, which have widened his poetical outlook. His early poetry was of the popular patriotic type, but of late he has developed a keen pan-Islāmic feeling. He calls upon Muslims to make religion a basic and unifying principle and to develop the characteristics of the believers of old, and sees the vision of a day, not far distant, when Islām will prove to be the salvation, not only of Asia, but of the whole world. Of late he has devoted his talent to Persian rather than to Urdū verse, for he considers the Persian language to be more serviceable in propagating his ideas throughout Islāmic countries than his mother-tongue Urdū.

The beginnings of Urdū prose have already been referred to above. The first prose books in the language were also written in the Dakhan, but most of them dealt with religion and other allied subjects, and none except the *Sab-Ras* (1045 = 1635), which is in metrical and rhymed prose, can claim any literary significance. In northern India, even so late as the post-Mutiny period, people wrote books and carried on correspondence in Persian. Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn of Dihli (1163—1233 = 1750—1818) and Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir (1157—1230 = 1754—1815) both translated the Kur'ān into Urdū, but their translations were too literal. The foundations of modern Urdū prose were laid in the Fort William College at Calcutta, founded by Lord Wellesley in 1800. Of the languages taught there, most attention was paid to Persian and to Hindustānī or Urdū. Dr. John Gilchrist, who was in charge of the College and was himself a

keen student and author of Hindustānī books, may well be regarded as a great patron of Urdū. Mīr Amman, the compiler of the *Bāgh o-Bahār* or *Kissā-i Čahār Darwish* (1801—1802), and Mīr Shēr 'Alī Afsōs, the compiler of the *Arā'ish-i Mahfil* (1805), deserve special mention. Both of these books are admirable in point of diction and description, especially the *Bāgh o-Bahār* ("The Garden and the Spring") which will remain a perennial source of literary enjoyment. One notable influence of these compilations and translations produced under the auspices of the Fort William College was that Urdū writers began to develop a taste for simple language, and the old metrical rhymed style, laden with Arabic and Persian words and expressions, went out of fashion. But the majority of these books dealt with fiction in one form or another. It was left to the great Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khān (1817—1898) to teach his generation the art of writing on serious and scientific subjects in the simplest and most fluent language. His magazine *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* almost completely revolutionised Urdū literature. It was for this reason that the masters of modern Urdū prose were mostly those who had come either under the direct influence of Sir Saiyid, or else were in some way connected with the Dihli College, where Urdū, was a medium of instruction, and where books were being translated and written in Urdū. In the meanwhile I cannot overlook the letters of Ghālde (see above) published under the title of "Urdū-i Moalla" which are model of freshness, purity and wit.

Among the principal modern Urdū prose-writers are the following:

Muhammad Husain Āzād of Dihli writes chaste prose, and his books, though not free from artificiality, are couched in simple language, and have a genuine charm. His *Ab-i Hayāt*, a biography of Urdū poets, should always remain a living thing in literature.

Khwājā Alī Af Hūsain Hālī was a master both of prose and poetry. His style, besides being sober and vigorous, is fluent, and he possessed a fine literary taste. He may be regarded as the founder of literary criticism and of biography in Urdū. His *Hayāt-i Sa'di*, *Yadgar-i Ghālīb* and *Mukaddama-i Shīr o-Shā'iri* are epoch-making books in Urdū literary criticism, and his *Hayāt-i Dāwid* (life of Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khān) is the high-water mark of Urdū prose literature.

Nadhir Ahmad (1831—1912) was a forceful writer and speaker, with a wonderful command of language. In spite of his frequent use of Arabic words and phrases, his vigorous language penetrates to the hearts of his readers, and his works of fiction, such as *Mir'at al-'Arūs*, *Tarbat al-Nashih*, *Fasānā-i Muhtila*, will always be read with interest by lovers of Urdū. Some of his characters have become household words among Urdū-speaking people. His translation of the Kur'ān into Urdū is undoubtedly the best that has appeared.

Shibli [see SHIBLI NU'MĀNĪ] (1857—1914), who was a professor at 'Aligarh, was mainly instrumental in developing a taste for history in the Urdū-reading public. In addition to a series of lives of Muslim heroes, he wrote many treatises on Islāmic questions and was a distinguished literary critic.

Novel-writing in Urdū dates only from the time of Ratan Nāth Sarshār (1847—1902), the author of *Fasānā-i Āzād*, which, in itself some-

what confused, is yet well-known for its delineation of some of the chief features of the Lakḥnāu society of its day. The novels of 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Sharar (1860—1926) are mostly historical, but are weak in characterisation. The fact is that with the exception of some of Naḥḥir Aḥmad's stories, no novel worth the name has yet been written in Urdū. Sharar's novels no doubt helped to create a literary taste, but they did no more.

With the advent of the British into India, a taste for the drama also began to be cultivated, and the Pārsis were the first to popularise it. This naturally produced some dramatists who wrote a number of ordinary plays, but unfortunately there has not yet appeared even one drama in Urdū which is deserving of serious mention.

Although at first the influence of English education tended to alienate the sympathies of the younger generation from their own language, a phenomenon for which the style of education introduced into India was largely responsible, yet when their taste became more mature they turned to their mother-tongues with greater zest and began to enrich them with translations of European books on the arts and sciences. The Andjuman-i Taraḳḳi-i Urdū of Awrangābād, Dakhan, and the Osmania University of Haidarābād, Dakhan, with its Translation Bureau, are the foremost institutions to-day for the advancement of the Urdū language. On the whole systematic progress is being made, and the people are beginning to love and feel proud of their language. During the last few years many magazines and journals have been started, some of which are rendering signal service to Urdū, and assisting in the development of a more refined taste.

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(ABDUL HAQ)

AL-URDUNN, the Jordan, Hebrew (*ha*) *Yardēn*, but in LXX, Josephus, Pliny and others ὁ

Ιορδάνης. The etymology of the word is obscure and it is even thought by some to be a loanword (cf. the river name *Iardavaç* in Crete). After the Crusades the name *al-Sharī'a* (*al-kabīra*), the "(great) watering-place" came into use and is still the most usual name among the Beduins.

1. The Jordan is formed by the combination of three streams: al-Ḥasbānī, Nahr Leddān and Nahr Bānyās. Shortly after their junction, the Jordan reaches the Ḥūle district and here flows through the lake of Baḥret al-Khēt (Baḥret al-Ḥūle according to Dalman is only the papyrus swamp in the north). The valley of the Jordan sinks rapidly towards the south, so that the surface of the Lake of Galilee, Baḥr Ṭabariya, through which the Jordan flows [cf. ṬABARIYA], is 682 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The valley is known as al-Ghōr [cf. GHAWR] from the south end of the lake to an elevation 3 hours' journey south of the Dead Sea. Here it assumes a character different from that of its northern half: a plain of dazzling white marl, through which the river runs with numerous windings, looking to one who surveys it from a height like a twisted green ribbon, as the banks are covered with dense vegetation, which hides the river. Otherwise the plain is devoid of vegetation but at the foot of the hills on its western edge are several very fertile oases ("the gardens of Urdunn"; cf. Ṭabari, *Annales*, i. 1232; see the article RĪḤĀ). The Jordan terminates in the Dead Sea, Baḥr Lūt (Lot's Sea), the surface of which is 1,292 feet below sea-level and the deepest point 2,600 feet. It has no exit to the south or west and never has had one. The 1,300 million gallons of water brought down to it every day by the Jordan, evaporate in the burning heat so that the level of the water, apart from slight seasonal variations, remains the same. The result is that nothing can live in the water as the salts and other mineral constituents remain while the water evaporates. The depression south of the Dead Sea is called al-ʿAraba; the ground rises considerably here and then sinks again to the level of the Gulf of ʿAkaba.

The following tributaries of the Jordan may be mentioned. Soon after its exit from the Lake of Galilee it receives on the left bank the important stream of the Sharīʿat al-Ṣaghīra (the little watering-place) or Sharīʿat al-Menādīre, in the earlier period Yarmūk [q. v.], and farther south the Nahr al-Zerḳā' (the ancient Jabboḳ) which flows in at al-Dāmiya. On the right bank comes the Djālūt, rising in Goliath's spring ('Ain Djālūt), which runs by Bēsān into the Jordan.

On account of its currents, its numerous windings and many shallows, the Jordan cannot be used for navigation. On the other hand, even in ancient times several of these shallows formed fords which connected the lands east with those west of the Jordan and thus linked up the Mediterranean coast and Egypt with Damascus. North of Lake Tiberias there are five and south of it 54; they are most frequent opposite Bēsān. In the Old Testament they are mentioned under the names *ma'bar* or *ma'bera*. Whether the Israelites had ferries is uncertain and in any case not proved by the obscure passage 2 Sam., xix. 19. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine that in their fighting with the Aramaeans in the lands east of the Jordan, they would take their troops, horses and chariots (1 Kings, xxii. 35) across the Jordan by

fords, but how they did it we are not told (with floats?). If necessary it was possible to swim the Jordan (1 Macc., ix. 48) but in view of the strong current it required skill and strength. There were certainly no bridges since these only began to be built in the Roman period. The ford a little south of the Hūle district is specially celebrated; from it a road led via *Ḳunētra* to Damascus. Whether there was a Roman road here is, according to P. Thomsen's map in *Z.D.P.V.*, xl. (cf. p. 33), uncertain but in the middle ages this ford, called *Vadum Jacobi* (wrongly from Gen. xxxii. 22), is often mentioned and was of considerable strategic importance during the Crusades. Here Baldwin III was defeated in 1157 by Nūr al-Dīn and in 1178 Baldwin IV built a fort below the crossing, but in the following year it was stormed by Saladin and destroyed. At a later date, a three-arched bridge was built of large blocks of basalt at the site of the ford (cf. pictures in *Z.D.P.V.*, xiii. 74). It is known to have been in existence in 1450 and was probably built not long before. The name "Bridge of Jacob's daughters", *Djīsr Banāt Ya'kūb*, points to the old *Vadum Jacobi* but is remarkable as Jacob did not have a number of daughters (cf. above i., p. 1050).

One of the most important roads from Damascus to the lands west of the Jordan has probably always been the route via *Fīḳ* (or *Afīḳ*, perhaps *Afēḳ* [Aphek] 1 Kings, xx. 26, 30; cf. xiii. 22) to the south end of the Lake of Galilee, where the Jordan was crossed by a ford where it leaves the Lake. A little south of the crossing are the ruins of two stone bridges: *Umm al-Ḳanāṭir* and *Djīsr al-Sidd*. Nothing is known of their history but one of them is probably the bridge at the south end of the lake which *Muḳaddasī* mentions in his description of *Ṭabariya* and of which *Yāqūt* says that it had over 20 arches. As late as the xivth century we are told by W. de Baldensel that he crossed the Jordan by a bridge here (Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*², iii.). Close to the junction of the *Yarmūk* with the Jordan is a bridge *Djīsr al-Mudjāmi'* whence roads led to *Mkēs* and *Irbid* below the hills of *Ḳarn Ṣartaba*. Further to the south we again find a bridge *Djīsr al-Dāmiya* but it is now on dry land as the river has dug out a new bed here. It was built in 1266 by the vigorous Mamlūk sultān *Baibars*, who also had bridges built at several other places (cf. *Röhrich*, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, II/i. 382; *Clermont Ganneau*, in *J.A.*, ser. viii., vol. x. [1887], p. 518). Among the most used is the bridge north of *Jericho* which leads to *W. Nimrīn*.

In the brief descriptions of the Jordan in the Arab geographers there are a few details of some interest. *Muḳaddasī* mentions that the river is unnavigable. *Yāqūt*, quoting an older authority, says that the Jordan above the Lake of *Tiberias* was called the "Great" and between the Lake and the Dead Sea the "Little Jordan", which statement however is probably based on a confusion with the *Yarmūk* (see above). He mentions the sugar plantations watered by the river in *al-Ḡhawr* [cf. *RIĤA*]. *Dimashqī* mentions the hot springs near the Lake of *Tiberias* and of *Mudjāmi'* where the *Yarmūk* joins the Jordan. He also gives an account of the remarkable phenomena at the river's end. The Jordan flows night and day into the Dead Sea without any outflow, yet the Sea does not increase in winter or decrease in summer. The main road

from Damascus to Egypt goes, according to *Ibn Khurdādhbih* (*B.G.A.*, vi. 219) and the geographers who follow him, via *Fīḳ* to the south end of the Lake of *Tiberias* and thence by a circuitous route via *Tiberias* to *Baisān*. In the xivth century on the other hand, the route lay through a part of 'Adjlūn, as one descended from *Baisān* into the Jordan valley to *Mudjāmi'* and thence over the bridge to follow the road to *Irbid*. In the xvth century, a more northerly route began to come into use by going eastwards from the new capital *Ṣafat* (see below) crossing the Jordan on the above mentioned "bridge of Jacob's daughters" and thence via *Nūrān* and *Ḳunētra* to Damascus. This road remained the usual one and has recently been made more convenient by improving the road leading to and from the bridge.

2. The Jordan province of the Arabs, *Djund al-Urdunn* (military district of the Jordan), corresponded to the *Palaestina Secunda* of the older division and included the two Galilees, the valley of the Jordan and the western part of the lands east of the Jordan. Most of the towns in it were taken by *Abū 'Ubaida* in 14 (635), the remainder by *Khālīd* and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī; others name *Shurāḥbil* as the conqueror. They were all taken by force of arms except *Ṭabariya* which capitulated under shameful conditions and probably on that account was made the capital instead of *Skythopolis*. The size of the district may be judged from the list of towns given by the historians and geographers as belonging to it: according to *Balādhuri*: *Ṭabariya*, *Baisān*, *Ḳadas*, 'Akka, *Ṣūr*, *Ṣaffūriya* and in the land east of the Jordan *Sūsīya*, 'Afik, *Djarash*, *Bait Rās*, *al-Djawlān* and (?) *Sawād* — according to *Yā'kūbī*: *Ṭabariya*, *Ṣūr*, 'Akka, *Ḳadas*, *Baisān* and in the land east of the Jordan *Fahl*, *Djarash* and (?) *Sawād* — according to *Ibn al-Faḳīh*: *Ṭabariya*, *al-Sāmira* (i. e. *Nābulus*), *Baisān*, 'Akka, *Ḳadas*, *Ṣūr* and in the land east of the Jordan *Fahl* and *Djarash* — according to *Muḳaddasī*: *Ṭabariya*, *Ḳadas*, *Ṣūr*, *Faradhīya*, 'Akka, *al-Ladjdjūn*, *Kabul*, *Baisān* and in the land east of the Jordan *Adhra'at* — according to *Idrisī*: *Ṭabariya*, *al-Ladjdjūn*, *al-Sāmira* (*Nābulus*), *Baisān*, *Arihā* (*Jericho*), 'Akka, *Nāṣira*, *Ṣūr* and in the land east of the Jordan: *Zughār*, 'Amatā (*Amathus*), *Habis* (*Yābis*?), *Djadar*, 'Abil (*Abila*), *Sūsīya* — according to *Yāqūt*: *Ṭabariya*, *Baisān*, *Ṣaffūriya*, *Ṣūr*, 'Akka and in the land east of the Jordan *Bait Rās* und *Djadar* etc. These lists show that the boundaries have not always remained the same.

Regarding the yearly tribute of the province of *Urdunn* the Arab authors give the following figures [cf. *FILASTIN*]: towards the end of the viiith century 96,000 *dinārs*, under *Ma'mūn* 97,000, according to *Ibn Khurdādhbih* and *Ibn al-Faḳīh* 350,000, according to *Ḳudāma* 109,000, according to *Yā'kūbī* 100,000, according to *Muḳaddasī* 170,000 (cf. *Z.D.P.V.*, vii. 225).

In the Crusading period, the previous divisions were abolished and the members of *Saladin's* family constituted various kingdoms (*mamlakāt*) instead. The province of *Urdunn* is represented mainly by the kingdom of *Ṣafat* which in addition to the town of that name included the following districts: *Mardj* 'Aiyūn, *Ladjdjūn*, *Djinnīn*, 'Akka, *Ṣūr* and *Saida*, i. e. all towns in the lands west of the Jordan. In *Shihāb al-Dīn al-Makdisī*, who wrote his *al-Muḥīr* in 1351 and was often copied, we find another division, in which *al-Ḡhūr* and the lands east of

the Jordan are more prominent: al-Hawrān with the capital Ṭabariya and the districts of al-Ḡhawr, Yarmūk and Baisān.

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(FR. BUHL)

'URF (A.), defined by Djurdjānī (*Ta'rifār*, ed. Flügel, p. 154) as "[Action or belief] in which persons persist with the concurrence of the reasoning powers and which their natural dispositions agree to accept [as right]". It stands therefore to represent unwritten custom as opposed to established law, *shar'* (cf. Māwardī, ed. Enger, p. 5; *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, f. 124^b, line 7; transl., p. 194) though attempts have not been lacking to regard it as one of the *uṣūl* (cf. Goldziher, *Zāhiriten*, p. 204 sq). It is sometimes held to be equivalent to case law or common law. This may be where civil laws (*aḥkām*) are based on recognized local customs (*arāf*), and it is a well-known fact that in many tribal and other communities these are native codes of unwritten laws and traditions by which life is regulated locally. In Southern Palestine these existed as late as the middle of the nineteenth century a *fellāḥ* code called *shar'at khalil*, i. e. "the law of Abraham", as distinct from the Muḥammadan code (*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1879, p. 38). Amongst the Bedouin of Arabia also these have always existed, as distinct from the *qāḍīs* of the *shar'*, speccial judges possessed of the customary lore of their tribe, to whom recourse is had in matters affecting tribal interests (cf. J. v. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, London 1831, i. 120—122; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1908, iii. 209, 337 sq., 346, 365). Frequently 'urf is simply the decision made in various cases by the sovereign or his agent — not the *qāḍī* — according as the requirements of the state demand or as prejudices dictate. In Persia, since the Ṣafawī period or even before, decisions based upon 'urf have been made by the Shāh or his governors or by the special court of 'urf presided over by the *Divān-begī*. There was however never any rule to decide which cases were to go to the latter court and which to the courts of the *shar'*, though mainly it was offences against the state and against law and order — e. g. rebellion and disloyal conduct, debasing the coinage, rioting, theft, highway-robbery, and murder — which came before it.

The *mullās* have never recognized its competence, denouncing as illegal any judgment based on 'urf. In Turkey it stood for the conception of the Sultān's own arbitrary power as distinct from 'āda (customary law, q. v.), *kanūn* (civil law) and the *shar'*. Sometimes 'urf might run counter to the *shar'*, e. g. when the Sultān enslaved Christians, though they were *dihimmīs* and thus "protected", in order to recruit the corps of the Janissaries.

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(R. LEVY)

'URFĪ, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN, of Shīrāz, a Persian poet. His personal name is variously given: al-Saiyidī (*'Arafāt*), Khwādja Saiyidī Muḥammad (*Ma'āthir-i Raḥīmī*), and Muḥammad Ḥusain (*Maykhāna*). He was known in his younger days as Saīdī (*Maykhāna*, cf. *Oude Cat.*, p. 126). His father's name was Zain al-Din Balawī (?) and his grandfather's Djamāl al-Din Saiyidī, but the latter was more commonly known as *Khwādja-i Ādar Bāf*. 'Urfī was born in Shīrāz, where his father held a post in a Government Office. According to the author of the *Ma'āthir*, the post was that of the vizier of the *Dārughā* (Prefect) of the town. 'Urfī received his early education of the usual kind in Shīrāz, and began to compose verses in early youth. His *takhalluṣ* had reference to the occupation of his father, who had to deal with matters relating to canon law (*shar'*) and customary law ('urf). At the age of twenty he had a severe attack of small-pox, which disfigured him very much. The various *tadhkiras* give us only a few glimpses of his poetical career in Persia. He entered into poetical contests with Mullā Ḡhairatī (for whom see *Haft Iklim* s. v. Shīrāz, and Badā'uni, iii. 292) and other poets of Shīrāz. Awhadī tells us that a few years before 'Urfī left for India, he wrote *ghazals* in the same metre and rhyme as those of Fighānī (d. 922 or 925) and other famous poets. His extreme self-conceit and arrogance brought him into serious conflict with his contemporaries, especially with Waḥshī of Yeẓd (d. 991 = 1583), and caused much unpleasantness. The mortification caused to him by his own disfigurement, his conflict with his contemporaries, and the lure of Indian patronage are given among the causes which induced him to leave his own country and emigrate to India.

Leaving the port of Djirūn, he came by the sea-route to Aḥmadnagar in 994 (1585—1586) (Ṭaqī Kāshī, *Oude Cat.*, p. 37), perhaps more correctly in 993 (1585), and thence went to Faṭhpūr-Sikrī, where he arrived about the new year's day (19th Rabi' I, 993 = March 10/11, 1585). There he attached himself to Faiḍī, who took him along to Attock, where Akbar camped early in Muḥarram 994 (Nov. 1585), to control the operations against the Yūsufzā'ī Afghāns, in which expedition Faiḍī himself took part (*Akbar Nāme*, iii. 476). Later, 'Urfī attached himself to Masīḥ al-Din Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, and, on his death in 997

(1589), to Mirzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, to whom the Ḥakīm had recommended him, and from whom he was already receiving considerable grants of money every year. The Khān Khānān treated him with great kindness and consideration. Finally, the Emperor (Akbar) took 'Urfi in to his own service but he died soon after in Lāhore, at the age of 35 or 36, on the 18th Amurdad (= Shawwāl) 999 (August 1591), of dysentery, or, as later writers say, of poison. He was buried in Lāhore, but thirty (lunar) years after his burial his bones were sent by Mir Šābir of Ispahān, vizier of I'timād al-Dawla (father of Nūr Djahān), to Nadjaf, where they were reburied.

'Urfi's contemporaries describe him as a conceited and arrogant person and the fact is borne out by many disparaging remarks which his *diwān* contains about great Persian poets. As a poet, however, he enjoyed great popularity in his time in India, and outside India, though his early death prevented his genius from developing fully. He was praised as the inventor of a new style of poetry, some of the outstanding features of which were a forceful diction, coining of new and original expressions, the continuity of topics, and freshness and novelty of metaphors and comparisons. In *ghazal* his chief merit lies in his giving a poetical expression to philosophic ideas and lofty ideals but his fame rests mainly on his *qaṣidas*. In the following centuries 'Urfi suffered somewhat in popularity, especially in his own country, where Ādhar condemned his excessive use of similes (see *Ātash-Kada*, Bombay 1277, p. 276), and more recently Riḍā-Kulī Khān indicated that his style was not to the taste of that writer's contemporaries (*Maḍjma' al-Fuṣaḥā'* ii. 24).

'Urfi published his first *diwān* in 996 (1587—1588), which comprised 26 *qaṣidas*, 270 *ghazals*, and *kiṭ'as* and *rubā'is* containing 700 *bāits* ("320 of the former and 380 of the latter"; cf. *Oude Cat.*, p. 529). In 1026 (1617) Sirāḍja-i Iṣfahānī edited a *Kulliyāt* of 'Urfi (14,000 *bāits*) from the MSS. which the poet had sent from his death-bed to the Khān Khānān. For Nāzīm Tabrizi's claim to have edited these after 1033 (1617) see Maykhāna, *Hawāshī*, p. 102. The *Kulliyāt* included, beside the poems of the kind comprised in the first *diwān*, some *mathnawīs* (viz. *Maḍjma' al-Akbār*, *Farḥād wa-Šāhīn* and a *Sakīnāme*). Apparently Sirāḍja's edition had a preface from the pen of Mullā 'Abd al-Bākī Nahāwandī. 'Urfi also has a short prose treatise called *Nafsiya*. Several commentaries on his *qaṣidas* exist in Persian and Turkish (see *Bānkīpūr Catalogue*, ii. 198 *sqq.*). His *diwān* has been frequently lithographed in India. An English translation of his *qaṣidas* was published in Calcutta 1887.

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cutta 1869, i. 241; *Mir'āt al-Khayāl* (Lāhore MS., transcribed in 1111), fol. 56^b; Khushgo, *Safina* (Punjab Univ. Lib. MS.), fol. 61^a *sqq.*; *Khiṣāna-i 'Āmira*, Cawnpur 1871, p. 318; *Shī'r al-Adjam*, Lāhore 1924, iii. 73—119; Agha Saiyid Muḥammad 'Alī, *Shī'r wa-Šā'ir-i 'Urfī*, Haidarābād 1345; do., *Islamic Culture*, Haidarābād 1929, iii. 96—125; Sprenger, *Oude Catalogue*, Calcutta 1854, p. 528; Rieu, *Cat. Brit. Mus. Persian MSS.*, ii. 667; *Suppl.*, Nrs. 310, 311; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 127, 129; iii. 247, 260; *Bānkīpūr Cat. of Persian and Arabic MSS.*, Calcutta 1910, ii. 189; Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, iv. 241 *sqq.*; M. A. Ghānī, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, Allāhābād 1930, iii. 103 *sqq.*

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

URGENČ. [See KHWĀRIZM.]

URMIYA, a district and town in the Persian province of Ādharbājdjān.

The name. The Syrians write Urmiyā, the Armenians Ormi, the Arabs Urmiya, the Persians Urūmī, the Turks Urūmiye or Rūmiye (through a fanciful derivation from Rūm "Byzantium, Turkey"). The name is of uncertain, non-Iranian origin. Assyrian sources mention a place called Urmeiate in the land of Mann in the vicinity of the Lake of Urmiya (cf. Streck, in *Z.A.*, xiv. 140; Belck, *Das Reich der Mannäer, in Verhändl. d. Berl. Gesell. f. Anthrop.*, 1894, and Minorsky, *Kelashin* etc., in *Zap.*, xxiv. [1917], 170). On the other hand, the name is unknown to the classical geographers and to the *Avesta* and Pahlavi sources (cf. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 87). It is also unknown to Armenian geography of the viith century (cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*); this in spite of the fact that late Zoroastrian tradition early recorded by the Arabs (cf. Balādhuri, p. 331; Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119) placed the birthplace of Zoroaster at Urmiya.

Geography. The district of Urmiya is bounded on the east by the Lake of Urmiya and in the west by the mountain range which runs north and south and separates Persia from Turkey. In the north it is bounded by the transversal range (Shāh-Bāzīd—Awghān-dagh) which separates it from Salmas [q. v.]. To the south Urmiya is bounded by the valley of the Gadir, the upper course of which belongs to Ushnū [q. v.] and the lower waters the Suldūz [q. v.] valleys. Urmiya is about 80 miles from N. to S. and 35 from E. to W.

The district of Urmiya consists of plain and mountains. The rivers that water it and which flow from W. to E. are:

1. the Barāndūz which unites the waters of the district of Mārgāvár and then runs through the gorge of Nergi into the plain which it runs round on the south side. On the right (south) bank the Barāndūz receives the Qāsimlu which runs through the little Dāshtabel. The mountains of Māh separate the eastern Dāshtabel from the Dol. This last district lies in the shape of a horse-shoe on the S. W. shore of the lake (to the north of Suldūz).

2. the Barde-Sūr (= Kurd. "Red Stone") runs out of the gorge of Bēdkār (belonging to Turkey), through the mountainous region of Dāsht, which belongs to Urmiya and then through the pass of Bānd into the plain and through the town of Urmiya, whence its other name, Shāhār-čai, "the river of the town".

3. the Rouzā (Rawḍa)-čai drains the hilly district of Tārgāvār and before reaching the lake has been used up by irrigation canals.

4. the Nāzlu-čai is made up of a number of streams of which the southern rises in the Turkish district of Deiri (where the monastery of Mar-Bisho is) and below the village of Arzin runs through the northern part of Tārgāvār (where on the right bank it is joined by the Mawāna); the middle one comes out of the gorge of Bažirga (Turk.) and near the village of Sērō enters the Persian district of Brādošt; the northern stream is that of the district of the Somai [q. v.] which belongs to Salmas. The waters of these three join at the foot of Mount Māndjāl-sār (in Kurdish = "pot on the head") and from the fort of Ismā'il Khān Shakkāk [q. v.] the river formed by their union flows through the northern part of the plain. On the north of its left bank on the slope of the Awghan-dagh is the district of Anzal.

The lake of Urmiya lies at a height of 4,245 feet above sea-level, the town of Urmiya 4,390 feet; the heights of the outer spurs are: 4,780, 7,330, 8,395, and that of the frontier range is 11,220, 11,542, 11,830 feet.

The abundant water-supply renders the alluvial plain of Urmiya extremely fertile. The villages are buried in verdure. In the mountain districts the agriculture is dependent on the rains. The natural conditions there are very favourable for the breeding of sheep.

Archaeology. Several tells in the vicinity of the town (Gök-tāpā, Degala, Tarmani, Aḥmad, Saralan, Dizā-tāpā) have already produced objects of great antiquity (cf. Virchow, *Fundstücke aus Grabhügeln bei Urmia*, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, xxxii., 1900, p. 609—612; Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 90—98; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i. 276). In 1888 in a vaulted chamber discovered at Gök-tāpā at a depth of 25 feet was found a cylindrical seal representing the Babylonian gods. W. H. Ward, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.*, vi., 1890, p. 286—291 and Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien z. älter. Gesch. Armeniens*, 1907, p. 8—12, date it c. 2000 B. C. If Urmiya is the ancient Urmeiate it must have been included in the land of the Mannaeans (Minni of Jeremiah, lii. 27), exposed to the invasions of the Assyrians as well as to the influence of the kingdom of Wan (Uratu); cf. the rock chambers at Nergi and Kaḷ'a Ismā'il-khān which have a Vannic character; cf. Minorsky, in *Zap.*, xxiv., p. 188—191. [There seems to be a third chamber on Mount Kotul at Brādošt].

The assonance of the two names had suggested to d'Anville the identity of Urmiya with *Θυβαρμαίς* where stood the great fire-temple and which was burned by Heraclius in 623. But it is strange to find Thebarmāis on the road which Khusrav Parwēz took to go to Dastagerd (cf. Ritter's remarks, *Erdkunde*, ix. 942). According to the text of Theophanes, restored by de Boor, i. 308, ii. 190, 619, Thebarmāis was situated to the east ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ, evidently with reference to Gazaka. Since Rawlinson, the latter place has been located at Takht-i Sulaimān [cf. SHIZ]. De Boor connects Thebarmāis with Bitharmāis, Berthemais, and Bermāis mentioned by several classical authors.

Muslim period. Urmiya was conquered by Ṣadaqa b. 'Alī, a client of the 'Azd, who built several castles there (Balādhuri, p. 331—332); according to another story, the town was taken

by 'Utba b. Farḳad whom the caliph 'Omar had sent in 20 (640) to conquer the district of Mawṣil.

The geographers of the ninth century (Iṣṭakhri, p. 181; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 239) give Urmiya the third place among the towns of Ādharbāidjān (next to Ardabil and Marāgha) and emphasise its wealth in water, pasture and fruits. Muḳaddasī, p. 51, puts Urmiya in Armenia and says it is governed from Dwin. At this period Urmiya was on the great road Ardabil—Marāgha—Urmiya—Barkīr (to the N. E. of the lake of Wan)—Āmid (Muḳaddasī, p. 302). As Tabriz [q. v.] was not yet of any importance, the road made a detour to the south to serve the principal towns. It is possible that the presence of unsubdued elements in the north of Ādharbāidjān (cf. the name of the lake Buḥairat al-Shurāt and the history of Bābak) also influenced this deviation of the road towards the south.

The district of Urmiya, being inhabited by Kurds and Christians has never played a great part in Muslim history. It was a remote fief in which the offshoots of the dynasties that reigned in Ādharbāidjān lived in isolation.

In the period of Dailamī domination in Ādharbāidjān we find in Urmiya a certain Djastān b. Sharmazan. This general had begun in 342 (953) as a devoted partisan of the Kurd Daisam [cf. KURDS]. Later won over by the Dailamis, he became governor of Armenia under Marzubān. When Djastān succeeded his father Marzubān in 346, Djastān b. Sharmazan did not recognise his suzerainty. At first he left Urmiya to throw in his lot with Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān for whom he conquered Marāgha. He later left him to return to Urmiya which he surrounded with walls; he also built a strong fortress there. He then entered the service of the claimant to the caliphate Mustadjir bi'llāh and had the support of the Kaḥṭānī Kurds. But the sons of Marzubān (Djastān and Ibrāhīm) defeated him with the help of the Hadhbānī Kurds. In 349 at the instigation of Wahsūdān, brother of Marzubān, he inflicted a defeat on Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, captured the remnants of his army and annexed Marāgha to Urmiya. In 355 through the mediation of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, he again recognised the authority of Ibrāhīm (Ibn Miskawī, *Taḏjārīb*, ed. Amedroz, ii. 150, 167, 177—178, 180, 219, 229 and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii. 395).

When the Ghuzz invaded Ādharbāidjān in 420—432, the lord of Urmiya was a certain Abu'l-Hidjā b. Rabīb al-Dawla, chief of the Hadhbānī Kurds, whose mother was the sister of the prince of Tabriz, Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī [cf. TABRIZ and MARĀGHA]. This son of Rabīb al-Dawla boasted of having destroyed near a bridge 25,000 Ghuzz of the 30,000 who were trying to cross his territory (in 432?); cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 271.

In Muḥarram of 455 (1063) Sultān Tughril passed through Urmiya (al-Bundārī, p. 25). When Sultān Mas'ūd returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāidjān (in 526?), the amir Ḥadḡīb Tatar had fortified himself in Urmiya but later he submitted to the Sultān (*ibid.*, p. 165). In 544 (1149) Urmiya belonged to Malik Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, nephew and son-in-law of Sultān Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh (*Rāḥat al-Sudūr*, *G. M. S.*, p. 244). When the last Saldjūk Tughril quarrelled with his uncle, the Ildegizid Kizil Arslān, Tughril had the support of the amir Ḥasan b. Kifdjāk and with him laid siege to

Urmiya in 585. The town was taken by storm, sacked and destroyed (Bundārī, p. 302). From the same Saldjūk period must date the building of Se-Gunbadān, on which Khanykov read the name of Abū Mansūr b. Mūsā and the date 580 (1184).

In 602, the Atābeg of Tabriz Abū Bakr gave Ushnū (*sic!* for Ustuwā) and Urmiya to the Atābeg of Marāgha [q. v.] 'Alā' al-Dīn to recompense him for the loss of Marāgha (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 157). Yāqūt who visited Urmiya in 617 speaks of its lack of security on account of the weakness of its ruler, the Ildegizid Özbek b. Pahlawān.

During the rule in Ādharbāidjān of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn, Urmiya, Salmās and Khoi formed the personal appanage of the Saldjūk princess whom Djalāl al-Dīn had carried off from her first husband the Ildegizid Özbek. In 623 the Iwā'ī Turkomans seized Urmiya and levied *kharaḍj*. On the complaint of the princess his wife, Djalāl al-Dīn sent troops who defeated the Turkomans (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 301). Later Urmiya was given to Boghdi, a former slave of the Ildegizid Özbek; cf. Nasawi, ed. Houdas, p. 118, 153, 165.

On the other hand, according to Djuwainī, ii. 160, 184, the Georgian generals Shalwa and Iwane, taken prisoners in the battle of Karbi (622 = 1225) and at first treated with honour by Djalāl al-Dīn, were given for a short time Marand, Salmās, Urmiya and Ushnū. In 628 (1230–1231) the Khwārizmshāh when hard pressed by the Mongols spent the winter in the region of Urmiya-Ushnū (cf. Abu 'l-Farajī, ed. Pococke, p. 470; Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 32). His stay there may explain the story of the building by the Khwārizmshāh of the Se-Gunbadān (cf. above) and even of his burial at Urmiya; cf. Bittner, p. 75; Hörnle, p. 488.

According to Khanykov, the cathedral mosque of Urmiya bears the date 676 (1277) [reign of the Ilkhān Abagha].

Timūr. According to the local chronicle (Nikitine), Timūr had given Urmiya as a fief to Gurgīn-beg of the Afshar tribe, who established himself in the fortress of Torpakh (= Toprak)-Kāl'a, a quarter of a farsakh from the town of Urmiya. The *Zafar-nāme*, however (i. 424), mentions as governor a certain Tīzak (?) whose rights were confirmed by Timūr in 789 (1307).

The Brādōst. According to the 'Ālam-ārā, p. 559, in the time of Shāh Tāhmāsp the great amīrs were governors at Urmiya while the Kurd Kara Tādj of the Brādōst tribe who had been made *shāhisevūn* was given the districts of Tārgāvār and Mārgāvār. In 1012 (1603) Shāh 'Abbās to reward the loyalty of Amīr-Khān Brādōst, who had not submitted to the Ottomans, gave him Urmiya and Ushnū. But Amīr-Khān under the pretext that the fortress of Urmiya was dilapidated made his stronghold at Dimdim (to the south of Urmiya at the mouth of the river Kāsimlu in the Barāndus) and became suspected. Dimdim was taken in 1019 (1610) and the district (*ölğā*) of Urmiya given to Kāban-Khān Bagdālī. The Brādōst, by a stratagem, recaptured Dimdim after which Budak-Khān Pornak (of Tabriz) was appointed in place of Kāban-Khān and later Aka-Khān Muqaddam (of Marāgha). In the list of the great dignitaries of the kingdom, however, the same source (p. 762) mentions as governor of Urmiya Kalb-'Alī Sultān, son of Kāsim-Khān of the Imanlu clan of the Afshar tribe.

Conversions to the Shī'a (cf. above) under the

Šafawids seemed to have been of an isolated character among the natives of the region of Urmiya where to this day the Kurds and a few villages (Balow) are still Sunnī. The influence of the Sunnī Naqshibandī *shāikh*s may be judged from the fact that in 1639 Sultān Murād executed in Diyārbakr the *shāikh* Maḥmūd of Urmiya who had 30–40,000 partisans. His ancestors were also *shāikh*s of Urmiya; cf. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.* 2, iii. 187; cf. *Djihān-numā*, p. 385.

Ewliyā Ālebi. For the year 1065 (1655) we have the very detailed account of Ewliyā Ālebi (iv. 271–318) who had gone from Wan to Urmiya to recover the flocks of sheep which the Khān of Urmiya (whose name is not mentioned) and 20 other khāns had carried off from the Kurd tribe of Pinyānīsh. Unfortunately Ewliyā's itinerary and story are very confused.

According to him, the founder of the fortress was Ghazan in 694 (1295); it was enlarged by Shāh Tāhmāsp in 930 (1524). At the Turkish conquest in the reign of Sultān Sulaimān Urmiya was fortified by the Pāshās Sulaimān and Dja'far. The usual name of the fortress is Toprak-Kāl'a but the Persian (?) historians call it Surtlay-Ghazan. The fortress the walls of which were covered with plaster looked "like a white swan". Its circumference was 10,000 paces, the walls were 70 *dhirā'* high and 30 *dhirā'* wide; the ditch was 80 *dhirā'* wide and 15,000 paces round. During the night the walls were lit by torches. The garrison consisted of 4,000 men and 310 (?) guns. The Khān had at his disposal 15,000 soldiers and 20,000 *nūker*.

The town was a gunshot from the fortress. It had 60 quarters, 6,000 houses and 8 cathedral mosques, among which was that of Uzun Hasan, which was finished under his son Sultān Ya'qūb. In the plain of Urmiya (*ölğā*) there were 150 villages with 300,000 peasants.

Ewliyā Ālebi says the town was exceedingly prosperous and gives a list of its sanctuaries (Hazret Koēgha Sultān), its medreses, schools, cafés, fixed prices (*nirkh-i Shāikh Sāfi*).

The Afshars. In the xviiith century the fate of Urmiya was closely bound up with the fortunes of the Afshars settled in the plain (cf. above). Their chief bore the title *beglār begi*. The best known among them are (Nikitine):

Khudādād Beg Kāsimlu 1119–1134 (1707–1722)
Fath 'Alī Khān Areshlu 1157–1172 (1744–1758)
Ridā Kulī Khān 1182–1185 (1768–1771)
Imām Kulī Khān 1186–1197 (1772–1783)
Muhammad Kulī Khān 1198–1211 (1784–1796)
Husain Kulī Khān Kāsimlu 1211–1236 (1796–1821)
Nadja' Kulī Khān 1236–1282 (1820–1865) [cf. Fraser, i. 56].

These chiefs were continually fighting with their neighbours (in the north, the Dumbuli of Khoi, in the south, the Zarzā and Mukri Kurds) and in troubled times, so frequent in the xviiith century, they even led expeditions to the east of the Lake of Urmiya.

During the campaign of 1724, the Ottomans employed the Hekkārī Kurds to ward off the Afshars who were threatening the provisioning of the army. When in 1725, the Turks organised the administration of the country, the Khānate of Urmiya was recognised as hereditary in the family of Kāsimlu (Afshar?). In 1729 Nadir recaptured from the Turks Marāgha, Sa'udj-bulak

and Dimdim (cf. *Histoire de Nadir*, transl. Jones, p. 104), but in 1731 the Hekīm-oghlu Pāshās 'Alī and Rustam seized Urmiya after a desperate resistance which lasted a month. Urmiya was entrusted to the Hekkārī chief Binānīshin (cf. v. Hammer, iv. 225, 228, 279). It was only by the treaty of 1736 that the Turks were put out of Ādharbāidjān.

Āzād-Khān. After the disappearance of the Nādirid Ibrāhīm-Shāh (in 1161 = 1748), one of his generals, Āzād-Khān, a descendant of an Afghan chief, retired first of all to Shahrāzur and then taking advantage of the troubles among the Afshar, seized Urmiya where he was favourably received by Fath 'Alī Khān. Urmiya became the capital of the ephemeral principality of Āzād. The mountain name Awghan-dagh to the north of Urmiya seems to preserve the memory of Afghan rule.

The Kādījārs. In 1169, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Kādījār having defeated Āzād in Gilān, seized Urmiya. Fath 'Alī Khān Afshar joined Muḥammad Ḥasan. On the latter's death Fath 'Alī Khān reappeared on the scene and from Urmiya captured Marāgha and Tabriz. In the winter of 1173 (1759) he was besieged in the latter town by Karīm Khān Zand and in the following year, after the battle of Qara-Cimān (near Miyāna), Ādharbāidjān passed into the power of Karīm Khān. Urmiya was taken after a siege of seven months. Fath 'Alī went into *bast* in the stables of Karīm Khān (cf. the *Tārīkh-i Giti-Gushā* of Šādiḳ Nāmī for these years). After the end of the Zand dynasty, the Afshar of Urmiya with the Shaḳaḳ [q. v.] of Sarāb and the Dumbulī of Khoi formed a coalition against the Kādījārs but had no success. Fath 'Alī Shāh had Muḥammad Qulī Khān put to death but married the sister of Ḥusain Qulī Khān Afshar (Fraser, i. 55), whose sons were the first governors of Urmiya to be appointed by the central government in Teherān.

In 1828 in the course of the Russo-Persian war, Urmiya was occupied for several months by Russian troops. In the absence of the governor (the prince Malik Kāsim Mirzā), the town was ruled by the *beglār-begi* Nadjaf-Qulī Khān Afshar (cf. Gangeblov, *op. cit.*).

Uḡbaidullāh. In 1880 the Shaikh Uḡbaidullāh of Shāmdinān [q. v.] invaded Ādharbāidjān. Urmiya was besieged by the Kurds and was about to surrender when the arrival of the Khān of Mākū [q. v.] saved it.

Turkish occupation. In August 1906, after the reverses suffered by Russia in the Far East, Turkey under the pretext that the Turco-Persian frontier had never been settled, occupied the district of Urmiya except the enclave of the town (cf. Nicolas, *op. cit.*). The Turkish troops were recalled at the beginning of the Balkan war. After the incidents at Tabriz [q. v.] in Dec. 1911, Urmiya was occupied by Russian troops. During the world war Urmiya changed hands several times. As early as Oct. 9–12, 1914, it suffered the first attack from Turks and Kurds. The town was vacated by the Russians on Jan. 2, 1915, occupied by the Turks from Jan. 4–May 20 and retaken by the Russians on May 24. As a result of the break up of the Russian army in 1917, the actual authority in the town passed into the hands of the council of "Assyrian" Christians (*mutwa*). After a series of tragic and bloody events (massacre of the Muslims of Urmiya by the Christians on Feb. 22, 1918, the assassination of the patriarch Mār Shimūn by followers of the Kurd chief Simko on Feb. 25,

the arrival of 20,000 Armenian refugees from Wan, fights between Assyrians and Turks), all the Assyrian population collected in the plain of Urmiya and to the number of 50–70,000 set out for the south to put themselves under British protection (end of July–beginning of August). This exodus with women, children and cattle took place via Sa'in-Kal'a and Hamadān in the midst of fighting with Turkish troops and the Kurds. The refugees were settled at Ba'kūba to the north of Baghdād (cf. Rockwell, Caujole, Wigram, Shklowski, *op. cit.*). After the departure of the "Assyrians", the Catholic Bishop Mgr. Sontag and the Baptist missionary H. Pflaumer were killed at Urmiya on Aug. 1, 1918.

The peace found Urmiya in ruins and depopulated. Only gradually was the central government able to reassert its authority in the west of the Lake of Urmiya.

Population. We have given above the figure, probably exaggerated, given by Ewliyā Ćelebi (in 1655). At the beginning of the xixth century there were at Urmiya 6–7,000 households of which 100 were Christian, 300 Jewish and the remainder Shī'ī Muslims (Persian memoir published by Bittner). According to Fraser (1821), there were 20,000 inhabitants at Urmiya. According to Hörnle (1835), the population consisted of 7–8,000 families of whom the majority were Sunnis (?), 300 Jews and 100 Nestorians. In 1872 Arsanis reckoned 8,000 houses with 40,000 inhabitants. In 1900 (Maximović) the total population of the province was put at 300,000 among whom the Christians numbered 45 0/0, of whom 40,000 were Nestorians, 30,000 Orthodox, 3,000 Catholics and 3,000 Protestants, and 50,000 (?) Armenians. The town had 3,500 houses. During the world war Dr. Caujole reckoned 30,000 inhabitants at Urmiya, of whom a quarter were Assyrians, and 1,000 Jews occupied a special quarter. Nikitine (*Ethnographie*, 1926, p. 25) enumerates 37 villages in the plain of Urmiya, inhabited by the Christians only and 59 with a mixed population.

We do not know at what period the Aramaean Christians ("Syrians") who since the war have called themselves "Assyrians" appeared in Urmiya. The town is not given in the oldest lists of the eastern dioceses (Guidi, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1889 and Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*). Assemani, ii. 449 and 453, notes the presence of Nestorian bishops at Urmiya in 1111 and 1289. According to the same author, the Nestorian patriarch settled at Urmiya in 1582 (*ibid.*, iii/i. 621). In a document of 1653 the Chaldaean (Uniate) patriarch Simon (writing to Rome from Khosrowa in Salmas) gives a list of his congregations in Salmas, Arna (?), Saphtan (?), Targāwār, Urmiya, Anzal (district N. E. of Urmiya), Suldūz, Ashnokh (Ushnū); cf. *ibid.*, iii/i. 622 and Perkins, *Residence*, p. 9; Nöldeke, *Grammatik d. neusyrischen Sprache am Urmia-See und in Kurdistan*, Leipzig 1868, p. xxiii. and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 204.

The first American missionaries of the "Mission of the Nestorians" (Perkins, A. Grant) settled at Urmiya in 1835. The Lazarists followed them in 1840 and a Catholic bishop was appointed to Urmiya. In 1859 the Americans organised an evangelical community in Urmiya. Towards the end of the century, Anglican missionaries were sent to Urmiya by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1900, an important Russian Orthodox mission began its

activity among the Christians; it was dissolved however by the Perso-Soviet treaty of Feb. 28, 1921.

Bibliography: given in the text; cf. also *Hudūd al-ʿAlam*, ed. Barthold, 1930, fol. 32b, Armana = Urmiya, a large, prosperous and agreeable town; Kazwini, p. 194; Yāqūt, i. 219, 513; Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī, *G.M.S.*, p. 80, 85, 241; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, *Ḍihān-numā*, p. 385 and the map of the country round the lake. On a manuscript list of the villages of Urmiya, *Nuskhā-yi Khānawār wa-Asāmī-yi Wilāyat-i Urūmī*, see Dorn, *Die Sammlung... welche die Kaiserl. Akademie im Jahre 1814 von Herrn v. Chanykow erworben hat*, St.-Petersburg 1865, p. 32, N^o. 113; M. Bittner, *Der Kurdegau Uschnūje und die Stadt Urūmīje, in Sitzungsab. Akad. Wien, phil.-hist. Classe*, cxxxiii./3, 1896, p. 1—97 (text and translation of a Persian memoir completed at the beginning of the sixteenth century with historical and geographical commentary); Sanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mirʾāt al-Buldān*, i., 1294, s. v. *Urmiya*; Nikitine (former Russian consul at Urmiya), *Les Afšars d'Urumīyeh*, in *J. A.*, January-March 1929, p. 67—123, résumé of a Persian memoir prepared in 1917 [perhaps from the *Tārīkh-i Urūmīya* of which a MS. was in the possession of the notable of Urmiya Madjd al-Saltāna in 1910].

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The Lake of Urmiya. The lake is about 90 miles long (N.—S.) and 35 broad (E.—W.). Its area is 2,230 sq. miles and the area drained by its tributaries is 20,265 sq. miles.

The most important rivers flowing into the Lake are: in the east, the Adjī-čai "bitter river", which waters Sarāb and Tabriz; the Sofī-čai and Mürdi-čai which flow from the S. W. face of Mount Sahand [cf. MARĀGHA]; in the south, Dīaghātū, Tatawū and Sawdī-Bulāk [q. v.]; to the south-west, the Gādir [cf. SULDUS and UŠNU]; in the west, the

rivers of Urmiya (cf. above) and Salmas [q. v.]. In the north, the mountain of Meshow overshadows the narrow strip of the northern shore [cf. TAsUDJ and TABRİZ].

In the southern half of the Lake are several inhabited islands. Much more important is the mountainous peninsula of Shāhī (Shāhā, Shāhū) which is now separated from the eastern shore by a channel crossed at a ford.

In the Assyrian records, the "upper eastern lake" seems to correspond to the Lake of Urmiya. Streck, in *Z. A.*, xv. 263, thinks he can identify the latter as the "sea" mentioned by the Assyrians near the Mazamūa country; but this "sea" may be Lake Zaribār. In the account of the eighth campaign of Sargon (714 B. C.; ed. Thureau-Dangin, [Paris 1912], the name of the lake is not mentioned.

Strabo, xi., ch. xiii., calls the Lake Σπαῦρα (emended by St. Martin to Καπαῦρα = Kapōt "blue") and xi., ch. xiv., Μαυρία. Ptolemy, vi., ch. ii., calls it Μαργαρινή (*Μαυριανή?; cf. MARĀGHA). As a rule, the name Mantiane is connected with that of the Matienoi people in whose country Herodotos (i. 189, 202; v. 52) makes the Araxes (?) rise and the Gyndes (Diyālā). Marquart (*Süd-armenien*, 1930, p. 431) thinks he can identify these Matienoi (or Mantianoi) with the Mannaeans (Mana, Mannai; cf. above). Perhaps Mantiana should be connected with the name Manda which from the earliest times was applied to Indo-Europeans; cf. Reinach, *Les Matienes*, in *Revue des études grecques*, vii., 1894, p. 313—318; Forrer, *Die Inschriften d. Hatti Reiches*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1922, p. 174—269, and Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, II/i., 2nd edition, p. 35, note 3.

The *Avesta* knows the lake by the name of Čaēčasta "deep lake with salt waters". Bartholomae, *Altir. Wört.*, col. 575, interprets the name as "shining white" (*weiss-schimmernd*). On its banks Kawi Haosrawah slew the Turanian Frañrasiyān (Yasht, ix. 18 etc.). According to the *Bundahish*, xvii. 7, transl. West, the same Kai Khusrāw destroyed the temple of idols near the Lake Čēčast (cf. the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, ii. 441, where Khandjast خنبدست should be emended to Čēčast

چیدست). From the name Čaēčasta must come the Arabic name of the sanctuary Shiz (= Gaznā, Ganza) to the south of the lake, identified by Rawlinson with Takht-i Sulaimān. [As Hoffmann has already pointed out (*Auszüge*, p. 252) Lailān is perhaps a better identification of the site of Shiz].

Another old name which was applied to the Lake is Kapōtān "blue" (cf. above). The Armenian geography of the viith century gives Kaputan; cf. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 137 and Ibn Hawkal, p. 237: Kabūdhan.

Iṣṭakhri, p. 181, calls the Lake Buḥairat al-Shurāt, "the Lake of the Khāridjis", but more often it bears the name of adjoining towns: Urmiya, Shāhī, Tasudj [q. v.].

The name Shāhī (Shāhā) although only found late, is connected with the old fortress which stood on the peninsula to the N. E. of the lake. The fortress of Shāhī is known to Ṭabari, iii. 1171 and 1379 (under 200 = 815). It is mentioned in the time of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn (Nasawi, p. 157). It was at Shāhī that the first Mongol

Ikhāns Hūlagū and Abaka were buried (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 416; Hāfiẓ Abrū quoted in Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 161; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 340). Abu 'l-Fidā' calls the Lake Buḥairat Talā. It is not clear if Talā = Shāhī. The Persian translation of Iṣṭakhri (cf. de Goeje in Ibn Hawkal, p. 247, note m) seems to distinguish between the two names, and the fortress of Talā mentioned by Nasawī, p. 153—154 (cf. Yāqūt, iii. 541 who takes Talā to be a Persian word) would seem rather to be connected with the west bank. In this case, it should be sought at Güwercin-Kal'a on a cliff which rises above the lake on the Salmās shore; cf. Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii. 593; Khanykov, in *Poyezdka, Vestnik Geogr. Obshch.*, 1852, vi. (Khanykov found at Güwercin-Kal'a the inscription of a certain Abū Naṣir [al-Naṣr?] Ḥusain Bahādūr Khān [should this Ḥasan be Uzun Ḥasan, whose title was exactly Abu 'l-Naṣr]), and Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i. 306—314.

On the other hand, it remains to be seen whether Güwercin-Kal'a is not identical with the stronghold of Yakkūr (or Bakdūr) which Ṭabari mentions along with Shāhī and which in turn may correspond to the mountain of Bakyr (which may be read Bakdūr; cf. *Bundahish*, xii. 2 and 20) where Afrāsiyāb (Frañrasiyan) took refuge. In the *Avesta*, Yasht v. 49; ix. 18, Khusrāw slays him "behind Lake Čaēčasta", which seems to indicate the region west of the Lake. [The later tradition puts the place of Afrāsiyāb's death in Arrān; cf. *Shāh-nāma* and especially Nasawī, *Sirat Djalāl al-Dīn*, p. 225; transl. p. 375].

The Arab geographers know that the salt waters of the Lake will not support organic life. According to Ṭabari, iii. 1380, the Lake does not contain fish or anything of value. Iṣṭakhri (p. 189) and Gharnaṭī (in Kāzwīnī, p. 194) alone affirm the contrary. The first talks of the "fish-animal" called "water-dog"; Gharnaṭī delights in wonderful stories, which are later repeated by Ewliyā Ćelebi.

Bibliography: More particularly on the lake and its geology: Quatremère in his edition of Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 316—320; Abich, *Vergleichende chem. Untersuchung d. Wässer d. Casp. Meeres, Urmia- und Wan-Sees*, in *Mém. Acad. de St. Pétersbourg, Sciences mathém.*, 1856, series vi., vol. vii., p. 1—57; Khanykov, *Notices physiques et géographiques sur l'Azerbaïdjan*, in *Bull. de la classe phys.-mathém. de l'Acad. de Russie*, xvi., 1858, p. 337—352 (analysis of the water, map of the islands, soundings); Pohlig, *Entstehungsgeschichte des Urmiasees*, in *Verhandl. Nat. Vereins*, Bonn 1886, p. 14; Rodler, *Der Urmia-See und d. nordwestl. Persien, in Schriften d. Vereins z. Verbreit. naturwiss. Kenntnisse*, Vienna, xxvii., 1886—1887, p. 535—575; Borne, *Der Fura am Ostufer des Urmiasees*, Halle 1891; Günther, *Contrib. to the geogr. of Lake Urmia*, in *Geogr. Journ.*, 1899, xiv. 504—521; Günther, *Contrib. to the natural history of Lake Urmia*, in *J. Linn. Soc., Zoology*, 1900, xxvii. 345—453 (with numerous contributions by specialists); Günther and Manley, *On the waters of the Salt of Lake of Urmia*, in *Proc. Royal Soc.*, vol. lxx., p. 312—318; Mecquenem, *Le lac d'Ourmiah*, in *Ann. Géogr.*, 1908, xvii. 128—144; E. Zugmayer, *Eine Reise durch Vorderasien* (1904), Berlin 1905 (Marāgha- the islands of the Lake of Urmia-Khoi); Beuck, *Der Urmiassee in Persien*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1916, lxii. 449 (note of no im-

portance); K. Kaehne, *Beitr. z. phys. Geographie des Urmia-Beckens*, in *Zeit. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1923, p. 104—131 (excellent study based on the Russian map, scale: 2 versts to the inch).

(V. MINORSKY)

URMU, a district in Ādharbā'idjān.

According to Balādhuri, p. 328, Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀs, sent to conquer Ādharbā'idjān, attacked the people of Mūkān and Gilān. A number of inhabitants of Ādharbā'idjān and Armenians who had gathered

in the nāhiya of Urm and at *بلوانكرج* *Balwānkaradj were defeated by one of Sa'īd's captains. The leader of the rebels was hanged on the walls of the fortress of Bā'djarwān (*Nuḥḥat al-Kulūb*, G.M.S., p. 181: Bā'djarwān was 20 farsakhs north of Ardabil).

Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119, mentions the citadel of Urm between al-Badhdh (a town of Bābak's on a river which flows into the Araxes above the river of Ardabil) and Balwānkaradj. Ibn al-Faḥih, p. 216, speaks of several districts (*rasāṭiḥ*) of Urm. Yāqūt, i. 216, mentions the region (*ṣuḥḥ*) of Urm but gives only an abridgment of Balādhuri.

The names mentioned by Balādhuri and by Ibn Khurdādhbih suggest a district in the N. E. of Ādharbā'idjān, perhaps in the Karadjā-dagh of the present day (the capital of which is Ahar and in the northern districts of which we find Armenians). [On the other hand, the element *Balwān could be connected with the name of the river *Balharū (Bolgaru) in Mūkān; q. v.].

(V. MINORSKY)

'URS, 'URUS (A., Pl. *ʿarūs* and *ʿurusāt*), originally the leading of the bride to her bridegroom, marriage, also the wedding feast simply; whence a denominal verb iv. *ʿarasa* "to celebrate a marriage". *ʿArūs* means both bridegroom and bride; in modern linguistic usage this term has however been supplanted by *ʿarīs* "bridegroom" and *ʿarūsa* "bride" (as early as the *1001 Nights*, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*). Two kinds of weddings have to be distinguished: *ʿurs* is the wedding performed in the tribe or the house of the man, and *ʿumra* is the wedding performed in the house or tribe of the woman (this distinction is already made by Ibn al-Aʿrābī [d. 231=845] in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi. 283; cf. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. *ʿ-m-r* and *ʿ-r-s*). The two forms agree for the most part in practice; they only differ in the choice of place for the main ceremonies and in the fact that in the *ʿumra* the *zaffa* of the bride is omitted.

a. "We learn little from the poems" says G. Jacob "of the wedding customs" of the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs. They seem to have been very simple in the Arabian Peninsula itself, as is still the case among the Beduins (cf. below). The pomp and display of later centuries, especially in the bridal procession, was probably unknown. The wedding lasted a week, whence it is also called *usbūʿ* (cf. *Aghānī*, xii. 145). The bride is adorned, perfumed and painted with *kuhl*. There is an old proverb which says: "The scene behind a bride cannot be concealed" (Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 48, 9; Maidānī, *Proverbia*, ed. Freytag, xxiii. 269). The bride is called "the conducted one" (cf. *ʿAntara*, xxvii. 1); she was therefore conducted to the bridegroom, usually by a number of women without any pomp, but very quietly and simply. This at least is indicated by the story of ʿUkail b. ʿUllafa who betrothed his daughter to the caliph Yazid I; he made it a condition that the caliph's people

should not come for his daughter but that he should bring her himself on a camel (*Aghānī*, xi. 90). Sometimes she was brought in a litter (*miṣaffa*) (cf. Djawhari, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v. *ṣ-f-f*), as is still the case in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 182). A special tent was always put up for the young couple. About the bridegroom there is an old proverb: "The bridegroom wants little to be an amir (or king)" (Djawhari, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v. *ʿ-r-s*; Maidānī, *Proverbia*, xii. 143).

In the lands adjoining Arabia on the other hand, weddings were celebrated with great splendour. Thus we are told (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xx. 23) of a Persian wedding in the ʿIrāk with a splendid bridal procession; similarly for Syria as early as I. Macc., ix. 37: . . . ποιοῦσιν γάμον μέγαν καὶ ἄγουσιν τὴν νύμφην . . . μετὰ παραπομπῆς μεγάλῃς. As late as the beginning of the third (ninth) century, we find a simple Beduin much surprised at a splendid wedding in North Syria (*Aghānī*, xii. 35 sq.), which shows that Syrian usages were foreign to the Arabs (cf. on the above section: Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arab. Sprache*, Bonn 1861, p. 203—204; Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in *N.G.W. Gött.*, 1893, p. 441 sq.; Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, p. 57—58).

b. The records in Tradition are on the whole in keeping with the simple usages of the Arab pagan period. ʿĀʾisha wore at her wedding with the Prophet a robe of red striped material which came from Bahrain (*dirʿ ḥiṭrin*; cf. Ibn al-Aʿthīr, *Nihāya*, s.v. *ḥ-t-r*) and "every woman in Medina, when dressing (for her *zifāf*), used to borrow it from her" (Bukhārī, *Hiba*, bāb 34). For Fāṭima's wedding with ʿAlī, ʿĀʾisha and Umm Salama made the preparations at home; they scattered soft dust from the Bathāʾ over the ground and filled two cushions with fibre (*zif*) and teased it out. They laid out dates and figs to eat and sweet-tasting water to drink; they also put up at one side of the room a stand for the clothes and the water-skin (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 24). Fāṭima's trousseau consisted of a silken robe with fringes (*ḥkamīl*), a water-skin (*ḥirba*) and a cushion filled with rushes (*idḥḥīr*) (Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 81). In another tradition the Prophet allows considerable expenditure on large carpets with fringes (*anmāt*) (Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 83). From numerous traditions (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 58, 64; *Tafsīr*, Sūra xxxiii., bāb 8; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 21, 24; Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 18, 77; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 196), it is evident that the bride was conducted by her mother and other female relatives to the house of the bridegroom. When the Prophet married ʿĀʾisha who was then six years old, she was brought by her mother Umm Rūmān to the Prophet's house; there women were awaiting her and greeted her with "For good, and bliss, and good fortune". The women then washed her hair and adorned her while the Prophet stood smiling by. She was then handed over by the women to the Prophet (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 69; cf. Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 58). Tradition gives no further details of the toilet; but the men seem also to have been perfumed; a perfume was used which left yellow stains (*ḥhalūḳ*, *ṣufra* or *zaʿfarān*), such as the Prophet noticed on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf still a few days after his wedding (according to Anas b. Malik in Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 7, 55, 57; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 79—81; Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 67, 75, 84; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 24; Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 22; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal,

iii. 165, 190, 204, 227, 271). According to a tradition transmitted by Abū Huraira the Prophet uttered the following blessings at weddings: *Bāraka 'llāhu lakum* (var. *laka*) *wa-bāraka 'alaikum* (var. *'alaika*) *wa-djama'a bainakumā ji* (var. *'alā*) *khairin* or instead of the third part: *wa-bāraka laka fihā* (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 23; Tirmidhi, *Nikāh*, bāb 7; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāh*, bāb 35; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 381; cf. i. 201; iii. 451; Nasā'i, *Nikāh*, bāb 73; Dārimi, *Nikāh*, bāb 6), while he forbade the wish from the period of the *Djahiliya bi 'l-rifa'* *wa 'l-banin* "in harmony and with sons!" (Nasā'i, *Nikāh*, bāb 73; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 23; Dārimi, *Nikāh*, bāb 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 201; iii. 451). The bride was conducted to the bridegroom by young girls who sang *ghazals*; two opening lines of such a *ghazal* are preserved: *Atainākum atainākum fa-haiyānā wa-haiyākum* "we come to you, we come to you, may (God) give us long life and give you long life" (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 21; cf. also Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 64) or *atainākum atainākum fa-haiyūnā nuhaiyikum* (so it should be read!) "We come to you, we come to you, then greet us, we greet you" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 78). The participation of women and children in the wedding ceremonies is according to Anas b. Mālik expressly approved by the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 76; *Manāsik al-Anṣār*, bāb 5). On these occasions young girls used to beat tambourines (*duff*) and sing of the death of the champions of Badr, which the Prophet is definitely said to have permitted (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 49; *Maghāzī*, bāb 12; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 20, 21; Tirmidhi, *Nikāh*, bāb 6; Nasā'i, *Nikāh*, bāb 72, 80; Ṭayālisi, N^o. 1221; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 418). Other instruments are mentioned, such as another variety of tambourine (*ghirbāl*; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 20) and the drum (*ṭabl*; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 21). The object of this music was to call public attention to the marriage (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 20; Tirmidhi, *Nikāh*, bāb 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 5). According to one tradition, the Prophet is even said to have forbidden marriages to be performed in complete quiet (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 78).

A wedding feast (*walīma* or *ṭa'am*) for the men was part of the wedding (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 69; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 359; Zaid, *Maqīmū*, N^o. 949; etc.). A feast is obligatory for the first day (*ḥakk*) and commendable for the second (*ma'rūf*; Tirmidhi regards it also as *sunna*), and on the third day ostentation (*sum'a wa-riyā'*, i. e. done in order that people may hear and see it) (Tirmidhi, *Nikāh*, bāb 10; Abū Dāwūd, *Aḥīma*, bāb 5; Dārimi, *Aḥīma*, bāb 28; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 25; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 28, 371). Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyab (according to Dārimi: the Prophet) is said to have accepted the invitation for the first two days, but refused that for the third (Abū Dāwūd, *Aḥīma*, bāb 5; Dārimi, *Aḥīma*, bāb 28). Bukhārī, in the super-scription to *Nikāh*, bāb 72, speaks of a week's feasting and says that the Prophet did not limit it to one or two days. The feast at the Prophet's wedding with Ṣafiya consisted of *ḥais*, a dish of dates, curds (*akīṭ*) and fat, to which according to some traditions was added meal of roasted barley (*sawīḥ*) (according to Anas b. Mālik in Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 13, 61, 69; *Buyū'*, bāb 111; *Djihād*, bāb 73; *Aḥīma*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 84, 87, 88; Nasā'i, *Nikāh*, bāb 79; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 99, 102, 159, 195, 264; according to another tradition, the Prophet used on this occasion another

1½ *mudd* of the best kind of dates (*'adjwa*) (according to Djābir b. 'Abd Allāh in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 333). At the Prophet's wedding with Zainab (according to Anas b. Mālik in Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 87, 89, 91, 92; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 98, 105, 172, 196, 200, 263) and at the wedding of Rabi'a al-Aslamī (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 58) bread and meat were given, which seems to have been usual along with *ḥais* as in some cases it is specially mentioned that there was no bread and meat (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 24; Mālik, *Nikāh*, bāb 48; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 99, 195, 264; Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 13, 61; Nasā'i, *Nikāh*, bāb 79). In other passages 2 *mudd* of barley is mentioned (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 71; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 113), a sheep and millet (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 359); but for the *walīma* at least a sheep should be slaughtered (according to Anas b. Mālik in Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 7, 55, 57, 69, 70; *Da'awāt*, bāb 54; *Adab*, bāb 67; *Buyū'*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 79—81, 90; etc.). Anas b. Mālik also records that his mother Umm Sulaim sent the Prophet a dish of dates (*ḥais*, see above) on the occasion of a marriage and that the Prophet offered it to his guests in groups of ten until they were satisfied (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 94, 95; Nasā'i, *Nikāh*, bāb 84). Sahl b. Sa'īd records that at the wedding of Abū Asyad al-Sa'īdī his bride offered the guests after the feast a beverage made by steeping dates (*naḳī'*), which she herself had prepared (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 72, 78, 79; *Ashriba*, bāb 7, 9); Bukhārī concludes from this that on the one hand non-intoxicating beverages are allowed at weddings and on the other that women may wait on the men at a wedding. — As a rule the traditions give no information about the time of the *walīma*. In the few passages which admit a definite time, the *walīma* took place after the bride had been taken to the bridegroom's house but before the wedding night (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xxxiii., bāb 8; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 196 and the other traditions about Zainab's wedding); but the *walīma* at Ṣafiya's wedding seems to have taken place next day, probably as a result of the special conditions, as the Prophet married her on the return of the expedition to Khaibar (Bukhārī, *Buyū'*, bāb 111; *Djihād*, bāb 73; Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 88; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 195 and the other traditions about this wedding; cf. however one tradition about Zainab's wedding in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 98, 105). — An invitation to a wedding feast ought always to be accepted (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 100, 101; Abū Dāwūd, *Aḥīma*, bāb 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 22). 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar used never to refuse an invitation even when he was fasting (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 78; Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 103; Dārimi, *Aḥīma*, bāb 40). People of all conditions, rich and poor, should be invited; in one tradition given by Abū Huraira, we read: "The wedding feast at which the rich eat and from which the poor are kept away is an evil feast" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 494). For further references see Wessink, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, s. v. *Walīma* and the article WALIMA.

The following two traditions presumably refer to the procedure in the bridal chamber: "If any one of you marry a woman... he shall take her by her forelock and pray (to God) for blessing (*baraka*)... and pray to God for refuge from the accursed Satan" (Mālik, *Nikāh*, bāb 52) and "If any one of you marry a woman... he shall say:

O God, I pray Thee for her good and for her good inclinations which Thou hast created, and I seek refuge with Thee from her evil and from her evil inclinations which Thou hast created" (Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 44). Umm Salama for her wedding night with the Prophet prepared a meal of barley and fat (*ʿaṣida*) (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 307). According to many traditions (Anas b. Mālik, among others), it is a *sunna* for the young husband to spend seven days and nights with his young wife if she is a virgin (*bikr*) and only three days and nights if she is not (*ṭhaiyib*); only after this does the regular rotation with the other wives begin (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 101, 102; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 33; Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 40; Muslim, *Raḍāʿ*, tr. 45; Zaid, *Madmūʿ*, N^o. 737; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 26; Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 15; on the Prophet's marriage with Ṣāfiya [who was *ṭhaiyib*]: Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 33; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 99; on the Prophet's marriage with Umm Salama [who was *ṭhaiyib*]: Muslim, *Raḍāʿ*, tr. 41—44; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 26; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 33; Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 14; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 292, 295, 307, 313, 320, 321 [this was done by her request; the Prophet had given her the choice between seven and three days]. According to another tradition, the young husband should only stay three days even with a virgin and only two with a bride who is not (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 178; Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 40).

As to the season of the year, the month of Shawwāl is expressly mentioned in Tradition as the month in which the Prophet celebrated his wedding with ʿĀʾisha (Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 18, 77; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 73; etc.).

c. In the Fīkh, the Mālikis pay special attention to wedding customs, since most of them are primarily intended to call public attention to the conclusion of the marriage. According to Mālik b. Anas as well as Ibn Abī Lailā (cf. Sarakhsī, *Mabṣūṭ*, v. 30) in contrast to other schools, making the wedding public (*ʿlān*) is a necessary condition for the validity of a marriage. Witnesses are not essential for the conclusion of a contract of marriage, although with the Mālikis it is usual to have them in practice; if the two witnesses were not present at the conclusion of the contract they must be present on the night of the wedding and for example push the bridegroom into the bridal chamber (Ḳairawānī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1338, p. 66; Khaliḥ, ii. 1459; Kāsānī, *Badʾiʿ al-Ṣanāʿiʿ*, Cairo 1327, ii. 252; Ibn Rushd [Averroes], *Bidāyat al-Mudjtahid*, Cairo 1349, ii. 16 where we already find witnesses mentioned among the essentials). On the same grounds of publicity, Khaliḥ (ii. 1) also recommends congratulations to the bridal pair. The doors of the house should therefore not be closed at the *walimat al-ʿurs* (Khaliḥ, ii. 117). This *walima* is considered praiseworthy (*mustaḥabb*) among the Mālikis, Ḥanafis and Ḥanbalis while the Shāfiʿis hold a stricter view: according to one view, it is *sunna muʾakkada*, according to the others, it is even *wājib* (cf. Shīrāzī, p. 205; Ghazālī, ii. 22; Nawawī, p. 90; Ardabili, ii. 94). According to Khaliḥ, it should be held the day after the wedding, according to other Mālikis, however, before, so that the wedding is only consummated after its public proclamation (Tidjānī, *Tuhfa*, p. 35). A wealthy man should kill at least a sheep, a poorer man provide as much as he can afford (Shīrāzī, Ardabili). To accept an invitation to a *walima* is according to the Ḥanafis

praiseworthy (*mustaḥabb*), among the Mālikis, Ḥanbalis and Shāfiʿis on the other hand a duty (*wājib*; Shāfiʿi, *Umm*, vi. 178 says: *ḥaḳḳ*). Among the Shāfiʿis it is praiseworthy to accept the invitation for the second day also; on the other hand, it is best to refuse it for the third day (Nawawī describes acceptance for the third day as *makrūh*). If the person invited is fasting, he should nevertheless accept the invitation; he need not however eat anything; it is best however if he breaks his fast unless he is pledged to observe it. If an intoxicated man is at the *walima* or wine or anything else forbidden, it is best to stay away; similarly if there are in the room representations of living creatures, even if one tramples on them (e.g. on carpets). According to Shīrāzī, one should also stay away from the *walima* where songs are sung, even if one does not listen to them and only pays attention to *ḥadīth* and eating. Music is on the other hand permitted to some extent — for example that of the tambourine (*duff*) already mentioned in tradition; Khaliḥ gives a list of permitted instruments: another kind of tambourine (*ghirbāl*), an older kind of lute (*mizhar* [cf. ʿUḍ]; cf. H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London 1929, p. 46—47), a kind of flute (*zumwāra*) and horns (*būḳ*).

The question is much discussed whether one should scatter among the crowd at weddings nuts, almonds, sweets (Ardabili also mentions dates, dirhams and dinārs). According to Dimishkī (ii. 76), Abū Ḥanifa and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal had no objections, while Mālik, Shāfiʿi and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in a second opinion declare the practice *makrūh*. The views of the later Shāfiʿis are however divided. Muzani recommends the omission of the practice, as the things would be hurriedly picked up as plunder by the people; it is not however forbidden except when the people fall upon one another and try to take the things from each other. Ghazālī allows the scattering of sweets, since it was done in the time of the Prophet [!], no reference in the canonical works; cf. above], and Nawawī and Ardabili, while regarding it as permitted, consider it better omitted. Shīrāzī on the other hand declares it *makrūh*.

Bibliography: cf. the articles NIKĀḤ and WALIMA; Shāfiʿi, K. *al-Umm*, Būlāḳ 1324, vi. 178; Muzani, *Mukhtaṣar*, on the margin of the preceding, iv. 39—41; Shīrāzī, *Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll, Leyden 1879, p. 205 sq.; Ghazālī, *Wadʿiyya*, Cairo 1318, ii. 22; Nawawī, *Minhādī*, Cairo 1329, p. 90; Ardabili, *Kitāb al-Anwār li-ʿAmāl al-Abrār*, Cairo 1328, ii. 94—96; Khaliḥ, *Mukhtaṣar*, transl. Santillana, Milan 1919, ii. 63 sqq.; Ibn Rushd, *Muḥaddimūt*, on the margin of the *Mudawwana al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, ii. 58; Shāʿrānī, *Mizān*, Cairo 1925, ii. 124; Dimishkī, *Rahmat al-Umma*, on the margin of the preceding, ii. 76; Tornaauw, *Das moslemische Recht*, Leipzig 1855, p. 70 sq.; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leyden 1910, p. 162 sqq.

d. Later usages down to the present day. For the older period we are dependent on occasional scattered notes; it is only with the literature of European travellers (from the xvth century), with the recording of texts in dialect and the systematic collection of folklore in recent decades (Westermarck for Morocco, Jaussen for Nablus etc.) that we have a wealth of material which it is almost impossible to deal with. These sources are however not all of equal value. On

the one hand, particularly with the earlier literature, we have first of all to investigate the trustworthiness of the traveller. To take a striking example: The Fleming van Ghistele who made a pilgrimage in 1481—1485, says (*Voyage*, Gent 1557, p. 15) that the bridal pair before the marriage contract is signed are put one in each of two adjoining rooms with an eyehole through which they can see one another naked. This is contradictory to Muslim ideas. (Cf. however the fact that some jurists like Da'ūd al-Zāhirī permit the man before marriage to see the whole of the woman's body except the pudenda; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, ii. 3; Dimishkī, *Rahma*, ii. 62). On the other hand, there are gaps in the records of the travellers; they only record what is done in the street or more or less publicly. Full accounts of the customs observed, as in Leo Africanus and Lane, are by no means numerous and can be supplemented for the earlier period by scattered references in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* and the popular romances.

Wedding customs are more or less distinct according to country. This is most clearly seen on the periphery of the Muslim world, for example in the Malay Archipelago, in Central Africa or among the Kirghiz and Turkomans. Here Islām has taken over old local customs and sometimes adapted them to its point of view. For the original lands of Islām however, the same observation can be made, except that the process was completed in the early centuries of Islām. In modern Syria and Egypt the customs among Muslims and Christians are almost identical except as regards purely ecclesiastical and religious matters (cf. the sketches in Littmann, *Neuarabische Volks poesie*; Jaussen, *Coutumes Palestiniennes*; Blackman, *The Fellāḥīn of Upper Egypt*, p. 93). This fact shows that we have to deal in this case with old customs of the nearer East, at any rate not with specifically Muslim practices. In this connection we may call attention to the already mentioned pompous pre-Islāmic practices in Syria and Mesopotamia. Pre-Islāmic origin can in some points be definitely proved. In many districts the Muslim bride wears a crown of flowers or of pasteboard (cf. below); in this I see the adoption of a practice of the Christian east where the crowning of the bride was and still is a part of the wedding ceremony. (This crowning is mentioned as early as a liturgical poem by Ephraim the Syrian in Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Würzburg 1864, ii. 443; in Barhebraeus, *ibid.*, ii. 385; among the Copts of the xiith century, *ibid.*, ii. 365; cf. also *ibid.*, ii. 391 sqq., 408 sqq., 433 sqq.). The carrying of lights in the bridal procession may also be of Christian origin (for the Copts of the xiith century, cf. Denzinger, *op. cit.*, ii. 364; cf. the carrying of lights in the Mawlid festival and its Christian origin, iii., p. 420). The ceremonies on the seventh day have also their parallels in the Christian liturgy of the East; on the seventh day the bridal crown is solemnly removed among the Copts (Denzinger, *op. cit.*, ii. 380).

From the point of view of method, it would be more correct to deal with wedding customs by regions. But this would take up too much space here. I shall therefore endeavour to give the most important customs in vogue in towns in the old lands of Islām and as far as possible to treat them historically. It should be noted in this connection that practices differ in different levels of society.

Therefore, three groups have at least to be distinguished: customs in the towns, among the fellāḥīn and among the Beduins. The two last named are essentially simpler and agree more with the old Arab practices than do those of the town-dwellers.

Among the Ruwala Beduins (Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Ruwala-Beduins*, New York 1928, p. 228 sqq.), a camel is killed on the morning of the wedding before the bridegroom's tent and its flesh distributed. In the course of the day the bride puts up her tent — the woman always brings it with her — and at night she is taken by a few female relations in all secrecy to this tent; soon afterwards the bridegroom enters the tent. There are no ceremonies, no singing or dancing, not even the usual zaghārit cries of the women. On the next morning the bridegroom goes to his relatives while the bride is visited by the women and congratulated; she then receives a gift from her father-in-law and remains for seven days in her tent while the bridegroom goes about his usual business. He must however spend seven nights with his young wife (cf. the traditions above quoted). Among other Beduin tribes in Arabia Petraea (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. 196 sqq.) the youths and maidens sing bridal songs and dance. Here as on the Sinai Peninsula (Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Beduinen*, Weimar 1831, p. 216—217) the bride runs away into the desert after the first night, sometimes for six days, sometimes even for longer and the husband must go to look for her.

Between these very simple practices of the Beduins and the highly developed rites of the town-dwellers numerous intermediate stages are to be found among the fellāḥīn, among whom we can observe the gradual advance of usages from the towns.

Let us now come to the towns. Weddings were celebrated with great pomp at the 'Abbāsīd court in Baghdād. In the sources, sums of 50 and 70 million dirhams are mentioned as having been expended by the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ma'mūn for their weddings. But the common people also on such occasions liked to appear wealthier than they really were. Even in early times, the coiffeuse used to lend ornaments to the bride (cf. the tradition above quoted about 'Ā'isha). The carpets, utensils etc. were also sometimes borrowed (Mez, *Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 404, 453).

As was mentioned early in the article, two kinds of weddings have to be distinguished: the 'urs and the 'umra. The 'urs seems to be the usual kind; at least it is almost exclusively the one that is described by travellers. We find the 'umra for example in the case of the wedding of the caliph Ma'mūn with Būrān (210 = 825; Tabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1081 sqq.); in Ibn al-Mudjāwir (d. 690 = 1291) in Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, 11/ii. 859 for Mecca; *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, transl. Littmann, i. 263 sqq.; in the Karagöz play "The Wrong Bride" in Ritter, *Karagöz*, Hanover 1924, p. 109 sqq.

Here we may also note that these wedding customs are only observed when a woman marries for the first time. When she marries for the second time they are content with the legal *walima*. The parties often agree to have no festivities (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 155; Lane, *Manners and Customs*⁵, London 1871, i. 219—220).

The celebrations extend over several days; they

usually begin on Monday and the actual wedding takes place on Thursday. In Arab popular poetry we therefore have frequent reference to seven days of celebration while the *dukkhla* takes place on the eighth (e.g. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii. 461; iii. 437; *Sirat Saif*, iii. 22, 33; v. 28; xii. 59). When however we find references to 30 days of feasting and the 31st night as the *lailat al-dukkhla* (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, iii. 642; *Sirat Saif*, xii. 45; xiii. 12) or when 40 days and nights are mentioned in Turkish romances and fairy tales (Spies, *Türkische Volksbücher*, Leipzig 1929, p. 25), this is only a stereotyped literary form to express that the wedding celebrations lasted a long time.

The principal usages are as follows:

1. Immediately after the formalities of the marriage contract, the *walima* takes place in the bride's house; only men are present at it. This is already found in *ḥadīth*. On this occasion sweets, money and other things are often thrown to the crowd. For example the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl at the wedding of his daughter Būrān with the caliph al-Ma'mūn (210 = 825) had tickets scattered among the nobles on which were inscribed the names of pieces of land, slave-girls and the distinguishing marks of horses. Any one who got one of the tickets received what was written on it. The vizier also had gold and silver coins, little bags of musk and pieces of amber thrown among the populace (Tabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1083 *infra*; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1873, vii. 65 *sq.*). — At the *walima* on the occasion of the wedding of the Mamlūk Muḥammad b. al-Sultān (920 = 1514) wine (*sakar*) was served in vessels of Chinese porcelain (Ibn Iyās, iv. 406). In general however, the *walima* consisted simply in the offering of sweets and other dainties (cf. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii. 23–24); sometimes however, roast meat and vegetables etc. were also served. Music and dancing are not usual on this day. In Nablus (Syria), according to Jaussen, there is only a meal for the women, while in Fās a feast is held in the house of both bride and bridegroom (Leo Africanus [1526], Tharaud [1930]). The real wedding ceremonies do not usually begin until a week later.

2. The bride's bath. A few days before the wedding the bride goes to the bath with her friends; rich people perform this ceremony in their own house; usually however, a public bath is hired for a whole or half day. In Cairo in Lane's time, they went with great pomp to the bath (*saffat al-ḥammām*). In front walked two men carrying dishes on which lay the bath requisites covered; then came water-carriers and men with rose water and censers to sprinkle the passers-by and offer them beverages. Then came musicians with oboes and drums and the bride's friends two by two. The bride herself thickly veiled with a crown on her head walked between two female relatives under a canopy carried by four men; musicians brought up the rear of the procession. In the bath itself there were all kinds of diversions and feasting while women-singers sang songs. In the evening in the house there was a banquet for the women at which women-singers sang to pass the time. In modern Fās, the bride is taken to the bath and led home dressed like a doll with shouts of joy (Tharaud [1930]). In xvith century Morocco the bride's bath before the wedding was unknown (Leo Africanus) while in Algiers in the same

period, according to Haëdo, the bridal bath was usual. It is also unknown in Mecca. In Syria and Asia Minor they go very quietly to the baths while Cotovicus at the end of the xvith century in Syria saw a solemn procession with wax candles.

In the bath itself numerous ceremonies and diversions take place. In Nablus (Jaussen [1927]) the bride is put on a throne in the bath while her friends sing and dance around her with lights in their hands. They then all bathe, the bride last. After the bath the bride is sprinkled with perfume and refreshments are taken. She is then taken home very quietly and thickly veiled. For Constantinople, White (c. 1840) also reports that the bride sits on a throne while dramatic presentations are given and refreshments offered. Then comes, just as in Persia (Polak [c. 1860]) and Tunis (Bertholon [c. 1900]), the henna ceremony which in other lands does not take place till next day. The finger-nails (in Persia also the hair) are dyed with henna. The guests thereupon distribute money to the bath attendants. This is called the "henna gift".

3. The adornment of the bride. This day is often called after the principal ceremony *lailat al-ḥanna* or *ḥenna gedjesi* (e.g. in Mecca, Egypt, Tunis and in Turkey). In the presence of her female relations and friends, the bride's eyelids are blackened with *kuhl* and the hands and feet coloured with henna. In doing this the hands and feet must be coloured exactly the same and no pictorial representations put on them (cf. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī [d. 275 = 888], *Kitāb al-Warā'*, Cairo 1340, p. 104). In earlier times, yellow patches (*nuḥaṭ al-arūs*) used to be put upon the cheeks (Dhū 'l-Rumma [d. 107 = 719] in *Aghāni*, xvi. 115; Maidāni, *Proverbia*, ed. Freytag, ii. 762, N^o. 24; *Sharīḥ* [d. 619 = 1222] in the commentary on *Ḥariri*, *Maḥāmāt*, p. 610). On the same day the bride's wedding ornaments are put on, including necklaces, bridal girdle (*ḥiyāṣa*: cf. *Sirat Saif*, xvii. 53), crown (*tādj* or *iklīl*; oldest reference: *Sirat Saif* [xvth century], iv. 36; xvii. 53; cf. also the title of the celebrated dictionary *Tādj al-'Arūs* [xviiith century]). The bride on these occasions often puts on different dresses (e.g. in Sfax: Narbeshuber; cf. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, i. 265 *sqq.*: 6 different dresses). The great display in silver pendants and foot-rings, pearls, henna, aloe-wood (for perfuming the face), rose-water, sesame-oil and other aromata is already mentioned in the papyri (cf. *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer*, N^o. 584, 1014). After being dressed the bride is put on a raised seat or throne, where she has to sit quite still with downcast eyes while the women guests sing, dance and make music. These ceremonies often last far into the night (for the older period cf. Leo Africanus for Morocco; d'Arvieux [1674], *Mémoires*, Paris 1735, v. 287, for Algiers and the other travellers). In Mecca and Sfax (Narbeshuber) the enthronement does not take place till the next day. In Cairo (Lane [1835]) on this day the bride takes a lump of henna in her hand and her friends stick coins into it. In Nablus (Jaussen [1927]) there is a similar collection for the bride. In Constantinople also we find the henna ceremony; but before it, all the women guests with wax candles in their hands go into the garden with the bride and dance there in long rows (Garnett [c. 1890]). Pictures of the bride in her wedding

finery: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Bilder-Atlas pl. 25; Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927, pl. 5.

4. The bridal procession (*zaffat al-ʿarūsa*), and the elevation to the throne. As Friday is frequently recommended by the theologians for the completion of marriage (cf. Ghazālī in H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, Halle 1917, ii. 90) it is the custom to take the bride to her new home on Thursday evening when she passes the night with her husband. The bride is usually fetched by her bridegroom and his relations and accompanied by her own relatives in an imposing and solemn procession. From the superscription alone in Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 62 (*al-biṇāʾ bi ʿl-nahār bi-ghair markab wa-lā nīrān*) it is clear that the solemn procession was general as early as the beginning of the third (ninth) century; in those days the bride was taken at dusk in a litter borne on a beast of burden and accompanied by lighted torches (cf. Tīdjānī, *Tuhfa*, p. 40-41, who for this reason makes a distinction between a bridal procession by day and one by night; but the *bi-ghair markab* is against this). The other oldest references known to me for the bridal procession are the wedding of Umm al-ʿUlūw in ʿKairawān (425 = 1024); the bride was taken on Thursday by slaves and nobles of the kingdom to the tent put up for her (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 284). In a story from al-Yamāma, the bride is accompanied by slave-girls who sing and play stringed instruments (*maʿāzif*) (Ḳaẓwīnī [d. 682 = 1283], *Aṯḥār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 88). A miniature by the painter Yahyā b. Maḥmūd of Wāsiṭ of 634 (1237) in the Paris MS. of Ḥarīrī, *Arabe* 5847 (Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin 1923, pl. 13) shows a bridal procession; in front go horn-blowers, drummers and men with pennons sitting on camels; the bride herself is completely hidden in a splendid camel-litter and the bridegroom rides beside her on a finely caparisoned horse. Further references may be found e. g. in *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii. 12; *Sirat Saif*, xiii. 12. The oldest western reference is in the travels of the Dominican monk Ricoldus de Monte Crucis [d. 1309], ch. 9, 46 (Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii aevi*, Leipzig 1864, p. 116): "*Tartari* (= Mongols in eastern Asia Minor) ... *quando tradunt eam* [i. e. uxorem] *ad nupcias, parentes et consanguinei viri, qui eam accipit, ducunt eam cum tympanis et cantu, sed parentes et consanguinei mulieris sequuntur eam cum planctu quasi mortuam*". Later European travellers all describe the bridal procession more or less fully. Almost everywhere the bride, who is always closely veiled, is fetched by the bridegroom in a procession carrying lights (candles, torches or lanterns) and accompanied to her new home by relations and friends of both sides. In modern Fās, as in the time of Leo Africanus [1526], she gets into a silk-hung octagonal box which is carried on the shoulders of eight men (Westermarck, p. 166) or she goes on foot, if she belongs to the lower classes (Westermarck, Tharaud) while in the rest of Morocco a "covered cage" on a mule is generally used (Mocquet [1605], Hoest [1760], Westermarck [1914]). In Algiers in the xvth century she was also carried (Haëdo). In Egypt and Syria she walks or rides under a canopy (so as early as Cotovicus [1598]). In Turkey in olden times the bride used to ride on a horse

(Dernschwam [1553]) usually veiled in a red silk cloth, the ends of which were held up by many people accompanying her (Schweigger [1578], della Valle [1615], Tournefort [1717]). In the Turkish album of miniatures of the xvth century published by Taeschner entitled *Altstambuler Hof- und Volksleben* (Hanover 1925, pl. 32) she is on foot, led by two women. According to della Valle (1615), in place of the procession of lights in front of the bride, a kind of high candlestick is carried which was made with flowers, painted paper, beaten gold, and other foliage, sometimes decorated with gold, silver and ivory; Schweigger [1578; cf. the pictures there] describes them as "wedding candles of green wax, made transparent but not burning". In the same connection may be mentioned the tray of candles which is carried before the bridal procession in the ʿKaragöz-play "The Wrong Bride" (pict. in Ritter, *op. cit.*, fig. 34). In the xixth century, the bride rode in a covered carriage as did the women accompanying her, while the men were on horseback (White, Garnett). In Persia she usually rides, robed in red (Olearius [1637], Chardin [1673], Polak [c. 1860], Wills [c. 1870]). At the present day, the motor car is of course also used in large cities like Cairo. — For pictures of the bridal procession see for Morocco: Dapper, *Beschreibung von Afrika*, Amsterdam 1760, p. 177; for Cairo: Niebuhr [1763], *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774, pl. 28; Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque*, Paris 1806, pl. 63; Lane [1835], *Sitten und Gebräuche*, pl. 32-33; for Constantinople: Schweigger [1578], *Reyssbeschreibung*, p. 207; Taeschner, *loc. cit.*

The trousseau is usually carried in the bridal procession, distributed over as many horses and mules as possible; often empty chests are carried to make the trousseau look as large as possible, while in many districts the delivery of the trousseau is a special solemn ceremony (cf. e. g. Ibn ʿIdhārī, i. 284 for ʿKairawān [415 = 1024]; Ibn Iyās, iv. 107 for Cairo [912 = 1506]).

On leaving her parents' house and entering her new home, a series of symbolic ceremonies are performed which refer to married life, averting evil spirits, fertility etc. I omit these here as they vary much in different towns and districts. In her new home she is welcomed by the bridegroom or her mother-in-law and taken to the bridal chamber. There she is placed by the woman on a high chair or throne and congratulated. Sometimes the bridegroom now gives her a present of money — if it is only a piastre — and she is unveiled so that the bridegroom sees her face for the first time. In a (not genuine) *ḥadīth* in Muḳaddasī (*B. G. A.*, iii. 126) it is said "God shall place Muʿāwīya by his side and cover him and then unveil him to the people like a bride". The throne (*minaṣṣa*) on which the bride is raised and unveiled is mentioned as early as Zawzanī (d. 486 = 1093) and Baṭalyūsi (d. 494 = 1100; in their commentaries on the *Muʿallaka* of Imruʿa ʿl-Ḳais, ed. Hengstenberg, Bonn 1823, verse 32 or Cairo ed. 1282, p. 33). Cf. also *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, iii. 455; *Sirat Saif*, v. 29, where a throne (*sarīr*) of juniper wood decorated with plates of gold and shining jewels is mentioned. In Mecca at the present day, the throne is called *rika* (= *arika*); cf. the picture in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leyden 1889, pl. 18.

The bridal procession is followed by a feast

which lasts far into the night with music, singing and dancing (the men and women of course separate); in Turkey of the xviiith and xviiith century Karagöz performances were also given (Thevenot, *Voyages*, Paris 1689, i. 172; cf. i. 109—110) while in Persia of the xviiith century wrestlers (*pahlawān*) performed (Chardin). A Persian miniature of 1604 shows festivities on the occasion of a wedding in the reign of Alp Arslān (beginning of the vth = xith century) (Grohmann and Arnold, *The Islamic Book*, Munich 1929, pl. 67).

5. The bridegroom's bath and his *zaffa* take place on the same day as the bridal procession, i. e. on the Thursday; a visit is usually made to a mosque in connection with it (cf. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii. 24). In the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, i. 263) — it is however a case of *'umra* — the bridegroom goes to the bath and is carried on horseback in a torchlight procession to the bride's house; singers with tambourines accompany him and stop from time to time to get money from the bridegroom. Another *zaffa* — but without a bath — is described in the *Sirat Saif*, xiii. 12. The bridegroom rides on a richly caparisoned steed through the town accompanied by dignitaries. Wax candles with camphor are carried, while slaves swing censers and sprinkle rose and jasmine water (cf. *Sirat Saif*, vii. 63; xv. 32). Ibn Iyās (iv. 107, 196) records for Cairo in the early xvth century that the bridegroom goes through the streets accompanied by emirs with lighted candles in their hands. This was also still usual in Lane's time in Cairo. Shortly before sunset the bridegroom was taken by his friends to the bath, accompanied by musicians or singers and torches (*mash'al*); from there they went to the mosque to attend the evening prayer. On their way back from the mosque, the friends carried candles and flowers in their hands. For a later date (c. 1875) Klunzinger describes the bridegroom's bath and *zaffa* for Kuşair on the Red Sea. In other lands, the bridegroom's bath appears to be less usual; at least it is only rarely mentioned in the sources (for Palestine: Rothstein [1907] with pictures of the *zaffa*; Jausen [1927]; for Tunis and Sfax: Bertholon and Narbeshuber [ca. 1900]; for Tlemcen: Gaudesfroy-Demombynes, p. 40 [c. 1900]; for Tangiers: Westermarck, p. 118; for eastern Asia Minor: van Lennep, *Travels*, p. 267 [c. 1860]; for Persia: Polak [c. 1860]). The bath and *zaffa* seem to be quite unknown in Constantinople. Similarly the bath (but not the *zaffa*) for the bridegroom have been long unknown in Mecca (Ibn al-Mudjāwir [d. 690 = 1291] in Landberg, *op. cit.*; Snouck Hurgronje; Rutter), while Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, i. 402, mentions both in 1763 for Yarim in South Arabia. Leo Africanus also does not know of the bath in Fās (nor does Westermarck [c. 1914] nor Tharaud [1930]); on the other hand, he describes an imposing procession of the bridegroom, which met the bridal train in the principal square of the town and went home along with it. — Pictures of the splendid *zaffa* of the bride in India: Thevenot [1666], *Voyages*, Paris 1689, iii. 66; H. Goetz, *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmogul-Zeit*, Berlin 1930, pl. 15 (xviiith century miniature).

6. The wedding night (*lailat al-dukhla*). During the festivities mentioned at the end of 4 the bridegroom goes to the bridal chamber or feigning reluctance is thrust in by his friends. In

addition to the *ḥadīth* (see p. 1039b) we have two descriptions from the early Islamic age of the proceedings in the bridal chamber. According to one (*Aghānī*, xv. 70), the caliph 'Uthmān stroked his bride Nā'ila on the head, asked the blessing of God (*baraka*) upon her and then unveiled her. According to the other (*Aghānī*, xvi. 37), Shuraih took his bride Zainab by the forelock while she knelt down, then prayed two *rak'as* with her, just as now is the usual practice in the two enthronement ceremonies in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, ii. 180 and 185). In the oldest parts of the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (Baghdād stratum, c. xth century A. D.), we find the following usages. In the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (i. 269—272) the bride is undressed by her maids and led by an old woman in a long robe into the bridal chamber where the bridegroom awaits her. While in this case the unveiling has already taken place, in other passages it is only done by the bridegroom himself in the bridal chamber (e. g. iii. 524). In the story of Uns al-Wudjūd and al-Ward fī 'l-Akmām (iii. 437—439) the two drink together and entertain one another with poems and entertaining stories. In the story of Kamar al-Zamān (ii. 478—479) after the consummation the bride summons her maids who give shouts of joy. — In Cairo in Lane's time, the bridegroom was carried by a friend a part of the way up the steps to the harem, during the festivities. He was only allowed to unveil his bride in the bridal chamber in return for a sum of money and see her for the first time. He then undressed her, laid her with her head in the direction of Mecca and performed two *rak'as*. After the consummation he summoned the women waiting outside the door to give shouts of joy (*zaghārūt*) and then returned to the guests. Jausen gives a similar description for modern Nablus. Polak records [c. 1860] a very old and widespread practice for Persia (Leo Africanus knows it for Fās [1526], Haëdo for Algiers [xvth century], Bertholon for Tunis [c. 1900]): after the unveiling the couple try to tramp on one another's feet; the idea is that whoever does it first will be master in the house. In Turkey, according to Schweigger [1578], the bride is pushed into the bridal chamber by her companions with jests and scoldings. In the xviiith and xixth centuries in Turkey after the unveiling and the usual prayers in the bridal chamber, coffee was served to the bridal pair and then a wedding feast held. Only then were they left alone (Olivier, White, Garnett).

In some districts of Morocco (e. g. Fās), it is considered seemly for the bridegroom only to entertain his bride in the first night and to consummate the marriage only in the second night (Tharaud [1930]; Westermarck, s.v. *Consummation*). In Egypt on the other hand, it is a frequent practice to deflower the bride by mechanical means (Schwally, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, p. 418 sq.). Both these customs are due to superstition, the fear of evil spirits, and perhaps in the first case to a certain feeling of shame.

During the wedding night, if the guests are still there, or on the next morning, the nurse shows the token of virginity to the women friends and relatives. If the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom can send her back to her parents. The nurse or the mother therefore frequently make arrangements in case of need. In the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (ii. 478) a pigeon is killed. In some districts the

bloodstained cloth is carried through the streets to the house of the bride's parents with drumming and shouts of joy. This is reported by Mocquet [1605] and Hoest [1760] for Morocco, Tournefort [1717] for Turkey, while in Burckhardt's and Lane's time (beg. of sixteenth century) in Cairo, it was only the custom among the lower classes.

On the morning after the wedding night in obedience to the precepts of religion both go to a bath [see TAHARA].

7. The ceremonies after the wedding night, especially on the seventh day. Sometimes the prescribed *walima* is not performed till the day after the wedding night (cf. p. 1039 sq.). This is also the case in the story of Kamar al-Zamān (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii. 461, 478). In Turkey on this day, the wedding ceremonies conclude with a feast, the "festival of the sheep's trotters" as it is called from a traditional dish; then the bride has one or two days to receive congratulations (Garnett [c. 1890]). In Egypt and North Africa the bride remains for a week in the bridal chamber and is visited and entertained by her female relatives. On the seventh day the bride and bridegroom usually hold a reception or give a banquet. The first seven days of marriage called *sabʿ al-ʿarūs* have always played a special part and go back to a usage sanctioned by the Prophet (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i. 626—627; s. above p. 1040^a). In the story of Uns al-Wuǧūd women singers come on the seventh day and gifts are scattered among the populace (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii. 439—440). Leo Africanus [1526] mentions "a very old custom" in Morocco: on the seventh day the husband buys fish, which his mother or other women throw over the bride's feet. A similar practice is still found in Sfax (Narbeshuber, p. 16). Probably there is some old magical practice to secure fertility concealed in this.

In conclusion we may briefly mention the entirely different customs in Mecca and Medina as recorded by Snouck Hurgronje (1884) and Rutter (c. 1928) for Mecca and Burton (1853) for Medina. Here there is a peculiar combination of the two kinds of wedding, the *ʿurs* and the *ʿumra*. On the evening of the fourth day, the *ghumra* day (= *ʿumra*), the bride in her wedding finery is put on a throne in her house, while the bridegroom goes to the Ḥaram in a procession with lights, to go through the evening prayer there and then goes to the bride's house. He is there taken into the throne room and there unveils his bride. After a supper, everyone, including the bridegroom goes home. Towards morning the bride is taken by a few women secretly in a litter borne by two mules to the house of the bridegroom, which is in keeping with the old Arab practice. After a meal with the bridegroom the throne scene is repeated in his house on the fifth evening in a simpler form, after which consummation takes place. From this duplication, a combination of two different ceremonies, it may be concluded that the modern Meccan wedding customs are not native to Mecca and Medina, but some features have penetrated in course of time from lands adjoining Arabia, been misunderstood and combined. This is confirmed by the simple practices in pre-Muslim and early Muslim Arabia (cf. p. 1038 sq.), and also by Ibn al-Muǧāwir (in Landberg, *op. cit.*, p. 859) who describes a pure *ʿumra* for the viith (xiiith) century in Mecca: the bridegroom

goes to the Ḥaram, performs the sevenfold circumambulation, two *raʿkas* at the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, kisses the Black Stone (i. e. makes the *ṭawāf*) and then goes with candles to the bride's house. — Weddings are usually celebrated in Muḥarram in Mecca, when the ḥaǧǧj is over and most of the pilgrims have gone (Ibn al-Muǧāwir, *op. cit.*; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 361).

Although the history and origin of Muslim wedding customs are very difficult to ascertain in view of the lack of early sources, it can be said that in Islām in general many old oriental customs of Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt, partly taken over from Christianity, have been preserved and have been disseminated by Islām in other Muslim lands and there have become mingled with local customs.

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(HEFFENING)

‘URWA B. AL-WARD B. ḤĀBIS of the tribe of ‘Abs, an old Arab poet. His father, whose fame was sung by ‘Antara, played a part in the Dāḥis war. His mother belonged to the less esteemed Banū Nahd, a branch of the Kuḏā’a (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Tab.*, i. 17; allusions to them in poems ix., xix., xx.). He lived, as is expressly stated, in the Djabiliya. But his allusions to individuals who survived into the time of Muḥammad, like ‘Amir b. Ṭufail (schol. on i. 1) show that he must have flourished just before the coming of the Prophet. His poems and the anecdotes related of him give us a picture of a true Beduin, devoted to a chivalrous life of adventure, who for his protection of the poor later became known as ‘Urwat al-Ṣā’lik. Among his adventures may be mentioned his raid from Māwān in the region of Yathrib upon the Balkain in N. W. Arabia, and the story of his wife Umm ‘Amr (also Umm Wahb or Salmā) of the tribe of Kināna whom he is said to have been tricked into giving away, while intoxicated, by the Jewish Banu l-Naḍīr (or in their region).

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(H. H. BRÄU)

‘URWA B. AL-ZUBAIR B. ‘AWWĀM, AL-ĀSĀDĪ AL-MADANĪ, one of the earliest and foremost authorities on tradition in Madīna, born between 23 and 29 A. H., died between 91 and 99. His mother was the celebrated Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr, his father al-Zubair b. al-‘Awwām b. Khuwailid was a nephew of Khadija. Some thirty years younger than his brother ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Urwā did not take part in politics or in the civil wars, but gave himself up entirely to study. When his brother, in 73, was vanquished by al-Ḥajjīdjādī, ‘Urwā abandoned him, like the rest of his family, and fled in haste to Damascus, to carry the news to ‘Abd al-Malik and thus win his favour. Thereafter he lived in studious retirement on his property at Madīna, until his death, and there wrote, on ‘Abd al-Malik’s request, a series of communications on the earliest period of Islām, probably in the form of letters to the Caliph (see al-Ṭabarī, i. 1180—1182).

It is recorded of him that he used to read one fourth of the Qur’ān every night, and that he suffered his cancerous foot to be amputated without uttering one groan.

‘Urwā had assiduously frequented his maternal aunt ‘Ā’isha up to three years before her death, and collected a great many important traditions from her, from both his parents, from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Abū Huraira. Among those who received traditions from him are Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri, his own sons: Muḥammad, ‘Uthmān, ‘Abd Allāh, Yaḥyā and especially Hishām; Sulaimān b. Yasār and Ibn Abī Muḥ’ika.

As an authority on tradition ‘Urwā ranks very high, and is one of the seven great *fuḳahā’*; authors of treatises on *riḍāl* and *ilm mustalah al-ḥadīth* have no fault to find with him. He had collected an important library, bearing upon many subjects, both historical and juridical. He was the author of a *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, but his traditions are only to be found incorporated in the works of later historians: Ibn Sa’d, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Ishāq. A feature of his traditions is the lack of a regular *isnād*, which was formed after his time.

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(V. VACCA)

USĀMA B. MURSHID B. ‘ALĪ B. MUḲALLAD B. NAṢR B. MUNKIDH AL-SHAIZARĪ AL-KINĀNĪ, an Arab knight (*faris*), courtier and man of letters, born in 488 (1095) in Shaizar (the Sizara of the Crusaders, north of Ḥamā in Syria) which was the seat of his princely family, the Munkidhīs, and died in 584 (1188) in Damascus. Four years after his birth, Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders and a year before his death it was retaken by Saladin. Throughout his life he was in constant relations with the Franks, sometimes hostile, sometimes friendly. At the age of 15, he took part in the defence of Shaizar against Tancred’s army from Antioch. Following the example of his father, who was not only a warrior and a hunter but also a calligrapher, he devoted himself to war, sport and literature. He spent nine years (1129—1138) in the army of the Atābeg of Mōsul, Zangī; after the death of his father, he had to leave Shaizar for ever as his uncle who now reigned was jealous for the sake of his own sons of Usāma’s military reputation. He spent six years in Damascus (1138—1144) at the court of the Būrids. Peaceful relations and treaties with the kingdom of Jerusalem gave him the opportunity to become better acquainted with the Franks; he made quite a number of friends among the Templars. From Damascus he went to Egypt where the Fāṭimid dynasty was approaching its end. Here (between 1144—1154) he became involved in political intrigues, conducted a number of enterprises against the Crusaders in Palestine and had to leave Cairo after ten years. On the way he lost his entire library, which contained over 4,000 manuscripts. Settling for a second time in Damascus he undertook many campaigns against the Franks with the celebrated Nūr al-Dīn, son of his first patron Zangī (1154—1164). A terrible earthquake in 552 (1157) completely destroyed his home; three years later (555 = 1160), he made the ḥajjīdj to the holy cities. He spent ten

years (1164—1174 in Ḥiṣn Kaifā with the Urtukid Kara Arslān, mainly engaged in his literary work. The fame of Saladin, who was so successfully conducting the war on the Crusaders, attracted him for the third time to Damascus. He died here at a great age in Ramaḍān 584 (Nov. 1188). His tomb on Mount Qāsiyūn was visited a century later by the famous historian Ibn Khallikān.

Usāma, one of a family whose members are frequently mentioned in literature (see e. g. Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam al-Udabāʾ*, ii. 173—197), attained renown as a poet and a man of letters. His *Diwān* (in two *ḡuzʾ*) still existed in the time of al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768 = 1367) who knew it (see *Mirʾāt al-Djanān*, iii. 427); Derenbourg collected a number of his poems from the Gotha fragment and several anthologies (*Ousama b. Mounkidh*, i., *La vie d'Ousama*, Paris 1889—1893, p. 336—338, 543—562). Of his prose works we know the names of over a dozen (cf. Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 330—339) but only five are so far known to have survived. The most remarkable and most interesting of his works, the importance of which stretches far beyond the scope of ordinary Arabic literature, is the *Kitāb al-ʿItibār*, his memoirs, which gives a vivid and lively picture of his time in peace and war. The only MS. so far known was found by H. Derenbourg in the Escorial (see *Comment j'ai découvert en 1880 à l'Escorial le manuscrit arabe contenant l'autobiographie d'Ousama b. Mounkidh*, as introduction to the German translation by G. Schumann, see below) and edited by him. It has been four times completely translated: into French by Derenbourg (Paris 1895), into German by G. Schumann (Innsbruck 1905), into Russian by Salier (with introduction, notes and bibliography by I. Kratschkovsky, Petrograd 1922) and into English by Hitti (New York 1929). Usāma's other works are still only accessible in manuscript. His treatise on poetics *al-Badʿ fi ʿl-Badʿ* was described with extracts by Derenbourg from three manuscripts (Berlin, Leyden, Cairo) (*op. cit.*, p. 330—331, 691—722). We may now add the MS. of the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (see Kratschkovsky, in *Zapiski* ², i. 3—4). His anthology *Kitāb al-ʿAṣā* deals, with many quotations in prose and verse, with the "staffs" known in history and legend (Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, i. 334—336, 499—542); we may now add the MS. in Milan from the Yemen (see Griffini, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxix. [1915] 73). Recently a hitherto unknown work of Usāma, the *Kitāb al-Manāzil wi ʿl-Diyār* (autograph of 568 = 1172, written in Ḥiṣn Kaifā), was found in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad. This anthology which was suggested by an earthquake in August 1157, contains all kinds of poetical quotations about *manāzil*, *diyār*, *maghānī*, *aṭṭāl*, *raḥ*, *dimān*, *rasm*, etc. (description of the MS. with many specimens of the text by Kratschkovsky, in *Zapiski* ², i. 4—18). We do not yet have any details of the *Zubāb al-Adab*, which is in Cairo in a MS. of 598 A.H. in the possession of Yaʿqūb Ṣarrūf (editor of the periodical *al-Mukhtaṭaf*).

Bibliography: The most important material for the biography and on the works of Usāma has been collected by Derenbourg in his comprehensive work (see above). He also wrote a number of separate articles on him (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 320) which are reprinted in his *Opuscules d'un arabisant*, Paris 1905, p. 313—336. These works and later literature and the

more important reviews are listed by Ign. Kratschkovsky in the appendix to the Russian translation of the *Kitāb al-ʿItibār* by M. Salier (Petrograd 1922, p. 206—207). We may add T. Kowalski, *Pamiętniki arabskie z pierwszego wieku krucjat*, in *Przegląd Warszawski*, 1923, No. 18, p. 380—400 and Ign. Kratschkovsky, *Neizvestnoye sochineniye-avtograf sirijskago emira Usamy*, in *Zapiski* ², i. (1925), 1—18.

(IGN. KRATSKHOVSKY)

USĀMA B. ZAID B. HĀRITHA AL-KALBĪ AL-HĀSHIMĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, son of the Abyssinian freedwoman Baraka Umm Aiman and reckoned among the Prophet's freedmen, was born in Mecca in the fourth year of the mission. Tradition records many instances of the Prophet's fondness for him as a child, and gives him the surname of *Ḥibb b. Ḥibb Rasūl Allāh*.

He joined the fighters on the way to Uḥud, but was sent back before battle on account of his tender age. Questioned by Muḥammad in the case of slander against ʿĀʾisha, he spoke in her favour. After Khaibar he received a pension, and in A. H. 8 rode behind the Prophet into Mecca and entered the Kaʿba with him. He fought gallantly at Ḥunain.

In A. H. 11 Muḥammad put Usāma in command of an expedition to avenge his father Zaid, fallen at Muʿta. Notwithstanding criticism, due to Usāma's youth, the Prophet, already in his last illness, insisted on a prompt departure, but the expedition turned back at the news of his death, and Usāma was among those who prepared him for burial.

The newly-elected Caliph ordered the expedition to be resumed, in accordance with the Prophet's wishes, though the tribes were already in revolt. Usāma reached the region of al-Balkāʾ, in Syria, where Zaid had fallen, and raided the village of Ubna (the modern Khān al-Zait). His victory brought joy to Madīna, depressed by the *ridā*, thus acquiring an importance out of proportion to its real significance, which caused it to be regarded later as the beginning of a campaign for the conquest of Syria.

In the same year Abū Bakr left Usāma in command at Madīna, while at the battle of Ḍhu ʿl-Qaṣṣa.

In 20 ʿUmar bestowed on him a pension of 4,000 dirhams, equal to that of the men of Badr, on account of the Prophet's fondness for him and his father.

The election of ʿUthmān to the caliphate took place in the home of Faṭīma bint Qais al-Fihriya, Usāma's wife; he probably had a part in the event, and was in favour with the Caliph, receiving from him the grant of a piece of land, and being sent by him to Baṣra in 34 to report upon the political situation there.

After ʿUthmān's death Usāma refused homage to ʿAlī, whose supporters attacked and ill-treated him in the Mosque at Madīna. Thereafter he lived in retirement, first in Wādī ʿl-Qurā, then in Madīna; he died in al-Djurf, about 54, and was buried in Madīna.

Usāma has a place among transmitters of *ḥadīth*. His political career, though not brilliant, appears blameless; we hear nothing of his riches.

In appearance Usāma resembled his mother, being black and flat-nosed. The emphasis laid by tradition on Muḥammad's love for him is partly due to the intention of setting him off against ʿAlī's family; it may also have been meant to

show that the Prophet was a true democrat and free from colour prejudice.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, iv/i. 42—51; Balādhuri, p. 273, 451; al-Khazrađi, *Khulāṣat al-Tadhhib*, 1st ed., Cairo 1322, p. 22; Ibn al-Athir, *Usd*, i. 64; al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 2943, 2952, 3072, 3124; iii. 2344, 2440; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 560, 734, 776, 970, 984, 999, 1008, 1018; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, A. H. II, § 3—5, 9—12, 73, 106—111; A. H. 23, § 156, N^o. 1; Miednikoff, *Palestina*, i. 363—384; Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 433—434, 436; Lammens, *Fāṭima*, p. 20, 28, 31, 72, 103—106, 140. (V. VACCA)

USHAK, a town in Asia Minor, capital of a ḡaḡa in the sandjāk of Kūtāhiya in the province of Khudāwendigār, on the edge of a cultivated plain at the foot of the mountains; it had 15,000 inhabitants of whom a third were Armenians and Greeks; the houses are built of brick, with gardens, and the streets are broad. It was rebuilt after a fire in the xixth century. It is celebrated for its manufacture of carpets known as Smyrna carpets because they are exported through this port (150,000 yards per annum). There is a fortress on the site of the ancient acropolis (Eucarpia). Towards the end of the xviiith century, the *dere-beyi* (governor) Hāđđji Murād-oghlu declared himself independent but he was besieged by Kara 'Othmān-oghlu of Aidin, taken through treachery and executed. In the district there are asbestos mines and sulphur thermal springs.

Bibliography: Hāđđji Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 633; 'Alī Djewād, *Djoghrafiya Lughātī*, p. 548; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 425.

(CL. HUART)

AL-USHI 'ALĪ B. 'OTHMĀN SIRĀĐI AL-DĪN AL-FARĠHĀNĪ AL-HANAFĪ, of whose life nothing is recorded ('Abd al-Kādir b. Abi 'l-Wafā' al-Kurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muđī'a fi Ṭabaḡāt al-Hanafiya*, Haidarābād 1332, i. 367 does not even give a date), wrote about the year 569 = 1173 (s. Z. D. M. G., xvi. 685) a confession of faith in rhyme entitled *al-Ḳaṣida al-Lāmiya fi 'l-Tawhīd*, also called *Bad' al-Amālī* or from the opening words *Ḳaṣida yaḡlū 'l-'Abd* (*Carmen arabicum Amālī dictum*, ed. P. v. Bohlen, Regensburg 1825; also in *Madjmu' Muḥimmāt al-Mutūn*, Cairo 1273, 1281, 1295, 1323; on the margin of Salim b. Sumair, *Safinat al-Nadja*, Singapore 1295, with Hindūstānī paraphrase by Mawlawī Muḥammad Naẓir Aḡmad Khān, Dehli 1317). These printed editions show the popularity of the work down to the present time and commentaries have often been written on it. To the commentaries given in *G. A. L.*, i. 429 of which the oldest is by Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr al-Rāzi, author of the *Tuḡfat al-Mulūk* (*G. A. L.*, i. 383, d. according to Hāđđji Khalifa, N^o. 733, in 660 = 1261), some more may be added from the Sтамbul and other catalogues. The most celebrated among them is that of al-Ḳāri' al-Harawī (d. 1014 = 1605), written in 1010 (1601) in Mecca entitled *Daw' al-Amālī*, pr. Sтамbul 1293, Bombay 1295, Dehli 1884, with Turkish transl. by Husnī Efendi, Sтамbul 1304; anonymous glosses *Tuḡfat al-A'ālī*, Cairo 1309 and n.d. There have also been printed two Persian commentaries *Naẓm al-La'ālī* by Muḥammad Bakḡsh Rafīẓī (lith.), Lucknow 1869 and by Aḡmad Darwiza Nangarhārī, Lahore 1891, 1900; a Turkish commentary *Marāḡh al-Ma'ālī* by Aḡmad 'Aṣim 'Aintābī, Sтамbul

1304; and a Turkish paraphrase with commentary by Muḥammad Shukri, Sтамbul 1305. Of his collection of traditions *Ḡhurar al-Aḡbbār wa-Durar al-Aḡḡār*, only a selection, containing 1,000 short traditions in 100 chapters, entitled *Niṣāb al-Aḡbbār wa-Tadhkirat al-Aḡḡyār* has survived in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Katalog*, N^o. 1300/1), Munich (note N^o. 162), Cairo (*Fihrist*, i. 444) and a fragment in Mōsul (s. Dāwūd, *al-Makḡḡūṭāt al-Mawṣiliya*, p. 24, N^o. 28). His collection of *ṣetwās al-Fatāwī al-Sirāđiya*, which according to Hāđđji Khalifa, N^o. 8767, he finished on 2nd Muḡarram 569 (Aug. 14, 1173) in Ush, was printed in Calcutta 1243 and Lucknow 1223—1225.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

USHNŪ (Ushnuh, Ushnūya), a district and town in Āđharbāidjān. Ushnū lies to the south of Urmiya [q. v.] from which it has usually been administered. The district is watered by the upper course of the river Gādir (Gader) which, after traversing the district of Suldūz [q. v.], flows into Lake Urmiya on the S. W. To the south of Ushnū is the district of Lāhidjān which is administered from Sawdj-Bulaḡ [q. v.]. The town of Ushnū (710 houses) is situated on the left bank of the Gādir (Čom-i-Čilash, "river with 40 mills") which rises in the Gīlās valley through which the district communicates with Mārgāvār [cf. URMIYA].

The population of the district are Kurds. The town and its villages are occupied by the Zarzā tribe, the other twenty-five villages of the tribe of Mamash which also occupies a part of Lāhidjān and of Suldūz.

It is possible that in the Khaldic (Vannic) inscriptions the name Ushini corresponds to Ushnū. Rawlinson had identified the village of Singān (three miles S. E. of Ushnū) with the *Sinap* mentioned by Ptolemy, vi. 2 in Media. The town of Ushnū is mentioned in Arabic sources from the time of Iṣṭakhri (p. 186). This author says that Ushnuh al-Āđhariya formed part of the lands of the Banū Rudaini, which also included Dākharkān and Tabriz (Nirz?), but Ibn Hawḡal, p. 240, already notes that this tribe had disappeared. On p. 239, he notes the richness of Ushnuh in grass and fruits. Its produce (honey, almonds, nuts and cattle) was exported to Mawṣil and to al-Djazira. Its "steppe" (*bādiya* = Lāhidjān?) belonged to the Hadhbānī Kurds who spent the summer there (*yaṣifūna*). The principal fief of these Kurds was at Arbil (cf. above, ii., p. 1200).

We know nothing of the coming of the Zarzā Kurds to Ushnū (they may perhaps be a branch of the old Hadhbānī) but the Zarzārī are already mentioned in the *Masālik al-Aḡṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umārī, written in Egypt in 1335 (cf. *N. E.*, xiii., 1838, p. 300—329). The author explains its name as *walad al-dhīb* which Quatremère has emended to *walad al-dhakab* "children of gold" (in Kurdish *zār* + *zārū*).

In the *Sharaf-nāma* the section on the Zarzā, mentioned in the preface, is omitted in all the manuscripts. They must have occupied a very considerable area. In a mutilated passage, i. 280, Sharaf al-Dīn seems to say that Lāhidjān was taken from the Zarzā by Pīr Budak, the first chief of the Bābān tribe (xvth century). He also mentions (i. 278) the defeat inflicted on them by Sulaimān Beg Sohrān (in the time of Murād III, 982—1003). Ushnū lies on the road between Mawṣil and the

valley of Lake Urmiya (Mawṣil-Rawānduz-pass of Kela-Shin [c. 10,000 feet]—Ushnū-Urmiya or Marāgha). This road, blocked by snow in winter, is much less convenient than the route from Rawānduz via Rāyāt by the pass of Garū-Shinka (south of the Kela-Shin) which does not exceed 7,800 feet. The pass of Kela-Shin (in Kurd "green stele") is celebrated for the stele with a bilingual inscription (Assyrian-Khaldic) erected in 800 B. C. in the time of the Khaldic King Ishpuini and his son Menua. The *Masālik al-Absār* (transl. Quatremère, p. 315) has a detailed account of the mountain of Hādjairain, i. e. "the Two Stones" (i. e. the Kela-Shin and the similar stone of Topuzāwa, S. W. of Kela-Shin). In the legendary account by Ṭabarī, i. 440, of the campaigns of the King of Yaman (Rā'ish b. Kais) in the region of Mawṣil, we are told that his general Shawr b. al-'Attāf had his exploits engraved on "the two stones (*hādjairain*) still known in Ādharbāidjān". These two texts have been published by G. Hoffmann, in *Auszüge*, p. 249—250.

The place-names of the district (in Aramaic Ashnokh, Ashna) reflect the former presence of a Christian element which has now disappeared (cf. the names of the villages of Sargis, Dinha and Bemzurta). In 958 already, a Christian of Ushnū founded the church of Sergius and Bacchus near Malatya. In 1271 the Nestorian Catholicos Denha transferred the see of the metropolis of Assyria to Ushnū to be better protected by the Mongol rulers (Assemani, ii. 350, 456). An old Christian church may be concealed by the ruins of Deir-i Shaikh Ibrāhīm (near Singān), which are venerated by both Muslims and Christians. Rawlinson (p. 17) saw there the tomb of the bishop of Ushnū, Ibrāhīm, who in 1281 was present at the consecration of the Nestorian Catholicos Yahballāhā III.

Bibliography: cf. URMIYA; Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz*, in *J.R.G.S.*, x., 1840, p. 15—24; Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan* (1834), London 1840, I, 89—98; Bittner, *Der Kurdegau Uschnūje* etc., in *Sitzungsb. Ak. Wien*, cxxxiii, Vienna 1895; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i. 240, 260; De Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, in *Recherches archéologiques*, 1896, i. 261—83 (Kela-Shin); cf. also *Etudes géographiques*, 1895, ii., index.

On the Kela-Shin see the bibliography in Lehmann-Haupt, *l.c.*, and in detail in Minorsky, *Kela-Shin*, in *Zap.*, 1917, xxiv., p. 146—93.

(V. MINORSKY)

'USHR, the tenth or tithe levied for public assistance, is frequently used in the sense of *ṣadaqa* and *zakāt* (Abū Yūsuf, p. 31; Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 79, 83, 121, 123) and indeed there is no very strict line drawn in the *Sharī'at* books between *zakāt* and 'ushr dues (cf. Tornauw, p. 318). The term 'ushr is not found in the *Qur'ān* but Sūra vi. 142 is taken to refer to the tithe or half tithe (Abū Yūsuf, p. 32; Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 88 sq.). Etymologically 'ushr is the same as the Assyrian *ish-ru-u* (E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftl. Bibliothek*, iv. 192, 205) which means tribute paid in kind (corn, dates) or in gold, and with the Hebrew *ma'ashār* (Gen. xiv. 20; xxix. 20—22), the tenth which the sanctuaries received but which was also levied by kings and which the Mosaic law wished to introduce as compulsory (Lev. xxvii. 30—33; Num. xviii. 21—26). While the prophet Samuel (I Sam. viii. 15—17) wanted the tenth to go primarily

to the king, later the demand was raised for a general tithe on behalf of the sanctuary of Sion, and under Persian rule a tenth of everything actually did go to the temple of Jahve (Mal. iii. 8—10). On the other hand, according to Deut. xiv. 28; xxvi. 12, the Levites and the poor were to receive the tenth while, according to the code of the priests, the whole tenth was to belong exclusively to the Levites, who had in their turn to hand over a tenth to the priests (Num. xviii. 21 sqq.). In the cases of lapses by Jews to idolatry, they brought the tenth to the temples of the gods (Amos iv. 4; cf. H. Guthe, *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1903, p. 743; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 40). It is also significant that the tenth in these cases was usually a tenth of natural products (grape-juice, corn, oil) but it was permitted to offer money instead.

An investigation of the significance of the tenth as a tax among neighbouring peoples is therefore important and necessary because light is thereby thrown on Arab conditions. Of great significance is the fact recorded by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xii. 63 especially for South Arabia (*Arabia felix*) that the tenth part of the frankincense harvest was collected by the priests for the god Sin (MS. SABIN) out of which to meet public expenses and the maintenance of guests. In the inscriptions we find 'ushr and 'shurt along with *fr'* as a tax and both are taken by N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Altsüdarabischen*, ii., *S. B. Ak. Wien*, clxxxv./3, 1917, p. 58 to be taxes on land, which however came under the temple taxes. According to Sūra iv. 137, the pagan Arabs, even the *Quraysh*, both *Bedū* and *Fellāhīn* offered a gift from their fruits of the field and animals to Allāh or other gods, which in practice of course went to the guardians of the sanctuary. Muḥammad, probably deliberately, deprived the tenth of any connection with worship and, perhaps on the analogy of South Arabian customs, made the tithe a kind of tax. Thus, in his letter to the *Khath'am* in Bisha (J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv., Berlin 1889, N^o. 68, p. 130), it is laid down that a tenth is to be paid on all lands irrigated by running streams and a half tenth on lands artificially irrigated. This also held for the oasis of Dūmat al-Djandal (*ibid.*, N^o. 119, p. 173) and the Hīmyar (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 83); in the letter to the latter the tithe is called *ṣadaqa*. For the nomads around Ṣuḥār for example a tax of one in ten loads of dates is fixed for their palmgroves (J. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, N^o. 69, p. 130).

Mecca, Medina, the *Hidjāz*, the Yaman and the Arabian territory were thus regarded as 'ushr land (E. Fagnan, p. 89) from which alone the tenth was to be raised (*op. cit.*, p. 79) and this was contrasted with the *kharāj* land on which the land tax was levied. With the gradual expansion of the Islāmic empire, the 'ushr land increased considerably in area. For example at the conquest of al-Rakka (18 A. H.) the lands which the protected people (*ahl al-dhimma*) did not use were given to Muslims on payment of the tithe (*Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 40). The lands acquired by peace treaties, on which no land tax was levied became 'ushr land in so far as they belonged to new converts (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 15). Further all land on which no land tax was levied became 'ushr land on the conversion of its owner, if the cultivator dug a well or an irrigation channel (Fagnan, p. 99)

A considerable increase in ‘ushr land also resulted from the transference of land by sale or gift. If for example a Muslim bought land from the Banū Taghlib he paid the tithe, according to others the double *ṣadaqa*; the same held of every member of this tribe or Christians generally who became converts to Islām, since the land thereby became ‘ushr land (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 12, 16, 46 sq.). Land in areas acquired by treaties of peace became ‘ushr land in so far as it had been acquired by Muslims by purchase, even if the payment of land tax was expressly laid down in the treaty (*op. cit.*, p. 37). The tithe was also to be levied on naturally irrigated *kaṭāʿī* lands in Sawād (Fagnan, p. 79). C. H. Becker, *Islāmstudien*, p. 230 sqq., has shown how ‘ushr land developed in Egypt. Gifts of land to meritorious Muslims and purchase by Muslims from Copt landowners here made the land ‘ushr land, which in Egypt certainly developed to a considerable extent out of the old domains. On the other hand, the practice of allowing new converts to pay only the tenth frequently created ‘ushr land. Of the rules which were in force regarding the transference of ‘ushr land it may be mentioned that allies (*muʿāhid*) who acquired ‘ushr land by purchase had to pay *kharāj*, which remained a burden on the land if it was sold again to a Muslim. This at any rate is the Ḥanafī teaching (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 16). If on the other hand a Christian buys ‘ushr land from a Muslim he has to pay the double tithe (*khums*), which is regarded as a double *ṣadaqa*. The land is further treated as ‘ushr if the owner becomes converted to Islām (*op. cit.*). This had of course great disadvantages for the treasury, as had the sale of *kharāj* land to a Muslim and therefore ‘Umar II laid it down that in the latter case the land tax fell upon the new owner, who had also to pay the tithe or half tithe on the produce and agricultural land, as the *kharāj* was due upon the soil and the tithe or half tithe was due as *zakāt* from the Muslims (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 10). This regulation was however in contradiction to the principle that (by ‘Ikrima) *kharāj* and ‘ushr could not be levied at the same time, any more than ‘ushr and *zakāt* or *djizya* (poll-tax), and ‘Umar I had already prohibited the collection of the tithe from a Muslim or ally when he paid *kharāj* (*ibid.*, p. 10, 32, 46). How far this limitation was actually observed it is impossible to say. In Inv. Ar. Pap. 194 of the Rainer Coll. in Vienna, which deals with taxation but unfortunately is very fragmentary, and contains lists of land-tax, poll-tax, palm-tax, *ṣadaqāt*, *aʿshār*, the two last entries are missing so that conclusions cannot be drawn from it. How greatly the practice varied is clear from Māwardī (p. 104) according to whom an ally who owns ‘ushr land has to pay neither ‘ushr nor *kharāj* according to the Shāfiʿis, according to the Ḥanafis, *kharāj*, according to others, *ṣadaqa* while according to Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 15, the ally of the tribe of Taghlib who bought ‘ushr land had to pay the double tithe but if he belonged to a tribe which had been adopted into the Islāmic state as an ally, he paid neither ‘ushr nor *kharāj*. Further it was open to the Imām — in practice the financial administrator of the province and the machinery of collection — to turn *kharāj* land into ‘ushr land (Fagnan, p. 89) so that in later times the rule as to what land paid *kharāj* and what paid ‘ushr was treated quite arbitrarily and

at most we can observe a certain tendency to observe principles generally regarded as valid and sanctified by custom. In the letting of lands and *muzāraʿa* agreements the rule was probably that the cultivator of ‘ushr land should pay a tenth or twentieth of the yield, according to the kind of ground (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 121). If a Muslim takes over the land of an ally to till it he pays a tenth of the yield, the *dhimmi* the land-tax, if he has lived untilled land out of the *kharāj* land, the landlord pays the *kharāj* but the cultivator no tithe (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 120).

If the untilled land is ‘ushr the cultivator has to pay $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{20}$ of the yield as *zakāt* (*op. cit.*, p. 116, 123). If a Muslim has leased ‘ushr untilled land, he pays the tenth while the landlord pays nothing (*ibid.*, p. 124). The Muslim also pays on rented *kharāj* land $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{20}$ of the yield as *zakāt*, the landlord the *kharāj* (this is the Shāfiʿi practice) while the Ḥanafis make the landlord pay tithe (Māwardī, p. 105). The same thing holds if owner and occupier are the same individual (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 118—120). According to Māwardī, p. 104, however, the Muslim occupier, as having contracted an agreement to cultivate a piece of *kharāj* land has to pay tithe and *kharāj* (Shāfiʿi), only the *kharāj* according to the Ḥanafis.

According to Abū Yūsuf (Fagnan, p. 79), the tithe was only to be paid on durable products of the land but not on vegetables, fodder or fuel, according to Yahyā b. Ādam (p. 84, 105) on palms, wheat, barley, grapes, raisins, while (*op. cit.*, p. 79, 101) it is laid down that the tithe is to be levied as *zakāt* on all that the earth produces, even if it be only a bundle of green stuff. The latter is according to Yahyā b. Ādam (p. 103) along with walnuts, almonds, and all fruit, only liable to tithe in the form of *zakāt* if it is over 200 dirhams in value. For dates the limit of exemption is 5 *wāṣṣ* (Fagnan, p. 80). ‘Umar levied no tax on vines, peaches and pomegranates, while wine and oil are regarded as liable to tithe (*ibid.*, p. 50, 111). According to some, ‘ushr is levied on honey, according to others, only when it is produced on ‘ushr land (*op. cit.*, p. 17); this also holds of saffron. As a kind of trade-tax, the ‘ushr was levied on merchants coming into Islāmic territory and the ally paid a twentieth but a tenth on wine and pigs (*op. cit.*, p. 32—49 sq.). Muslims under age are according to some jurists exempt from the tithes, according to others not (*op. cit.*, p. 48).

The half, single, one and a half and double tenth are the rates for the ‘ushr; we even have higher ones, for they are fixed quite at the discretion of the Imām (Fagnan, p. 90). It is however a principle and it is in keeping with the old practice that the tenth is levied on all land which is irrigated by running water, brooks and streams or by rain, the half tenth on land which is irrigated by carried water, by water-wheels or water drawn by camels (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 78, 80—86).

The income from the tithes could be used for other than benevolent purposes. Thus for example, the administrator of the provincial revenues in Egypt, ‘Ubaid Allāh b. Ḥabḥāb, gave the Kais who were settled here funds to buy beasts of burden out of the tithes (Makrizi, *Abhandlung*, p. 488). Echoes of the ancient pre-Islāmic practice have survived in South Arabia where the *raʿīye* pay ‘ushr to the sultān or emīr; here it is also called *ʿashira* but it is worth noting that it is

mainly levied on the fruits of the field, corn, dates coffee, indigo etc. Among the Barkān and the people of ‘Aryab, the corn is piled up, measured and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the wheat set aside, of which the poor of the sanctuary receive the half and the other half goes to the *mashā’ikh*, a custom which has analogies with the conditions in the Bible and also with those recorded by Pliny.

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‘**USHSHĀKİZĀDE**, a Turkish patronymic borrowed from the Persian, meaning strictly son or descendant of ‘Ushshākī, the latter word being the ethnic from Ushāk (arabised into *ushshāk*, plur. of *‘ashik*), a town in Asia Minor. ‘Ushshākizāde therefore means a descendant of a man from Ushāk.

Two families in Turkey have borne or bear this name:

1. The descendants of ‘Ushshākizāde ‘Abd al-Bākī, Kādī of Mecca and son-in-law of the *naḥīb ül-eskrāf* Seirekzāde ‘Abd al-Rahmān Efendi. He was the third son of the saint *Shāikh* Ḥasan Ḥusām al-Dīn said to have come from Bukhārā, who was a pupil of *Shāikh* Aḥmad al-Samarḳandī in Erzindjān and who settled in Ushāk at first and later in Constantinople in the reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent. He died at Konya in 1003 (1594—1595) and was buried in Constantinople with the *shāikhs* who succeeded him in the mosque founded by him at the same time as a *tekkiye* at Kāsim Pasha. Ḥusām al-Dīn founded the *ṭarīqa* or order of the ‘Ushshākīya dervishes, the rules of which are influenced by the Kubrawīya and Nūrbakhshīya *ṭarīqas* and which forms a branch of the Aḥmadiya who in turn are connected with the Kḥalwatiya. According to v. Hammer (*Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, vii. 287), the brotherhood of the ‘Ushshākīya was founded in the reign of Murād III (1574—1596). The priory of the order did not long remain in the direct line of the founder, owing to failure of male descendants. On the other hand, another branch of the same family, the ‘Ushshākizāde properly so-called, flourished greatly. ‘Ushshākizāde ‘Abd al-Bākī, already mentioned, had a son ‘Ushshākizāde

Ḥasīb Ibrāhīm Efendi who founded a family and acquired a certain reputation for his historical works (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 258—259; v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii. 477). ‘Abd Allāh Nesīb Efendi, another son of ‘Abd al-Bākī, was *Naḥīb al-Ashraf* at Constantinople from 1123 to 1130 (*Sidjill*, iii. 373 sq.; Rif‘at, *Dawlat al-Nuḥabā*, p. 33 sq.).

2. A family of merchants (carpet, etc.) and notables which was settled in Smyrna at the end of the sixteenth century and to which belong the well-known prose-writer and novelist ‘Ushshākizāde Khālīd Ḥiyā (Halit Ziya) [cf. KHĀLID ZIYĀ] and his niece Hanīm, formerly the wife of Ghāzī Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha.

As Halit Ziya has himself pointed out in his memoirs (*Haṭıralar arasında*, publ. in the *Vakıf* from Jan. 29, 1931, cf. No. 2 of these *Memoirs*), the family as late as 1869 was called Helwādjizāde (Helvacizade). The branch which went to Smyrna was known as Ushshākīllar, “those of Ushāk”, a name which was later replaced by that of ‘Ushshākizāde, which was thought more elegant.

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On the sect of ‘Ushshākīya cf. Aḥmad Rif‘at, *Lughāt-l Ṭarīkhiye we-Diogrāfiye*, iv. 243 (s. v. *ṭarīka*; cf. also this *Encyclopædia* s. v. *ṬARİKA*, p. 705). Details of the different *shāikhs* will be found in Ḥāfiẓ Ḥüsein b. al-Ḥādjdj Ismā‘il Aiwānserāyi, *Ḥaaiḳat al-Djāwāmi‘*, Constantinople 1281, ii. 23—25 (considerably abridged in the translation in Hammer, *Hist.*, p. 69, No. 634). (J. DENY)

ÜSKÜB (Serb. Skoplye), capital of the former Turkish wilāyet of Kōşowa (Serb. Kosovo), now the capital of the Vardar banat in the kingdom of Jugoslavia, is situated at a height of 960 feet above sea-level in the centre of a fertile valley surrounded by snow-covered mountains and built on both sides of the Vardar; in 1931 it had 64,807 inhabitants (only 32,249 in 1921) of whom over a third are Muslims. On the left bank of the river are the older quarters of the town (the fortress, the Turkish quarter etc.); on the right are the modern buildings and the railway station. Skoplye has 8,958 houses, 15 mosques, 6 Serbian Orthodox and 1 Roman Catholic churches. Of specifically Muslim buildings we may mention a *Medjlis-i ‘Ulamā* (i.e. a college of legal authorities, usually called “Ulema-medjlis”), a Waḳūf-Me‘ārif Council (“Vakufsko-mearifsko veće”) (cf. i., p. 760 sqq.), a chief Shar‘at court and a state high school for Muslims (“Velika medresa kralya Aleksandra I”) in which, in addition to the usual subjects, religion, Arabic and a little Turkish are taught. Owing to its splendid geographical situation, Skoplye has become the economic and cultural centre of Southern Serbia.

The town has already played a similar role in the past. Originally an Illyrian colony called Scupi, it was later the capital of the Roman province of Dardania and lay about two miles farther up the river at the present village of Zlokučani (N. W. of the modern Skoplye) but was completely destroyed by an earthquake in the year 518.

According to Sir Arthur Evans, Scupi was rebuilt in the neighbourhood of the ancient town on the

site of the present Skoplye by the Emperor Justinian (527—565) and called Justiniana Prima, but this new name did not survive. On the other hand, W. Tomaszek thinks it more probable that Justiniana Prima was built very much farther north of Skoplye. Professor N. Vulić had also adopted this view (*Où était Justiniana Prima?*, in *Le Musée Belge*, xxxii. [1928], 65—71) but now he agrees with Evans.

At the end of the seventh century, the town was taken by the Slavs. In the following centuries, Skopia (this is the usual Byzantine name; hence it also appears as Iskūbia on Idrisi's map of the world of 1154 [ed. K. Miller, Stuttgart 1928]) belonged mainly to Byzantium, with a few longer and shorter intervals when it was under Bulgar (Jireček, i. 211 and 222) and Serbian (*op. cit.*, i. 201) rule.

Towards 1282 Skoplye finally passed from the Byzantines to the Serbs (*op. cit.*, i. 245) and became the favourite residence of the mediaeval Serbian kings and emperors. It was here that the powerful king Dušan had himself ceremoniously crowned as the first Serbian emperor (1346). This time Serbian rule in Skoplye lasted 110 years (1282—1392) and this epoch may be described as the golden period in the town's history (especially down to 1371).

After the battle on the field of the blackbird (Serb. Kosovo polje) in 1389 Skoplye became of especial importance to the Ottomans and they occupied it in the early years of the reign of Bāyazid I. In the older Ottoman chroniclers (Urudi b. 'Adil, p. 26; 'Ashākpāshāzāde, ed. Giese, p. 58 [Stambul edition, p. 64]; Neshri-Nöldeke, ii., in *Z.D.M.G.*, xv. 333; anon. ed. Giese, p. 73 [only in the critic. appar., hence not in the transl.]), Pasha Yigit (Yiyit) Beg, "who is the tutor of Ishāk Beg (*Ishāk beg efendisiz*) and is like his father", is named as the conqueror of Üsküb and its first governor. The exact date of the conquest is not given in any of these historians but preserved in a contemporary Serbian inscription: Jan. 6, 1392 (Ij. Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi*, i. [Belgrade 1902], p. 56, No. 177). Ewliya Celebi (v. 553) asserts however that Ewrenos Beg took the town. Shams al-Dīn Sāmī (*Kāmūs al-A'lām*, ii. [1889], 932—933) on the other hand gives Timūr Tash Pasha as the Turkish conqueror of Skoplye in 792 (began Dec. 20, 1389) but without giving his authority. 'Ali Djewād (*Tārikh ve-Djoghrafiyā Lughātī*, i. [1311 = 1895], 87) also gives Timūr Tash Pasha but his authority seems to be the *Kāmūs al-A'lām*. Üsküb was at once settled with Turkish colonists (Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, i. 183) and was for a time the second residence of the Ottoman sultāns next to Adrianople (cf. e.g. Ewliya Celebi, v. 553). Üsküb was the base of further Ottoman campaigns northward, and it was from here that their governors controlled their Christian tributaries (Jireček, i. 97). In the course of time a busy trade developed in which the Ragusans played a prominent part. Building activity was also considerable and was mainly devoted to mosques, madrasas, baths etc. The largest and finest mosques date from the xvth century (Sultān Murād mosque built in 840 = 1436—1437; Ishāk Beg ["Aladža"] mosque built in 842 = 1438—1439; 'Isā Beg mosque built about 880 = 1475—1476; Kōdja Muştāfā mosque built in 890 = 1485; Karlozāde mosque ["Burmali džamiya"] built in 900 =

1495 [destroyed 1925]) and from the beginning of the xvth century (Yahyā Pasha mosque built in 908 = 1502—1503). Some of the Üsküb medreses early acquired a great reputation.

That Üsküb in the xvth and xviih century also played a large part in the poetry and scholarship of Turkey is shown by the following celebrated names: 1. 'Aṭā, poet, d. 930 = 1523—1524 (Gibb, *H.O.P.*, ii. 191, note 3); 2. Ishāk Celebi (Üskübi), lyricist and scholar, d. 949 = 1542—1543 (Gibb, iii. 40—45); 3. 'Ashāḥ Celebi (Pir Muḥammad), biographer of poets and himself a poet, d. 979 = 1571—1572 (Gibb, iii. 7—8 and 162, note 4; cf. also Ewliya, v. 560); 4. Weisī (Uwais b. Muḥammad), one of the most brilliant prose writers of his time, died as Kaḍī of Üsküb in 1037 = 1627—1628 (Gibb, iii. 208—218 and Ewliya, v. 560); 5. (New 'izāde) 'Aṭā'i, the famous poet and continuer of the *Shakā'ik al-nu'māniya* of Tashköprüzāde, whose last judicial post was in Üsküb, d. 1044 = 1634—1635 (Gibb, iii. 242—242; Brüsali M. Tāhir, *'Othmānī Müellifleri*, iii. 95—96; Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 171—172).

Western travellers of the xvth and xviih centuries (e.g. T. Petančić [1502], the anonymous Italian [1559], M. Bizzi [1604], Dr. Brown [1669]) describe Skoplye as a large and fine town. The two Turkish accounts of the xviih century agree with this. The one is by Hādjdī Khalifa (c. 1648) who not only describes Üsküb, the capital of the sandjak of the same name, as a fine town but says that the tower clock, which dated from the time of the unbelievers, was the largest in all Christendom; the other description by the somewhat later Ewliya Celebi in spite of all its exaggerations is the best of all the accounts of the town. At the time of his visit (1661), Üsküb had 70 mahallas, about 10,060 solidly built houses including several famous serays, 2,150 well built shops, 120 large and small mosques (45 Friday mosques), several churches and synagogues, 20 dervish monasteries, 110 fountains etc. Commerce, trade and industry were also all very flourishing. Conditions were so settled that a garrison of only 300 men sufficed.

But towards the end of the century, the Austrian general Piccolomini supported by rebel Serbs advanced across the Danube and the Save into the Vardar district, plundered Üsküb and burned it to the ground on October 26 and 27, 1689 (cf. M. Kostić, in *Južna Srbija*, i. [1922], 121—128). In the xviih century, the plague raged in this region and at the end of this century the population had sunk to 6,000.

It was only at the beginning of the xixth century that Üsküb began to revive again rapidly as a result of the immigration of inhabitants from adjoining regions. The reforms of 'Omar Pasha Latas restored peace and order in the whole region after 1840 and trade flourished once more. From 1875 onwards Muslim emigrants from Serbia and Bosnia considerably increased the population of the town. In 1873 the railway Salonika—Üsküb—Mitrovica was opened to traffic and in 1875 the capital of the wilayet was removed from Pristina to Üsküb. The opening of the railway Belgrad—Nish—Skoplye (—Salonika) in 1888 connected the town directly with Serbia and Central Europe. At the end of the xixth century, Üsküb had already 4,474 houses with 32,000 inhabitants (17,000 Muslims, 14,200 Christians and 800 Jews).

The Balkan war (1912) put an end to the 520 years of Turkish rule in Skoplye. Since 1918 when the town definitely passed to Yugo-Slavia the number of inhabitants has doubled and the development of Skoplye has been considerable in all fields (philosophical faculty of the University, Scientific society of Skoplye with its organ *Glasnik škopskog naučnog društva* [*Bulletin de la société scientifique de Skopje*], South Serbian Museum, National Theatre, Hygienic Institute etc.).

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(FEHIM BAJRAKAREVIĆ)

ÜSKÜDAR, the oldest and largest quarter of the Turkish Constantinople on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, lying at the foot of the hill of Bulghurlu, where the Asiatic coast advances farthest to the west, opposite the Tower of Leander (Kız Kulesi). In ancient times the small town of Chrysopolis (already mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, book vi., ch. vi. 38) existed on this site; it was then a suburb of the still older colony of Chalcedon (now Kādī Kīōy). Towards the end of the Byzantine Empire the name Scutari had come into use (cf. Phrantzes, ed. Bonn 1838, p. 111; *Ἐπον τὰ νῦν Σκούταρι ὀνομάζεται πρότερον δὲ Χρυσόπολις*). It is uncertain if this new name is to be derived from the corps of shield-bearers that was located there in the time of the emperor Valens (cf. Cuinet and G. Young, *Constantinople*, London 1926, p. 203). The direct reason may have been that there was, from the time of the Comnenoi, a palace there called Scutarion (Cuinet). The Turkish Üsküdār contains at the same time a popular etymology, as the Persian word *uskudār* (also *askudār* is given) has the meaning of a post station (Arabic *barid*); by its geographical position, Üsküdār became indeed the main base for all greater and smaller expeditions from the capital to the Asiatic parts of the empire (cf. F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924 and 1926). Large armies generally

were encamped in the vast plain to the south of the suburb, where now stands the part of the town called Haidar Pasha. Still another explanation of Üsküdār (viz. Eski Dār) is given by Ewliyā Celebi.

The historical sources do not mention in what particular way Üsküdār was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, but it certainly was taken under Orkhān's rule, either after the capture of İzniķ (1331), together with the other localities of Kōdjā Ili [q. v.] (cf. Nicephoros Gregoras, ed. Bonn 1840, iii. 458), or in any case after the death of the emperor Andronicos (1341; cf. Phrantzes, p. 41). The old Ottoman chronicles mention it for the first time during the reign of Muḥammad I. The local traditions, as recorded by Ewliyā Celebi, connect Üsküdār closely with the different expeditions undertaken against Constantinople by Saiyid Baṭṭāl Ghāzī.

In Turkish times Scutari became much more an integral part of the capital than it seems to have been in Byzantine times, though, according to Ewliyā Celebi, it became fully populated only in the time of Sulaimān I. One of the reasons was certainly that it became the seat of several derwīsh congregations and their tekke's, and consequently an important centre of the mystical life of the capital. The best known are the Ḥalwetiye Tekke of Shaikh Maḥmūd (lived beginning xviith century) and the Rifā'iye Tekke. Scutari contains moreover a number of remarkable mosques, the largest of which were all founded by ladies of the imperial court. The most notable mosques are: Mihr u-Māh Djāmi'i or Iskele Djāmi'i, erected in 954 (1547) opposite the chief landing-place; Eski Wālide Djāmi'i, more to the south, finished in 991 (1583); Činili Djāmi', on the south-eastern point, finished in 1050 (1640); and Yeñi Wālide Djāmi'i, finished in 1120 (1708). The Selimiye mosque was founded by Selim III and belongs to the buildings erected by that sultān for his new troops called *niḡām-i dīdār*. Finally this suburb is famous for the large cemetery that extends on its eastern side.

In the judicial hierarchy the Üsküdār Mollas ranked with the mollas of Ḡalaṭa and of Eiyūb among the lowest class of the highest order of judges (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii. 271). Administratively Scutari has long been a part of the town of Constantinople (Cuinet). In the new administrative division of the Turkish republic it is a *kaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Istanbul (*Dewlet Sālnāmesi* for 1926, p. 612; on p. 635 of this publication the number of inhabitants is given as 155,092).

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

UŞUL (A.), roots, principles, pl. of *aşl*. Among the various terminological uses of this word, three are prominent as terms for branches of Muslim learning: *uşul al-dīn*, *uşul al-ḥadīth* and *uşul al-fikh*. *Uşul al-dīn* is synonymous with *kalām* [q. v.]; by *uşul al-ḥadīth* is meant the treatment of the terminology and methods of the science of Tradition [see ḤADĪTH]; the *uşul al-fikh* [frequently called simply (science of the) *Uşūl*] are the doctrine of the "principles" of Muslim jurisprudence, *fikh* [q. v.].

1. In the usual classification of Muslim sciences, the *uṣūl al-fikh* are generally defined as the methodology of Muslim jurisprudence, as the science of the proofs which lead to the establishment of legal standards. Its existence is justified by the consideration that man was not created without a purpose (Sūra xxiii. 117) and is not aimlessly left to himself (Sūra lxxv. 36) but all his actions are regulated by legal standards; as there cannot be a special standard for every individual case, one has to depend for their derivation on proofs. These proofs, according to the view which finally prevailed, are of four kinds: *Ḳurʾān*, *sunna*, *idjmaʿ* and *ḳiyās* [q. v.]. In the *uṣūl al-fikh*, therefore, we are not so much concerned with the material sources of Islāmic law as with the formal basis of the individual prescriptions. Thus the four *uṣūl* include in addition to the two material sources, *Ḳurʾān* and *sunna*, which are regarded from the point of view, not of their substance but of their legal force, the general condition of *idjmaʿ* and method of *ḳiyās*, while other historically no less important sources of Muslim law are not recognised. The development of these and other *uṣūl* which did not attain full recognition is somewhat as follows.

2. The logically first and most highly esteemed source of law in Islām is of course the *Ḳurʾān*; there could be no doubt of its conclusive authority and infallibility — in spite of the possibility of attempts to falsify it by the devil (Sūra xxii. 51; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i. 100), nor could there be any doubt that it has been handed down essentially intact (cf. *ibid.*, i. 261; ii. 93) — in spite of the Prophet's forgetting several verses (Sūra ii. 100; lxxxvii. 6 sq.). The fact that the *Ḳurʾān* itself describes several of its sections as abrogated (*mansūkh*); the passage abrogating the older one is called *nāsikh* by later revelations is not in contradiction to this (Sūra ii. 100; xvi. 103 sq.; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *op. cit.*, ii. 52 sqq.). It was the task of later interpretation to get rid of the numerous contradictions within the *Ḳurʾān*, which reflect the process of development of Muḥammad as a prophet, by harmonising them or in extreme cases to assume that the later revelation abrogated the earlier. It was in no way Muḥammad's intention to create a "system" even in its main outlines, which was to regulate the whole life of his followers; the old Arab customary law, which already included many elements of foreign (Roman provincial, Babylonian?, South Arabian?) origin, on the contrary remained in force in Islām as a matter of course with its variations adopted to local conditions [Beduin, Mecca (commercial town), Medina (an agricultural centre)]; Muḥammad's legislative activity was confined to correcting isolated points out of considerations of religion — for even the modifications affecting social life have a religious basis — from case to case usually under the stimulus of extraneous happenings. Including the verses dealing with questions of public worship and those of a military or political nature, the total number of verses forming what is known as the *āyāt al-shaʿriyya* is only about 500—600; but essential parts of the legislation affecting worship, e.g. the ritual of the *ṣalāt*, were not regulated by the *Ḳurʾān*, but simply by the example and guidance of the Prophet, and a number of other prescriptions by Muḥammad are not in the *Ḳurʾān*, usually of minor importance and not of general application, although having prophetic authority (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *op. cit.*,

i. 260). From the beginning, the prophetic authority of Muḥammad has never been doubted, even on matters not laid down in the *Ḳurʾān*; at the same time, however, his actions as a mere mortal were not considered infallible even in religious matters and on several occasions he was sharply criticised. The abolition of certain customs permitted or practised by Muḥammad very soon after his death points in the same direction. The Prophet himself made no claim to infallibility: the *Ḳurʾān* expressly states (e.g. Sūra xviii. 110; xli. 5) that, although he was the transmitter of revelation, in other respects he was a man "like others" and sometimes even condemns his attitude (e.g. Sūra lxi. 1).

3. With the death of the Prophet, legislative activity through *Ḳurʾānic* revelation and prophetic authority of course came to an end. It was natural that the early caliphs should endeavour to guide the Islāmic community on the lines of its founder, in consultation with the leading Companions of the Prophet. The guiding principles were to be found in the *Ḳurʾān* and in authoritative decisions of the Prophet not in the *Ḳurʾān*. The endeavour to extend these comparatively narrow foundations led very early to their interpretation being broadened beyond the original meaning and probably to the rise of new traditions. At the same time the caliphs, as heads of their state and representatives of the Prophet, were not to be prevented from legislative activity of their own and from sometimes even altering decisions of the Prophet (cf. above). It may be historical that according to tradition Abū Bakr is represented as modelling himself exactly on the Prophet in this connection and ʿUmar rather as showing more tendency to interfere and change. The relationship to customary law continued unchanged, even after the latter had been more than ever exposed to foreign influence as a result of the great conquests in the ʿIrāk, Syria and Egypt.

4. With the coming of the Umayyads and the transference of the seat of government to Damascus the circles of the devout in Medina, hitherto the centre, lost all actual influence on the business of government. They therefore began to devote themselves with all the more zeal to preparing an ideal picture of things as they ought to be, in contrast to the actual practice. While in reality the customary law continued to exist undisturbed in the various provinces of the caliphate, and developed in combination with the actual administration of justice — for the Umayyad caliphs down to ʿUmar II had in general little inclination to interfere and establish standards based on religion — the principles of Muslim law arose first in Medina and later also in the ʿIrāk and Syria. The object of these pious men who at first worked without any thought of theory or method, was to correct and adjust the material of the laws they found in existence according to Muslim religious principles and to systematise it. They took their religious points of view from the *Ḳurʾān* and the material of Tradition, which they recognised as binding; the (real and alleged) sayings and actions of the Companions of the Prophet, of whom as a body they were the successors, had also high authority with them. It was of special authority when a majority of the Companions acted in the same way and the same majority principle did a great deal to cause individual views gradually to approximate to one another. The results of these cogitations were for the most part formulated in traditions and put in

the mouth of the Prophet. This considerable increase in the material of Tradition, from other sources also, again introduced into Muslim law numerous new elements, particularly those of Jewish origin. This resulted in establishing already certain characteristic peculiarities of Muslim law: its character as the interpretation and unfolding of the prescriptions, given in essence at least, by Allāh through his Prophet, the denial of the possibility of development and of legislative activity after the death of the Prophet in contrast to the historical development, the recognition of the usage of the Prophet, the *sunnat al-nabi*, as the second main standard standing next to the *Kur'an* only in position, not in power and authority. It was just because the teaching was based for a very large part on Muḥammad's (real or fictitious) *sunna* that this was regarded as an infallible norm for the Muslim community, a view which was with difficulty read into the *Kur'an* (e.g. iii. 29; iv. 62; xvi. 46; xxxiii. 21; liii. 3) but was distinctly laid down by tradition. The contradictions, which naturally appeared more frequently in Tradition than in the *Kur'an*, were to be disposed of by the same means as in the latter (cf. above), and also by criticism of the *isnāds* [q. v.] behind which criticism of the subject matter had, it is interesting to note, usually to conceal itself. The more or less strongly islamised customary law was still recognised as having an independent basis, especially on points where it aroused no misgivings from the religious point of view. As its Muslim equivalent, the "*sunna* of pious men" is sometimes given particular authority.

5. The first reflections on theory were provoked towards the end of this period, in the beginning of the second (eighth) century, by the coming into existence of a special science of *ḥadīth* alongside of *fiqh*. The representatives of the former reproached the "jurists" with bringing by their use of the intelligence a human element into the law which ought rather to be based exclusively on the *Kur'an* and on *Ḥadīth* as representing the *sunna* of the Prophet. Their opponents replied to this by saying that one's own intelligence (*ra'y*) was absolutely necessary for the deduction of legal precepts and both parties cited traditions to support their views. From the first, the dispute was more concerned with form than matter and frequently was simply a quarrel over words; the result of it was the general recognition in principle of the justification of *ra'y* in the *fiqh*; on the other hand, the various schools laid varying emphasis on *Ḥadīth*; at any rate the results are everywhere the same. As early as the first half of the second (eighth) century three different shades of *fiqh* had developed in the three centres of the Ḥidjāz, the 'Irāk and Syria, in the origin and spread of which geographical conditions had played an essential part, on the one hand through developing life and doctrine uniformly within closed areas and on the other through the original differences of the basic legal material in the different regions; these variants were the precursors of the later *madhāhib* of Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Awzā'i; the Ḥidjāz school laid most emphasis on Tradition and the 'Irāk school on *ra'y*. In these circumstances the views held by the majority of learned men in Medina (or Mecca and Medina) or in Kūfa or in Baṣra carried particular weight. To about the middle of the second (eighth) century belong the first writings of any

length by important representatives of these three schools, especially of the Ḥidjāz and the 'Irāk, which enable us to see their mental attitudes; the following sketch is based on the results of the study of Mālik's *al-Muwatta'*³, the only work that has been at all studied among them. Mālik devotes great care to establishing the *idjmā'* of the learned men of Medina; this conception, which originally had simply meant the majority (just as in the science of *kur'anic* readings which borrowed the term from the *fiqh*; cf. Nöldeke-Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii. 130 sq., 135), has here already become the qualified majority, approaching unanimity. At the same time Mālik recognises as authoritative the *sunna*, i.e. legal use and wont in Medina, which is not at all identical with the *sunnat al-nabi* (cf. above). Both *idjmā'* and *sunna* of Medina are to him closely connected; his work represents the degree of islamisation of the customary law attained in his time in Medina and — as is evident from a comparison with the later period — the process was now complete. The great works of al-Shaibānī were undoubtedly something similar for the 'Irāk.

6. In al-Shāfi'i (d. 204 = 820) we have the founder of Muslim jurisprudence. It is his great achievement that in him legal thought becomes conscious of itself and thus becomes a science, that he argues not only occasionally and ad hoc but throughout and on principle and gives a discussion on the starting points and methods of argumentation in jurisprudence. The important steps in advance which he made in the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, based on the results of previous development, are as follows. He finally defines *sunna* as a source of law as the usage of the Prophet, as the 'Irāk school had already done before him. He further defines the *idjmā'* as the view held by the majority of Muslims and uses it as a secondary source of elucidation on questions which cannot be decided from the *Kur'an* and the *sunna* of the Prophet; he justifies its authority by general considerations and traditions which order adhesion to the community of Muslims and he therefore does not yet know the *ḥadīth* later often quoted: "My community will never agree upon an error". While the islamisation of law had in general been already completed before Mālik, al-Shāfi'i did a great deal to advance its systematisation. To attain this object, he to some extent abandoned the usual path of legal thought, not the first appearance of this tendency, and if he did not invent the process of *kiyās* (analogy), he considerably developed the principle and applied it extensively. It is essentially the old method of *ra'y* which he adopts here under this less ominous name, but a certain limitation of the process is apparent (among the old representatives of the 'Irāk school *kiyās* seems to have been used to dispose of isolated abnormal traditions). Al-Shāfi'i further endeavoured to lay down definite rules for its use; he only succeeded to a very small extent however and even in later times, in spite of limitations in method, *kiyās* still had not overcome the vagueness which causes it to lack cogent power of conviction. In al-Shāfi'i it still appears as synonymous with *idjtihād* [q. v.] in the old sense in which the latter as a synonym of *ra'y* means the jurist's use of his intelligence. Among the representatives of the 'Irāk school and also among those of the Ḥidjāz, *istiḥsān* [q. v.] was used as a variety of *ra'y*. It consisted in

diverging from the result properly to be expected by analogy (*kiyās*) out of considerations of reasonableness or practical considerations etc. Al-Shāfi'ī vigorously challenged this process as purely subjective and held that only *kiyās* was valid. Al-Shāfi'ī in this way carried through a deliberate islāmisation of the *uṣūl*.

7. The development after al-Shāfi'ī in the predominant school resulted in the *Qur'ān*, *sunna*, *idjmā'* and *kiyās* being classed together as the four *uṣūl al-fiqh*, which is only intelligible from their history, and in further developments in detail. Among the latter are the settlement of the mutual relations of *Qur'ān* and *sunna*: while al-Shāfi'ī taught that the precepts of the *Qur'ān* were given greater precision by the *sunna* but the *Qur'ān* can only be abrogated by the *Qur'ān* and the *sunna* by *sunna*, it was already recognised in part before and certainly generally after him, that it was possible to abrogate the *Qur'ān* by *sunna*, which was thus ranked not only equal to but above the *Qur'ān*; the practical legal results were however hardly affected by this theoretical differentiation. — As to the *idjmā'*, in later times they were not content with the majority of Muslims, but demanded the general agreement of all scholars living at the same time in a certain period, which was to be binding on all futurity, but unanimity in the literal sense was never demanded. The *idjmā'* in this sense did not remain merely supplementary to the *Qur'ān* and *sunna*, but was regarded as confirming them, on the ground of the general conviction of its infallibility, which had developed out of general considerations and found expression in the above quoted *ḥadīth* (*Qur'ānic* passages like iii. 98; iv. 85, 115 are also quoted in support); finally it was even allowed the power of cancelling prescriptions of the *Qur'ān* and *sunna*, as was actually done for example in the case of the worship of saints and the doctrine of the infallibility of the prophets (cf. above § 2). Important sections of Muslim law are based on this *idjmā'* alone, e.g. the caliphate, the recognition of the *sunna* of the Prophet as an obligatory standard, the authorization of *kiyās* etc.; in the last resort, in this view the whole of Muslim law owes its authority to the infallible *idjmā'*, which guarantees its correctness and agreement with the true meaning of the divine sources. This conception of *idjmā'* is in its essentials already found in Ṭabarī (d. 310 = 923). This is the common orthodox doctrine; only the Mālikīs define *idjmā'* as the agreement, firstly of the Companions of the Prophet, then of the two generations following them (the so-called "successors" and "successors of the successors"), and therefore as the *sunna* of Medina, the home of the true *sunna* (cf. above § 5), but grant this *idjmā'* the same authority as the others do. Only some Ḥanbalis and the Wahhābis, as well as the Zāhiris, to be mentioned below, limit *idjmā'* to the agreement of the Companions of the Prophet, which has resulted in considerable differences in doctrine. The Khāridjīs (Ibādīs) recognised only *idjmā'* within their own community and here they demand unanimity. At the same time, there were various divergent views on *idjmā'* in the early period. — Even after al-Shāfi'ī a vigorous opposition to *kiyās* was raised by Dāwūd al-Zāhirī (d. 270 = 883) and his school, who rejected all *kiyās* and *ra'y* and declared for the interpretation of the *Qur'ān* and *sunna*, in the outward

sense (*zāhir*) only; but even they could not get along without making deductions, which they endeavoured to represent as being already inherent in the words of the text (*mafḥūm*). But this school, which survived down to the ixth (xvth) century was not destined to have a lasting influence. We also still find other isolated opponents of *kiyās* and *ra'y*, even among the Shāfi'īs, e.g. al-Bukhārī (d. 256 = 870) and al-Ghazālī (505 = 1111), who — at least in his mystic period — applies it in practice, but in theory does not recognise it as having equal force with the traditional sources (cf. Goldziher, *Zāhiriten*, p. 182 sq.); in the end however, *kiyās* won undisputed recognition and the Ḥanbalis and Wahhābis as well as the Khāridjīs (Ibādīs) recognise it. The Shāfi'īs and with certain limitations also the Ḥanafis use in *istiṣḥāb* [q. v.] a special variety, surer in method, of the usual *kiyās* which is regarded as an independent *aṣl*. The Ḥanafis followed the other *madhāhib* in taking over the term *kiyās* for the old *ra'y* but in contrast to al-Shāfi'ī they retained *istiḥṣān*. The Mālikīs continue to recognise it, but in general they prefer the process or rather the name *istiṣḥāb* [q. v.], a variety of *kiyās* which decides in favour of what is generally considered best. This *istiṣḥāb* is also found among the Shāfi'īs, who following their master vigorously reject *istiḥṣān*. As a matter of fact, the two processes are practically identical. On account of the arbitrariness with which the results of *kiyās* were often simply thrust aside, when it was considered necessary or simply desirable to diverge from the strict demands of theory, both methods are disputed by many and have never been generally included among the *uṣūl of the fiqh*.

The Twelver Shī'īs (Imāmīs) agree with the Sunnis in recognising the *Qur'ān* and *sunna* as *uṣūl of the fiqh*; with them however not only the *sunna* of the Prophet is authoritative but also that of the divinely guided twelve imāms, whose infallible authority guarantees the correctness of the law in a similar fashion to the *idjmā'* in the Sunnī system. For the documentation of the *sunna* the Shī'īs have several works of their own on tradition, which differ materially from those of the Sunnis; in particular all traditions and decisions are rejected which go back to the authority of the first three caliphs before 'Alī or in which 'Alī appears as their representative and successor. Under the guidance of an imām further *uṣūl* are unnecessary; during the concealment of the last imām, however, there are still two others which correspond to the two last Sunnī *uṣūl*. But even in this period the school of the Akhbārī regards the *sunna* along with the *Qur'ān* as alone authoritative and seeks to trace back all decisions to traditions of the imāms, limiting as far as possible rational deductions, and even demands for the elucidation of each verse of the *Qur'ān* a tradition relating to it. The school of the Uṣūlī, on the other hand, which enjoys greater prestige as the more widely disseminated, recognises reason ('*aql*') as the third of the *uṣūl*, but disputes the right of *kiyās* (this variation from the Sunnis is however limited to terminology). Lastly the fourth among the *uṣūl* is the agreement of the majority of jurists since the beginning of the concealment of the last imām. While the *sunna* can abrogate another *sunna* and even the *Qur'ān*, this *idjmā'* can only dispose of traditions, the correctness of the transmission of which it disputes. At the same time, the Shī'īs recognise as secondary *uṣūl*, *istiṣḥāb*, the similar methods of deduction

known as *barā'a* and *ishtighāl* as well as, in the ultimate resort, the choice of the judge between several possible views.

8. Although the *idjmā'* is strongly rooted in customary law and has actually gained official recognition for important elements in practice even against the *Qur'an* and Tradition (cf. above), its fitness for the further development of Islāmic law, the rejection of old prescriptions and the assimilation of new elements must not be overestimated, as it is as likely from its development to prevent, as much as to encourage, innovations; the numerous foreign elements which Muslim law contains had for the most part entered it before *idjmā'* had begun to prevail over *fiqh* as a whole. On the other hand, *istihsān* and *istiṣlāh* afford the possibility of paying consideration to customary law, though to a gradually diminishing extent in course of time. In places the attempt was even made to place 'urf, the general usage, as a fifth *aṣl* of the *fiqh* alongside of the four generally recognised, even as late as the 7th (xth) century; in general it is regarded as meritorious not to let the laws derived from the *Qur'an* and *sunna* come into conflict with actual practice and to legitimate the latter as far as possible "to escape the danger of sinning" (cf. *Isl.*, xv. 213); but a general direct recognition of 'urf, even in a subordinate position, by the *fiqh* never came about. The discussions which we find about 'urf 'āmm (general usage) and 'urf *khāṣṣ* (local custom or custom observed for a time only), their relation to the *idjmā'* and their legal authority, are purely theoretical; in the cases in which the *sharī'a* itself refers to 'urf or 'āda (custom), the reference is hardly ever to legal usages; customary law is not recognised as binding even for the cases for which the *fiqh* gives no rule. The view prevailing in the Dutch East Indies for example, of the equality of *sharī'a* and 'āda [cf. the article *SHARĪ'A* at the end] takes us quite outside of the teaching of the *fiqh*, which can leave almost all practice to customary law, but not give it a place at all in its theoretical system. Even the later Mālikī jurists, especially in North Africa, who have made particular efforts to adapt themselves closely to actual practice, make no exception on this question of principle. However important and natural the influence of customary law and of foreign legal elements in general was in the early period of Islāmic law, all the more difficult has been its further advance, especially since the theoretical recognition of the *uṣūl* in their final form.

9. As the *fiqh* had already developed in all essentials before the theory of the *uṣūl* was established, the elements which led to its origin cannot be given in their correct historical perspective. But even from the point of view of Muslim systematisation, they have for long had a purely theoretical position as regards *fiqh*. Only the *muḍṭaḥid* is qualified to apply them, that is to say to derive independently legal regulations from the *uṣūl*, but according to the orthodox *idjmā'*, *idjtihād* has long ceased and all jurists are obliged to use the lowest stage of *taqlid* [q. v.]. Many jurists are therefore content, without going deeper into the study of the *uṣūl*, with the occasional brief notes on them, which most of the *fiqh* books add to the discussion of different regulations. There are however numerous special works on the *uṣūl* and these form the subject of one of the traditional Muslim sciences.

The Sunni works on *uṣūl* deal *inter alia*, according to the author's point of view, with *Qur'an*, *sunna* and *idjmā'* as regards genuineness and arrangement for the purposes of *fiqh*, the rules — usually given very fully — for their interpretation, according to form and legal substance, also the so-called legal categories [cf. the article *SHARĪ'A*], the reconciliation of contradictions among the sources by harmonizing or assuming abrogation, the use of *ḥiyās*, dispensation etc. and lastly as a rule with *idjtihād* and *taqlid*. The first work of this kind, which however does not yet fall into the scheme given, is al-Shāfi'i's *Risāla*. Among especially important and much annotated works of a later period are the following: Imām al-Haramain al-Djuwainī (d. 478 = 1085), *al-Warāqāt fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*; al-Pazdawī (d. 482 = 1089), *Kanz al-Wuṣūl ilā Ma'rifat al-Uṣūl*; Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-Thānī (d. 747 = 1346), *al-Tanqīh* and *al-Tawḍīh*; al-Subkī (d. 771 = 1369), *Djam' al-Djawāmi'*; Mollā Khosraw (d. 885 = 1480), *Mir'āt al-Wuṣūl* and *Mir'āt al-Uṣūl*. — The authority of the imām is the foundation of the Shī'i *uṣūl* and among the Shī'is it plays a part similar to *idjmā'* among the Sunnis; *idjtihād* also continues to exist here.

Bibliography: The fundamental works for the history of the *uṣūl* are: Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 2; Bergsträsser, *Isl.*, xiv. 76 sqq. — Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 65 sqq. gives an older historical view; concise accounts of the prevailing theory with historical notes are given by Juynboll, *Handleiding*³, p. 32 sqq. (*Handbuch*², p. 39 sqq.) and more fully by Santillana, *Istituzioni*, p. 25 sqq.; further literature is also given there. — Lists of the best known Arabic works on *uṣūl* are given in Ḥādīdī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i., No. 835 sqq. and in Tāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-Sāda*, Haidarābad, 1910, ii. 53 sqq.; do. in Turkish, *Mewzū'āt al-ʿUlūm*, transl. by Kamāl al-Dīn, Constantinople 1313, p. 634 sqq. (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

'UṬĀRID (A.), the planet Mercury, Pers. *Tir*. It was known from very early times to the ancient civilisations of the east as its conditions of visibility are much more favourable there than in more northern latitudes. Lists of planets of the Assyrian period mention Mercury (*Nabū*) under its Sumerian name Kakkab L U. B. T. G Ū. U. D. Among the Egyptians it was called the "star of Apollo", among the Greeks *ὁ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστὴρ* and also *Ἑρμῆων* (cf. Achilles Tatius, *Isagoge*, Ch. 17). Aristotle also calls it *ὁ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*.

The name *al-Kātib* as a synonym for 'Uṭārid is, according to Nallino (al-Battānī, *Opus Astronomicum*, i. 291), only used among the Arabs in Spain and Northwest Africa and is not to be found in Arabic texts or dictionaries compiled east of the Nile. The name *al-Kātib* is quoted in a later Arabic glossary compiled in Southern Spain in the xiith century (*Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, ed. C. F. Seybold, Berlin 1900); the two passages in al-Battānī in which Mercury is mentioned as *al-Kātib* (iii. 186 and 222) are undoubtedly apocryphal.

The Arab astronomers reckon the sphere (*falak*) of Mercury, in agreement with Pythagoras and Ptolemy, as the second innermost. Below it is bounded by the outer surface of the sphere of the moon and above by the inner surface of the sphere of Venus. In perigee (*faridīyūn*) the distance from the earth's centre is according to al-Farghānī

(*Compilatio*, Ch. 21), al-Battānī (Ch. 50) and Ibn Rusta (*Kitāb al-A‘lāk*, ed. de Goeje, p. 18—20) $64\frac{1}{8}$ times the radius of the earth, according to Abrahām bar Hiyyā (*Sphaera mundi*, Ch. 9) 64 times the radius of the earth, in apogee (*afidziyūn*) according to al-Farghānī 167, according to the three other authors 166 times the earth's radius; al-Battānī takes 115 times the earth's radius as the mean distance. The radius of the earth is here taken as 3,250 (al-Farghānī, al-Battānī and Bar Hiyyā) or 3,818 Arab miles (Ibn Rusta) (one Arab mile = 1,973 metres; cf. Nallino, *Il valore metrico del grado di meridiano*). Figures are also given for dimensions of the body (*djirm*) of the star. Al-Kāzwinī (*Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 22) estimates the circumference (*dawra*) of Mercury at 286 farsakh and its diameter (*kuṭr*) at 273 miles (1 farsakh = 3 miles); according to al-Battānī the diameter of Mercury is to that of the earth as 1:26 $\frac{1}{4}$ (Ch. 50); it is therefore about 250 miles; al-Battānī gives the volume at

$\frac{1}{18,087} \left(\frac{1}{(26\frac{1}{4})^3} \right)$. The corresponding Indian figures given by al-Bīrūnī (from the compilation by Ya‘qūb b. Ṭāriq of 161 A.H.) differ considerably from the Arab: shortest distance 64,000 farsakh, corresponding to 60 $\frac{20}{21}$ times the radius of the earth (1 radius = 1,050 farsakh), mean distance 164,000 farsakh = 156 $\frac{4}{21}$ earth's radii, greatest distance 264,000 farsakh = 251 $\frac{3}{7}$ radii, diameter 5,000 farsakh = 4 $\frac{10}{21}$ radii.

A very full theory of the motion of Mercury is given by al-Battānī (Ch. 31 and 45—48, also tables ii., p. 24—28 [fol. 168b—170b], p. 102—106 [f. 205a—207a], p. 132—137 [f. 220a—223b], p. 139, 141, 143 [f. 224b, 225b, 226b]). The motion in anomaly (*ḥāṣṣa*) corresponding to the mean synodic motion is 3° 6' 24" in a day, so that Mercury completes its synodic revolution in 115 days 21 hours. These figures agree most accurately with the modern estimates. The values given in al-Battānī's tables for the difference between the mean and true anomaly (*ta'dīl al-ḥāṣṣa wa 'l-marḳa*) of Mercury expressed in terms of the radius of the deferent (*al-falak al-ḥāmīl*) are: eccentricity of the equant (*al-falak al-mu‘addil li 'l-masīr*) = 0.05 and radius of the epicycle (*alak al-tadwīr*) in mean distance = 0.375. In expressing the diameter it should be noted (cf. *Almagest*, xiii.): The maximum indication of the deferential towards the ecliptic (first inequality, *mail al-falak al-ḥāmīl*) is 0° 45' south; the maximum inclination of the apsidal line of the epicycle towards the plane of the deferent (second inequality, *mail falak al-tadwīr*) was estimated by observation at 6° 15'.

‘Utārid in astrology. ‘Utārid is the ruler (*rabb*) over the *buyūt* al-‘Adhrā’ (Virgo) and al-Djawzā’ (Gemini), also night ruler over the 3 *muthal-latha* (*triquetrum*) consisting of al-Djawzā’, al-Mizān (Librae) and al-Dalw (Aquarius). It has its *sharaf* (exaltation) in the 15th degree of al-‘Adhrā’, its *hubūt* (dejection) in the 15th degree of al-Ḥūt (Pisces). According to Kāzwinī (i. 22), it was called *munāfiq* “hypocritical” by the astrologers, because in conjunction with a lucky planet it brought good fortune and with an unlucky one ill-luck. It also assumes the quality of the ruler in the *buyūt* of other planets; in its own it produces thunder and earthquakes. The Indians according to al-Bīrūnī regard Mercury as a lucky star when it stands alone, while in constellation with another planet

it intensifies its good or evil influences, just as with the Greeks and Arabs. — A detailed account of the part played by Mercury in Arabic astrology, its significance in the zodiacal circle, its conjunctions with the moon and other planets is given by Abū Ma‘shar, to whose work the reader is referred.

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AL-‘UTBĪ, ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-DIABBĀR, the author of the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, was born at Ray about the year 350 (961). He left his home in early youth and came to live in Khurāsān with his maternal uncle Abū Naṣr al-‘Utbī who held an important post under the Sāmānids. After the death of Abū Naṣr, al-‘Utbī served as secretary first to Abū ‘Alī Simjūri, the commander of the army of Khurāsān from 378 to 383 (988—993), then for a short time to Shams al-Ma‘ālī Kābūs who was living as an exile in Khurāsān, and finally to Subuktigin, ruler of Ghazna. He continued to hold this post under Ismā‘īl b. Subuktigin whom he claims to have persuaded to surrender Ghazna to Maḥmūd.

In 389 (999) Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna sent al-‘Utbī as a special ambassador to Gharchistān to persuade the ruler to acknowledge him as his suzerain, and he accomplished this mission successfully. About the year 412 (1021), al-‘Utbī finished his famous work the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, presented it to Shams al-Kufāt Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Maimandī, the wazīr of Sultān Maḥmūd, and as a reward was appointed to the important post of *Ṣāhib-i Barīd* (Postmaster) of Kandj Rustāk. But al-‘Utbī quarrelled with Abū ‘l-Ḥasan al-Baghawī, the governor, and made complaints against him to Aḥmad al-Maimandī, the wazīr. As a result of the enquiries which were instituted into the matter, he was dismissed in 413 (1022). After this he entered the service of Prince Maṣūd, son of Sultān Maḥmūd, and was heard of no more. He died in 427 (1036), or, according to another account, in 431 (1040).

Al-‘Utbī was the author of many works, only one of which, the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, has survived. It is a history of the reign of Amīr Subuktigin, his son Sultān Maḥmūd and the contemporary rulers. The style of this work is very ornate and verbose and has always been appreciated in the East. Djurdjī Zaidān, in his *Ta‘rīkh Adab al-Lughat al-‘Arabiya* (ii. 322), regards its style as superior to that of al-Tha‘alibī's *Yatima* and compares it favourably with Hilāl al-Ṣābi's *Ta‘rīkh al-Wuzarā’*.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* of al-

ʿUtbi and its commentary *Fath al-Wahbī*, commonly known as *al-Manīnī* (Cairo 1286); and *Yatimat al-Dahr* of al-Thaʿalibī.

(M. NAZIM)

AL-UṬRŪSH ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿOMAR AL-AŠHRAF B. ʿALĪ ZAIN AL-ʿABIDĪN [S. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAIN], born about 230 (844) at Medina of a Khurāsān slave girl, died in Shaʿbān 304 (beginning of 917) at Āmul as ruler in Ṭabaristān, is recognised under the official name of AL-NĀṢIR AL-KABĪR as Imām by the Zaidīs, and also by those of Yemen.

Al-Uṭrūsh came to Ṭabaristān in the reign of the ʿAlid al-Dāʿī al-Kabir al-Ḥasan b. Zaid [see AL-ḤASAN B. ZAID B. MUḤAMMAD]; his brother and successor al-Kāʿim bi ʿl-Ḥaḡḡ Muḥammad b. Zaid distrusting him, he endeavoured to found a kingdom of his own in the east, at first with the support of the governor of Naisābūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī who took Djurdjān from al-Kāʿim. But tale-bearers cast suspicion on Uṭrūsh and al-Khudjistānī threw him into prison in Naisābūr or Djurdjān and had him scourged, which injured his hearing and to this he owes his epithet "the deaf". On his release he returned to al-Kāʿim Muḥammad and in 287 or 288 or (according to Abu ʿl-Faradj al-Isfahānī, *Maḡātil al-Ṭalibiyin*, Teheran 1307, p. 229, 14) not till 289 (900—901) he shared in the latter's defeat at Djurdjān by Muḥammad b. Hārūn, then a partisan of the Sāmānids [q. v.] Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad. Al-Kāʿim died as a result of a wound; Uṭrūsh fled and went to Dāmaghān and Raiy among other places. On the death of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in 289 (902) he came forward again, especially as Muḥammad b. Hārūn, who had quarrelled with the Sāmānids, supported him. Uṭrūsh received a welcome from Djastān of Dailam (or his son Wahsūdān; cf. Vasmer, in *Islamica*, iii. 165 sqq.). The friendship of the Djastānids, which dated from the time they and Uṭrūsh were with al-Kāʿim, was as fickle as their attitude to Islām which their ancestor Marzbān had adopted only a century earlier. Several joint undertakings thus came to nothing; Uṭrūsh recognised the necessity of first of all securing a following of his own and through them the followers of the Djastānids. He conducted Islāmic missions and ʿAlid propaganda from Hawsam among the not yet Muḥammadan tribes on the coast of the Caspian Sea and in Gilān and also built mosques.

The Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl in 298 (910) sent Muḥammad b. Ṣaʿlūḡ to Ṭabaristān with orders to anticipate the foundation of the new state; but a Khurāsān army superior in numbers and still more in equipment was completely defeated by the Dailamīs under Uṭrūsh at Shālūs in Djumādā I 301 (Dec. 913); many fugitives were driven into the sea; a detachment led by Abu ʿl-Wafāʾ Khalifa b. Nuḥ escaped to the fortress of Shālūs, surrendered to Uṭrūsh on a promise of pardon but was shortly afterwards massacred by his general and son-in-law al-Ḥasan b. al-Kāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Kāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zaid b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib. Uṭrūsh had in the meanwhile gone to Āmul with the rest of the army, sent for by the terrified inhabitants, and had taken up his abode in the former palace of al-Kāʿim Muḥammad. He was able to instal his officials from Shālūs to Sāriya, unhindered by the Sāmānids, because just then Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl was

murdered and his son Naṣr had first of all to make his position secure against his family and the notables. The Ispahbed Sharwīn b. Rustam of the house of Bāward, which had been very dangerous to the earlier ʿAlids, made peace with Uṭrūsh.

In accordance with the usual experience in the foundation of ʿAlid states, more difficulty was found in getting the numerous relatives to work together. As Uṭrūsh was at least 70 when he entered Āmul, and his sons seemed rather incapable, the tension that had formerly existed between al-Kāʿim Muḥammad and Uṭrūsh was now repeated between the latter and the already mentioned general al-Ḥasan b. al-Kāsim. The latter broke for a time with Uṭrūsh, even took him prisoner on one occasion but had to fly to Dailam in face of the general indignation. But equally general was the pressure brought by the notables upon the dying Uṭrūsh to designate this same al-Ḥasan his successor and they at once paid homage to him after the death of Uṭrūsh.

Uṭrūsh owed his rise not only to the skilful way in which he took advantage of the political discord on the Caspian Sea but also to his unusual intellectual ability. He was also a poet (cf. Brit. Mus. MS., Suppl. 1259, iv., and specimens in the *Ifāda*, see *Bibl.*), but he particularly cultivated dogmatics, tradition and law (cf. also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 183, 11 sqq.). His *Ibāna* has been preserved indirectly (see *Bibl.*); he differs from the Yemen practice in the ritual of burial and minor points of the law of inheritance; he also recognised the revocation of a marriage pronounced thrice in succession as three actual divorces, by which he met the rivalry of the Twelver Shiʿīs which was considerable in the north; one of his sons, Abu ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī, actually joined the latter; and he himself used their form of washing the feet, of course with the general Shiʿa refusal to recognise the rubbing of the covered foot as a substitute for washing; he also showed himself less strict against members of other faiths, which is intelligible in view of his political and missionary aims. A particular Zaidī sect, the Nāṣiriya, was called after him, which was only merged in the Kāsimiya, which had become predominant in the Yemen, by the Imām al-Mahdī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, son of the above mentioned al-Ḥasan b. al-Kāsim.

The latter, known as al-Dāʿī al-Ṣaḡhīr, succeeded Uṭrūsh and was able to conquer Naisābūr in 308 (920) through Lailā b. Nuʿmān, an old general of his predecessor, and even to send an army against Tūs. But he was killed in 316 (928) when going from Raiy to the relief of Āmul, which was occupied by Asfār b. Shirwaih al-Dailamī and Abu ʿl-Ḥaḡḡdjādī Merdāwīdj b. Ziyār. His power had always been limited by the sons of Uṭrūsh: Abu ʿl-Kāsim Djaʿfar b. al-Uṭrūsh had taken Āmul in 306 (918) with the help of Muḥammad b. Ṣaʿlūḡ, governor of Raiy, and again in 312 (925), on each occasion holding it for a short time. In 311 (924) his brother Abu ʿl-Ḥusain Aḥmad had entered it; his son Abū ʿAlī Ḥusain and his brother and successor Abū Djaʿfar had also to fight an anti-Imām in Djaʿfar's son Ismāʿīl, who however was poisoned in 319 (931). In the meanwhile, another relative of Uṭrūsh, Abū Faḍl Djaʿfar, had set himself up with the title al-Thaʿīr fi ʿllāh and soon after 320 (932) was able to occupy Āmul for a time, aided by his policy of taking sides alternately in the

war between the Ziyārid Washmgīr with the Būyids who were now coming to the front, especially as the Firūzanid al-Ḥasan and a certain Ustundār of the Bādūs(e)pānids who had once been conquered by the Dā'ī al-Kabīr al-Ḥasan b. Zaid also intervened.

This little north 'Alid state was continually able to hold its own, although its importance and size constantly changed, among the petty native princes, the Firūzanids, notably Makān b. Kālī, and Djastānids, Ziyārids, Ispahbads of the house of Bawand, Būyids and Sāmānids, even in spite of domestic troubles. It lasted down to about 520 (1126), the year of the death of Abū Ṭālib al-Ṣaghīr Yahyā b. al-Ḥusain al-Buṭḥānī b. al-Mu'aiyad who could not prevail in Dailam against the Assassins; we can hardly reckon in this line the alleged 'Alid dynasty of Kiyā-Ḥusainī in Gilān from the end of the viith (xivth) to the end of the ixth (xvth) century. Abū Ṭālib was the great-grand-nephew of the Imām al-Nāṭiq Abū Ṭālib (see *Bibl.*) who, born in 340 (951), has given us the most important account of Utrūsh, based on the stories of eye-witnesses, such as his father.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

UW AIS I (Sulṭān Uwais), second king of the dynasty of Djalā'ir [q. v.] or Ilakān (Ilkān < *Ilg'ān?) who reigned 756—776 (1355—1374).

Uwais, born about 742 (1341), was the son of Ḥasan Buzurg [q. v.], son of Ḥusain Gurgān (*Kürākān*, "son-in-law of the Khān"), son of Ak-bughā Noyon, son of Ilakān (*Ilkān) Noyon (Rashīd al-Dīn: *Ilkāy*, *Ilg'āy).

Ḥasan Buzurg's mother was a Mongol princess, daughter of Arghun-Khān. Ḥasan himself married the famous Dilshād-Khātūn, daughter of Dimishk-Khwādja, son of Čopan [cf. SULDŪZ], who had previously married Abū Sa'īd Khān and on his death in 762 had married a certain amir Sulaimān (*Ḥabīb al-Siyār*). Dilshād-Khātūn was famous for her wit and beauty. The viziers used to consult her in affairs of state (*ibid.*).

Uwais, according to the majority of historians, succeeded his father who died in 756 (1355—1356) but according to Djannābi, the direct successor of

Ḥasan (d. 757) was Sulṭān Ḥusain (d. 760) (a man of charming character and a poet). One should probably allow with Markov that Ḥusain and Uwais had received separate fiefs which were united by Uwais on the death of his brother.

Baghdād was the centre of Uwais's activities. At this period Tabriz [q. v.] was held by the Khān of Kīpčak Djānī-beg who had come into Ādharbāidjān to put an end to the tyranny of Ashraf, grandson of Čoban [cf. SULDŪZ]. In the spring of 759 (1358) when the news of Djānī-beg's departure reached him, Uwais marched against Akhīdjūk, whom Djānī-beg (or his son Berdi-beg) had left as his lieutenant at Tabriz. Meeting Uwais near Mount Sisay (?), Minay (?) [probably *Sahand], Akhīdjūk retreated, first to Tabriz and then to Nakhīcawān. Uwais established his headquarters at Tabriz in the 'Imārat-i Rashīdī. In Ramaḍān (Aug. 1358) the execution of 47 of Ashraf's amirs (*Ḥabīb al-Siyār: umarā-yi sharḳī*, a palpable error!) alienated the sympathy of their friends who sought out Akhīdjūk and went into the Qarabāgh with him. Uwais sent against them 'Alī Piltan who acted with weakness and suffered a reverse. Uwais had to retire to Baghdād. In the spring of 760, the Muẓaffarid Muḥammad of Shīrāz marched against Akhīdjūk, drove him from Tabriz and stayed several months there (*Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, in *G.M.S.*, p. 677—679, 715—717). But he retired without offering resistance when he learned that Uwais had left Baghdād for the north. Uwais reoccupied Tabriz and stayed in the house of Khwādja Shaikh Kačadj (or Kačadjānī) while Akhīdjūk sought refuge with his father Šadr al-Dīn Khakānī. On the surrender of Akhīdjūk, Uwais executed him on the charge of treason.

In 765 (1363), Khwādja Mardjān, governor of Baghdād, rebelled but his resistance was short. He opened the gates of the city and Uwais pardoned him but appointed Shāh-Khāzin (*Ḥabīb al-Siyār*) in his place. The Egyptian sources however (Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, *Bibl. Nat.*, MS. ar. 673, fol. 49, 52) mention in 767 an attempt by Mardjān to secure the assistance of the Sulṭān of Egypt Ashraf Shābān by promising to read the *khutba* in his name. The envoy of Uwais, who afterwards came to Cairo to explain that Mardjān was simply a rebel was received coldly. But in the meanwhile Uwais had disposed of him. The date 767 given by Maḳrīzī seems in any case to indicate that the rebellion of Mardjān had lasted a considerable time. (According to the name source Mardjān was blinded).

Uwais stayed eleven months in Baghdād and then marched west. He took Mawṣil from the brother of Bairam-Khwādja (Turkoman of the Kara-Koyunlu tribe), then at Mūsh he defeated Bairam-Khwādja and plundered his lands. In the meanwhile Mardīn was taken, the amir of which had in vain sought Egypt help (cf. Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, fol. 53).

Uwais returned via Kara-kiltsiyā (between Erzerum and Bāyazid) to Tabriz where he heard that the lord of Shīrwān Ka'ūs b. Kaikubād had twice carried off to Shīrwān (north of the Kur) the people of Qarabāgh (Arrān) which Uwais had evidently incorporated in his dominion on the disappearance of Akhīdjūk. Uwais's general Bairam Bek besieged Ka'ūs in the fortress of Shīrwān. Ka'ūs, brought in chains to Uwais, was exiled to Baghdād but after three months was re-established under the suzerainty

of Uwais (cf. *Djalā'irid* coins struck at *Shirwān*).

In 772 (1370) Amīr Walī, successor of Tughā Timūr of Astarābād [cf. TUGHĀ TIMŪR], attacked Uwais but was defeated near Raiy. In 773 Uwais himself took the field against Amīr Walī but returned on reaching Ūdjan. Amīr Walī occupied Sāwa. In 776 Uwais was preparing to punish him but died at 'Imārat-i Raṣhīdī on 2 Djumādā I 776 (Oct. 10, 1374).

According to Dawlat-Shāh (p. 261—263), Uwais was so handsome that the people of Baghdād used to run out in crowds to see him pass. The historians unanimously praise his kindness, justice and courage; he was also a great patron of literature. His chief panegyrist was Salmān Sāwadjī from whom we have a series of odes on the principal events of his reign. Uwais himself was a fine calligrapher, draughtsman and poet of merit. He built a great building, the Dawlat-Khāna at Tabriz (*Tolbatgana* of Clavijo), probably identical with the Ark of our day [cf. TABRĪZ].

A scion of a completely iranised family and connected through his mother with the family of Čoban whose romantic adventures are celebrated, Uwais seems to have been of an impressionable nature. We learn of his passion for his favourite Bairam Shāh and of the public mourning which he ordered on his death. The death of his brother Zāhid, who fell from a roof in a state of intoxication, sufficed to cancel the expedition of 773 against Amīr Walī. Uwais died of phthisis (*diḡḡ*) aged about 30. He is said to have had a presentiment of his death and to have ordered his own shroud and coffin.

He had five sons: Ḥasan, Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusain, Shaikh 'Alī, Ghīyāth al-Dīn Aḥmad, Bāyazīd and a daughter, Tandu. Uwais wished to give Baghdād to his eldest son Ḥasan and leave the throne to Ḥusain. When the nobles expressed doubts as to whether Ḥasan would agree, Uwais is reported to have said: "You know (what to do)". Ḥasan was therefore put to death on the day that Uwais died.

According to the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, the wazīr of Uwais was Amīr *Zakariyā and his amīr al-umara' 'Adil-āgha [cf. SULTĀNIYA].

Coins. Markov has given a description of 66 coins struck in name of Uwais at Baghdād, Wāsiṭ, Tabriz, Ardabil, Khoi, Nakhīcawān, Shābarān, Bākū, Gushtasfī, Barda'a, Sāwa, Wastān (?), Tūsān (Ūdjan?), Bārān (?), Bānd (?) etc. The coin of 758 (Baghdād) bears the title: *al-sultān al-'ālim al-'ādil*; that of 762 (Baghdād): *al-sultān al-'aẓam shaikh Uwais Bahādur*; that of 766 (Baghdād) bears the name in Mongol. Lane-Poole's Catalogue contains descriptions of coins of Uwais struck at Tabriz, Sultāniya, Baghdād, Irbil, Shīrāz and Iṣfahān; that by M. Mubārak contains the description of coins struck at Baghdād, Baṣra, Ḥilla, Tabriz and Shīrāz (the latter dated 766 gives Uwais the title of *al-wāthiq bi'l-malik al-daiyān*).

Bibliography: Mu'in al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers. 1651, fol. 327v—328r, contains a notice of the dynasty of Ḥasan Buzurg and a synoptic table giving information about the successive reigns; *Shadjarat al-Atrak* [an abridgment of the *Ulūs-i arba'a* of Ulugh Beg], transl. Miles, London 1838, p. 335—338; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* [who quotes Ḥafiz Abrū, q. v.], Tihirān 1271, III/i., p. 80—81; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, Bibl. Nat., Arab 2069, fol. 25 (s. v.: Uwais);

Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'ara'*, ed. Muḥammad Kaẓwīnī, p. 261—263 etc.; Münedjdjim-bashī, *Ṣaḡhā'if al-Akhbār*, iii. 10—11; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv. 742—743; Dorn, *Versuch einer Geschichte d. Schirwanschahe*, St. Petersburg 1841, p. 39 (relations between Uwais and Kā'ūs); Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken d. Stadt Mekka*, iv. (1861), 258, 260, on the chandeliers of gold and silver sent by Uwais to Mecca, as a result of which gift the *ṣāhib* of Mecca, 'Adjlān b. Kumaitha, for a number of years included Uwais in the *khutba*; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 654—659; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1886, p. 129, 131 (on the relations of Uwais with the Venetians and the Genoese); Markov, *Katalog djalairskikh monet*, St. Petersburg 1897 [based on the Arabic histories of al-'Aini (1360—1451), Djannābī (d. 1590) etc.]; this work is devoted to a description of the great find of 454 Djalā'irid coins near Ordubād in 1858; on another find of coins of Uwais etc. found at Bākū, cf. Pakhomov, *Monetnyye klady Azerbaidzhan*, Bākū 1926, p. 59; Cat. of Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Oriental Coins*, 1881, vi. 207; Lane-Poole, *Additions to the Oriental Collection*, ii. 128, and Muḥammad Mubārak, *Catalogue des monnaies djinguisides* etc., Constantinople 1901, p. 194; E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature*, iii., index.

2. Uwais II, son of Sultān Walad, son of 'Alī, son of Uwais I, the seventh Djalā'irid king, reigned 818—824 over Khūzistān (Shūshṭar) as well as over Baṣra and Wāsiṭ (cf. Münedjdjim-bashī, iii. 12). He was killed by the Turkoman Shāh Muḥammad (Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, v. 142). The mother of Uwais II, the able Tandu, was the daughter of Ḥusain b. Uwais I. The author of the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* mentions Uwais II as reigning in his time. He was then 11 years old and his "wazīr" was his mother. In spite of Huart, *La fin de la dynastie Ilékanienne*, in *J. A.*, 1876, vii. 344—348, she cannot be identified with Tandu bint Uwais I, who married two Muẓaffarids in succession, Maḥmūd and Zain al-'Abidin [cf. UWAIIS I]. (V. MINORSKY)

'UZAIR is mentioned once in the Qur'ān: "The Jews said: 'Uzair is the son of God; the Christians said: Christ is the son of God'" (Sūra ix. 30). 'Uzair is generally identified with Ezra. But as such a belief among the Jews that Ezra was the son of God can hardly be imagined, much less proved to exist, Casanova made the attractive suggestion that 'Uzair is Uzail-Azael, one of the fallen angels (on him see Heller, in *R. E. J.*, 1910, lx. 201—212; Jung, in *J. Q. R.*, 1925, 1926, *N. S.*, xvi. 202—205, 287 sqq.), after a short time before Muḥammad Maḥdī Bey had made the fantastic suggestion that 'Uzair was Osiris. Ezra, on the other hand, Casanova recognises in Idris (Sūra xix. 57; xxi. 25). But Muslim Tradition unhesitatingly sees Ezra in 'Uzair and quotes legends in support of the belief that he was the son of God.

'Uzair is one of the *ahl al-kitāb*, the possessors of the Torah. When they sin, God deprives them of the *tābūt* (sacred ark) and punishes them with a sickness which makes them forget the Torah. 'Uzair mourns. Then a flame from God enters 'Uzair's body so that he is filled with knowledge of the Torah. He teaches his people. God then sends down the sacred ark to Israel again; the Torah is compared with 'Uzair's teaching and they

are found to agree; the Jews therefore believe that 'Uzair must be the son of God.

Alongside of this legend we find a fuller one as early as Ṭabarī's commentary on the Qur'ān (and frequently later). Israel is oppressed by 'Amālek (the Philistines). The learned men bury the Torah. 'Uzair laments and prays in the mountains. One day he meets at a tomb a woman (in reality she is no earthly woman but Dunyā, the world) who seems to be lamenting him that fed and clothed her. 'Uzair asks her who cared for her before her husband. She replies "Allāh!". But, says 'Uzair, Allāh still lives. The woman then asks who had taught mankind before Israel. "Allāh", replies 'Uzair. But Allāh still lives, says the supernatural woman. At her bidding 'Uzair then consecrates himself and swallows something an old man puts in his mouth namely a glass, like a large coal. 'Uzair now announces that he has the Torah within him. He is branded as a liar. He then ties a pen to each finger and writes the Torah. The 'Ulamā' dig up the Torah and find complete agreement; from this they conclude that 'Uzair must be the son of God.

In *R. E. J.*, 1904, xlix. 209, I have pointed out that an Arabic apocryphon has survived in these legends which corresponds to IV. Ezra where we are told that God had given Israel lands and instruction but when they sinned he took them away. Ezra is given a goblet full of flaming water. Then his breast swells with wisdom, teaching flows from his heart, and for 40 days on end he dictates to five men (in the Muslim legend they are his fingers) the sacred books (IV. Ezra, xiv. 18—49).

Sūra ii. 261 is sometimes explained as referring to Ezra (more often to Jeremiah): "He passed by a city which had been destroyed to its foundations. How shall God quicken this dead city to life? God caused him to die for a hundred years and then raised him to life and asked: how long hast thou stayed here? He answered: probably a day or less. But God replied: thou hast stayed here one hundred years. Look on thy food and drink, it is not corrupted; and look on thy ass; we make thee a wonder unto men; look also on the bones, we raise them and clothe them with flesh".

The following legend is associated with this passage: Nebuchadnezzar slew 40,000 men of learning including 'Uzair's father and grandfather. 'Uzair being a child was spared but already he was advanced in the Torah. When he asks whether the town will arise again, God plunges him into sleep for a hundred years. After a hundred years he awakens, his ass is still alive and his food uncorrupted. He appears as a man of twenty among his children and grandchildren who are now greybeards, proves his identity by making a blind girl see and particularly by restoring the Torah. The original Torah is dug up out of a vineyard and found to agree: 'Uzair must be the son of God.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 669—671; the commentaries on Sūra ii. 261 and ix. 30, esp. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, iii. 18—20; x. 68—69; al-Damīrī, *Hayāt al-Haiyawān*, s. v. *Himār al-aḥlī*; al-Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 217—219; Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Fudenthume aufgenommen?*, Leipzig 1902², p. 191, 192; Heller, in *R. E. J.*, 1904, xlix. 207—213; Joseph Horowitz, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii., 1925, p. 169, 182; Paul Casanova, *Idris et 'Ousair*, in *J. A.*, 1924, ccv. 356—360. (BERNHARD HELLER)

UZBEK (Özbek) B. MUHAMMAD PAHLAWĀN B. ILDEGİZ (Eldigüz?), fifth and last atābek of Aḍharbāidjān (607—622 = 1210—1225). According to Yāqūt, Uzbek's *laqab* was Muẓaffar al-Dīn.

His mother and that of his elder brother Abū Bakr were slaves, while the two other sons of Pahlawān, Kutluḡh-Inanč and Amirmīrān, were born of the princess Inanč-Khātūn. Uzbek married Malika-Khātūn, wife of the last Saldjūq Sulṭān Tughrl II, by whom he had a son (Tughrl).

Like all the reigns in periods of transition, Uzbek's was a very troubled one. Before his accession to the throne of Aḍharbāidjān, the centre of his activities was at Hamadhān where he was under fire from his ruling brother Abū Bakr (587—607), the Khwārizmshāh, the caliph and the various ambitious slaves. After his accession he was the object of attacks by the Georgians and the Mongols and finally he was dispossessed by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn. His neighbours in the west were the Atābek of Irbil (Arbil) and the Aiyubids of Khilāt (Akhlat).

Before his accession. In 592 (1196) at the time when the Khwārizmshāh Tākāsh [q. v.] had invaded Persia, the Atābek Uzbek who had fled from his brother Abū Bakr, Atābek of Aḍharbāidjān, came to Tākāsh who gave him Hamadhān as a fief (*Djahān-gushā*, ii. 38). According to the *Rāḥat al-Sudūr*, p. 388, it was Abū Bakr who sent Uzbek to Hamadhān and had sent 'Izz al-Dīn Satmaz with him; but soon the Pādīshāh Malik Djamāl al-Dīn Ay-ābā (a considerable amīr, lord of the fortress of Farrāzin; cf. SULTĀNĀBĀD and the preface to the Persian translation of 'Utbi's history: Rieu, *Catalogue*, i. 158) joined Uzbek and became his atābek, with his sons-in-law as his lieutenants. On 9th Djumādā II, 593 (April 29, 1197) an expedition sent from Baghdād seized Hamadhān. Ay-ābā fled and Uzbek was placed in direct dependence on the caliph (cf. the details in Ibn al-Aṭṭīr, xii. 82). Finally the slave Miyādjik, a devoted servant of the Khwārizmshāh (and assassin of Kutluḡh Inanč), became master of the situation. But in Radjab 593 (May—June 1197) Uzbek returned to Hamadhān and Abū Bakr, resuming supreme control, sent him new advisers. The *Rāḥat al-Sudūr* gives Uzbek the title of *malik*. The situation was a troubled one and in 594 Uzbek set out for Kāzwin in order to fight Miyādjik but had to retreat to Zandjān, while his adversary, encouraged by the caliph, occupied Hamadhān and on 20th Radjab 594 (May 28, 1198) received investiture from the Khwārizmshāh also. Miyādjik was even trying to obtain the title of sulṭān when Abū Bakr's forces led by Ay-ābā defeated him near Kihā (district of Raiy). For a short time the Atābek Abū Bakr occupied Raiy but evacuated it after a false alarm. Miyādjik returned to Raiy but by his tyranny provoked the dissatisfaction of his Khwārizmī patrons who finally executed him in Khwārizm. Uzbek with his lieutenant Kōkčā massacred the Khwārizmians in the 'Irāq. Abū Bakr was able to occupy Iṣfahān and divide the country: Malik Uzbek receiving Hamadhān and Kōkčā Raiy. The supreme control of affairs was in the hands of Ay-ābā, who was much too tolerant of the misdeeds of his son-in-law Kōkčā. Abū Bakr deprived of all authority (on his weakness cf. Ibn al-Aṭṭīr, xii. 120) went to Uzbek but ultimately came back to Aḍharbāidjān while Persian 'Irāq was plunged into

anarchy (cf. the evidence of contemporaries: *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 398, and the Persian translation of 'Uṭbī [cf. preface, Teherān edition, 1274, p. 10]; cf. Defrémery, *op. cit.*).

In 600 (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 128) Abū Bakr sent Ay-toḡhmish to dispose of Kōkčā who had in the meanwhile taken Raiy, Hamadḥān and Djabal (Media). Kōkčā was killed and Uzbek became *malik*, with Ay-toḡhmish as adviser and guardian. In 602 Ay-toḡhmish came to the help of Abū Bakr and enabled him to take Marāgha [q. v.] but in the end only allowed him to have Ādharbāidjān and Arrān (*ibid.*, p. 186, 194).

Uzbek-Atābek. Uzbek had probably retired to the north where in 607 (1210) he succeeded Abū Bakr (Ibn al-Aṭhīr says nothing of this).

In 608 another slave Māngli took the place of Ay-toḡhmish who was finally slain in 610 (*ibid.*, p. 194, 196, 197). Māngli took up an independent attitude to his master Uzbek. The caliph took the side of Uzbek and brought about the intervention of the Atābek of Irbil in his favour. The lands of Māngli were divided and Uzbek gave his share to his slave Aghlamish (in 612; *ibid.*, p. 201). It should however be noted that Aghlamish said the *khutba* in name of the Khwārizmshāh and the latter regarded him as his lieutenant (cf. Nasawī, p. 13).

In 614, the Ismā'īlians assassinated Aghlamish and the Atābek of Fārs Sa'd occupied Raiy and Uzkek Isfahān. Hearing this the Khwārizmshāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad came to Djabal (Media) and scattered the allies. Uzbek withdrew to Ādharbāidjān while his dignitaries, the prince of Ahar Nuṣrat al-Dīn Bēshgēn (of Georgian origin) and the vizier Rabib al-Dīn, were captured. By an arrangement with Uzbek the Khwārizmshāh left him Ādharbāidjān and Arrān, but forced him to read the *khutba* and strike coins in his name (cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 207; Nasawī, p. 17).

The Mongols. When in 617 (1220) the Tatars appeared before the walls of Tabriz, Uzbek, who was spending his days and nights in drinking bouts, took the cowardly but prudent plan of paying a ransom for the city to them (*ibid.*, p. 244). The Georgians, beaten a first time by the Tatars, proposed an alliance with Uzbek and the lord of Khilāt, but the Tatars reinforced by troops whom a Turkish slave of Uzbek named Aḳūsh (Aghush?) had collected for them, frustrated these plans by a new attack on Tiflis [q. v.] and came in 618 for a second time to Tabriz. Once again Uzbek ransomed the city (*ibid.*, p. 246). When they came to Tabriz for a third time (*ibid.*, p. 250), Uzbek left for Nakhīčawān and sent his family to Khoi. "He held all Ādharbāidjān and all Arrān and in spite of this was the most helpless creature to protect his country against the enemy" says Ibn al-Aṭhīr (*ibid.*, p. 250).

In 619 the Kīpčāk, who had penetrated into Transcaucasia via Derbend, stirred up trouble in Arrān and later the Georgians, perhaps enraged at the failure of their new offer of an alliance, sacked Bailakān (*ibid.*, p. 266). Towards the end of the year (Oct. 1222), we find Uzbek again inactive at Tabriz but he must have had a certain amount of influence, for an amir of Mawṣil had put himself under his protection (*ibid.*, p. 268).

In 620 during a quiet period that followed the withdrawal of the Mongols, trouble broke out in Persia between the son of Khwārizmshāh Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his uncle Ighan-taisi; Uzbek, accom-

panied by his slave Aibek al-Shāmī, marched against Ghiyāth al-Dīn but was defeated (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 270). According to Nasawī, p. 76, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, when he had established himself in the 'Irāk, undertook operations against Ādharbāidjān (Marāgha, Uḍjān) and Uzbek endeavoured to pacify him by giving him in marriage his sister, the princess of Nakhīčawān; on the other hand, Ighan-taisi twice came and pillaged Ādharbāidjān (cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 281).

In 621 new Tatar forces invaded Persia and defeated the Khwārizmians at Raiy. The survivors sought refuge with Uzbek but the Tatars appeared before Tabriz and demanded that they should be handed over. Uzbek killed a number and sent the others to the Tatars. According to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, there were only 3,000 Tatars while the Khwārizmians defeated at Raiy numbered 6,000 and Uzbek's forces were more numerous than either (*ibid.*, p. 273).

In 622 (1225) the Georgians set out from Tiflis against Ādharbāidjān. The expedition was destroyed in a defile. The Georgians were preparing to avenge this reverse when suddenly came the news of the arrival of Djalāl al-Dīn at Marāgha and again the Georgians sought an alliance with Uzbek.

Arrival of Djalāl al-Dīn. Before the approach of Djalāl al-Dīn, Uzbek withdrew to Gandja while a Khwārizmī commander was admitted into Tabriz. On the 16th Raddjāb 622 (June 24, 1225), Djalāl al-Dīn occupied the town.

During the absence of Djalāl al-Dīn in Georgia, a plot was hatched at Tabriz to bring back Uzbek, in which so important a man as Shams al-Dīn Tughra'i took part, but Djalāl al-Dīn arrived in time to check it. The Khwārizmshāh dealt Uzbek a blow, which he felt deeply, by marrying his wife, the daughter of Tughra'i II. Legal authorities were found to bring grounds for a divorce between Uzbek and the princess, but the scandal was considerable. The princess was afterwards neglected by Djalāl al-Dīn and she finally appealed to the Aiyūbid Malik Ashraf and the latter in 624 sent an expedition to Ādharbāidjān which brought the princess to Khilāt (Ibn al-Aṭhīr p. 307; Nasawī, p. 154).

Gandja also was lost to Uzbek and he spent his last days (622 = 1225) in the fortress of Alindja (cf. Minorsky, *Transcaucasia*, in *J.A.*, 1930, July, p. 93) overwhelmed by his misfortunes and humiliations (cf. Nasawī, p. 119; Djuwainī, ii. 157). With him ended the rule of the Atābecks descended from Ildegiz (Eldigüz).

Uzbek left one son whose name seems to have been Kīzīl Arslān (Nasawī, p. 168, contrary to the *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 393, where he is called Tughra'i), but he was generally known as Khāmūsh ("the silent") for he was deaf and dumb (cf. Nasawī, p. 129 - 130; *Djahān-gushā*, ii. 248).

Uzbek is very severely judged by the historians. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, departing from his usual judicial calm, returns several times to the charge (xii. 244, 250, 267, 281) and accuses him of being devoted to wine, good living and games of chance (*al-kumār bi 'l-baid*, "the game of eggs"). The Atābek led an indolent life and for months never left his home (cf. also Yāqūt, s. v. Urmiya, i. 219). This gloomy picture must have been a contrast to the hopes which at this time Muslims were placing on Djalāl al-Dīn who, however, was by no means free from vice in his private life (Nasawī, p. 186,

243—244). In his youth Uzbek had taken part in several expeditions, but his forces were insufficient to meet the attacks of serious (the Georgians were then at the height of their power; cf. TIFLİS) or redoubtable enemies (the Mongols and the great warrior Djalāl al-Dīn).

Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 281, mentions at Tabriz a kiosk built at great expense by Uzbek. The court of the bon vivant Atābek attracted poets and artists. Uzbek's vizier Rabīb al-Dīn was a great patron of letters (Nasawī, p. 162—163 and the conclusion of the *Marzubān-nāma*).

Bibliography: Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Sudūr*, G.M.S., cf. the index; Ibn al-Athīr, xii., cf. the index; Nasawī, *Sirat Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, cf. the index. — The history of the Saldjūks *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Saldjūkiya*: Rieu, *Suppl. to the Catalogue of the Arabic Mss.*, No. 550 (which contains some details of the Atābeke) still awaits an editor; cf. Süsseim, *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der "Chronik des Seldschüchischen Reiches"*, Leipzig 1911; Mirkhond, *Histoire des Sultans du Khwarezm*, ed. with notes by Defrémery, Paris 1842, p. 108 sqq.; Khondamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, ii.—iv., Tīhrān 1271, p. 201 (of no importance); Müneddjim-baḥḥ, *Ṣaḥā'if al-Akhbār*, ii. 581 (minor note); Defrémery, *Recherches sur quatre princes d'Hamadan*, in *J. A.*, 1847, ix., p. 148—186 (excellent article on the government of the Mamlūks Kōkčā, Ay-toḡhmish, Māngli and Aghlamish). (V. MINORSKY).

UZUN ḤASAN, a ruler of the Turkoman dynasty of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu (the founder of the dynasty was Bāyandur), prince of Diyār Bakr from 858, and then (872—882) sovereign of a powerful state comprising Armenia, Mesopotamia and Persia. The stature of Ḥasan Beg b. 'Alī Beg b. Ḳara 'Oṯmān (= Ḳara Ilāḳ?, reading uncertain), earned him the nickname of Uzun (= "the long").

The reign of Uzun Ḥasan is very important but not well known.

Rivalries of the Turkoman tribes. The original fief of the chiefs of the house of Bāyandur and of their Turkoman tribe "of the White Sheep" (Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu) was in Diyār Bakr (from before the period of Tīmūr). From there they spread to the west, north and east. At first the chief rivals of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu were the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Turkomans and this rivalry was accentuated by religious differences, for the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu were Sunnis and the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Shī'is (and extremely heterodox).

Ḳara 'Oṯmān, an adventurous and energetic individual, died in 838 (1434—1435). His son 'Alī Beg spent his reign fighting with his brother Ḥamza against whom he sought the support of the Ottoman Sultān Murād II and Sultān Çakmak of Egypt. After the death of the two brothers, Djihāngīr, son of 'Alī, resumed the struggle against the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu but offended his brother Uzun Ḥasan, his uncle Kāsim Beg [whom v. Hammer, i. 506 calls Ḥasan] and the governor of Erzindjān, Kīlīdj Arslān b. Pīr 'Alī. In spite of his quarrel with Djihāngīr, Uzun Ḥasan defeated his two adversaries and then conquered the "greater number" of the begs of Kurdistan. Having learned that Djihāngīr had set out for the summer encampments on the Ala-dagh (this name probably refers to the ancient Masius, a mountain between Diyār Bakr and Mārdīn), Ḥasan penetrated into the fortress of Diyār Bakr (Āmid) in disguise while Djihāngīr

was forced to shut himself up in Mārdīn [q. v.]. This took place in 858 (1454) and soon Ḥasan occupied Ruḥā and laid siege to Mārdīn (cf. 'Āshīk-pāshā-zāde, p. 247—249; Müneddjim-baḥḥ, iii. 157).

The intervention of Ḥasan's mother, a female diplomat who played a great part in later developments, forced Uzun Ḥasan to return to Diyār Bakr. He sought to recompense himself by a raid on Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu territory (Erzerum, Awnik, Baiburt) but having failed to take Erzindjān returned to Diyār Bakr.

On resuming the siege of Erzindjān, Uzun Ḥasan fell from his horse and was seriously injured. Djihāngīr seized the opportunity to sack the environs of Āmid but on Ḥasan's return sought refuge with the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Djihān-Shāh. His mother once more installed Ḥasan in Diyār Bakr and Djihāngīr in Mārdīn. The struggle was very soon resumed on a larger scale. Ḥasan marched on Erzindjān and Turdjān, from which he drove 'Arab-Shāh, his brother's representative, and then attacked Khurāsān and Ḳaradja-Dagh (S. W. of Diyār Bakr). The Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Djihān-Shāh sent his amirs to the help of Djihāngīr but Uzun Ḥasan defeated them in 861 (May 1457?; cf. Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, vii. 485). Djihāngīr gave his son as a hostage, and another brother of Ḥasan (Uwais of Ruḥā) also submitted to him. Uzun Ḥasan installed the amir Khurshīd Beg (perhaps his cousin; cf. Müneddjim-baḥḥ, iii. 376) in Erzindjān. This fortress was the key to the Armenian plateau. About the same time, Ḥasan gave shelter to the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Ḥasan 'Alī who had rebelled against his father Djihān-Shāh, but had soon to expel him on account of his heretical opinions. These events occupied the years 858—861 after which began the rapid rise of Ḥasan and the extension of his influence over the neighbouring lands.

Operations in Kurdistan. On the Tigris he took Ḥiṣn Kaifā from the Kurd maliks descended from the Aiyūbids (cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, ii. 149—155) and gave this fortress to his son Khalīl. Sīrt and Haithām (in Bohtān) were later occupied (cf. also *Sharaf-nāma*, ii. 9).

Uzun Ḥasan between Ḳaramān and Trebizond. In the west, the successes of Uzun Ḥasan brought him into conflict with the Ottomans who under the leadership of Muḥammad II had just completed the subjection of the feudal principalities of Asia Minor. The princes of Ḳaramān [q. v.], gravely threatened by the Ottomans, endeavoured to enter into an alliance with their eastern neighbour Uzun Ḥasan. On the other hand, Uzun Ḥasan became involved in the affairs of the empire of Trebizond, which was then almost at its end. In 1458, the last emperor of Trebizond, David, gave Uzun Ḥasan the daughter of his brother and predecessor Kalo-Ioannes, named Catherine, in marriage (in Europe she is more often called by her title Despina; cf. the Venetian travellers). Trebizond was closely linked with Georgia, while Venice and Rome were closely watching events in these two Christian states. The Muslim sources entirely neglect this complex of international political interests (cf. W. Miller, *Trebizond, the last Greek Empire*, London 1926; Uspensky, *Očerki po istorii Trapes. imperii*, Leningrad 1929).

The embassies sent by Uzun Ḥasan to Constantinople in 1457 and 1460 revealed to the Sultān

his rival's ambitions (cf. v. Hammer, i. 464-466). Very soon passing to deeds, Uzun Hasan took by surprise the fortress of Koyunlu Hışār (or Koylu-Hışār on the Kilkit-su above Niksār) and sacked the suburbs of Tokat and Amasia (cf. Münedj-djim-başı, iii. 376).

Having disposed of the Isfendiyār-oghlu [q. v.] of Sinope, Muḥammad II turned his attention to Trebizond and first of all to Koyunlu-Hışār. Uzun Hasan concentrated his forces near Kemākḥ but the detachment sent into the mountains of Munzur (Sa'd al-Din, i. 476: *Kūh-i Mndz*?) was defeated by Aḥmad Pasha. Uzun Hasan then sent his mother to negotiate and on her appeal the sultān turned towards Bulghar-daghī (east of Gerdjanis, between the Kilkit-su and the Euphrates). In spite of the renewed appeals of Sāra Khātūn (the sultān called her "mother") who said that Trebizond belonged to her daughter-in-law, the town was taken in 865 (1461) and the Comnenoi dispossessed and exiled. A portion of the treasures taken in Trebizond was given to Sāra Khātūn ('Āshīk-pāshā-zade p. 159-160; Sa'd al-Din and Münedj-djim-başı, iii. 376).

The peace was of short duration, for according to Münedj-djim-başı, iii. 160-161, Uzun Hasan retook Koyunlu-Hışār and advanced as far as the environs of Siwās but the Ottomans defeated those of his troops who had entered Asia Minor. Uzun Hasan sent to Constantinople Khurshid Beg to ransom the Turkoman prisoners and ask the Sultān to renounce his claims on Trebizond (!?). In view of the circumstances (*ikhtidā-yi waqf*), the request is said to have been granted (!?) and Uzun Hasan returned to Erzindjān and then to Diyar Bakr. (In this part of his story, Münedj-djim-başı seems to give in somewhat different form the events of 1461).

Death of Djihān-Shāh and of the Timūrid Abū Sa'id. Uzun Hasan very soon achieved brilliant successes. In 871 (1466-1467) his rival Djihān-Shāh of the Kara-Koyunlu, who at this time held all Persia, marched on Diyar Bakr (on his plans cf. his letter to Muḥammad II, in Feridūn Bey, i. 273). Uzun Hasan collected troops and received reinforcements from Mārdin. On 1st Rabi' II, 872, Djihān-Shāh had reached Mūsh and Čapakčūr. Here his advance-guards were defeated by Khalil, son of Uzun Hasan. Djihān-Shāh, who, on account of the excessive cold, had sent most of his troops home, went back to Kīghī, whence he wanted to reach Erzindjān and the valley of Bālā-rūd (Kilkit?). On 13th Rabi' II, 872 (Nov. 11, 1467), Uzun Hasan attacked him unexpectedly and Djihān-Shāh lost his life while trying to escape. The field in the east now being open, Uzun Hasan began the conquest of the lands which had been left without a master. He went via Mōsul to Baghdād, which he besieged for 40 days, but in Ādharbāidjān, the son of Djihān-Shāh, Hasan 'Alī, had assembled a large army (*Habīb al-Siyar*, iii. 234: 180,000 men) and invoked the help of the Timūrid Abū Sa'id, who set out from Khurāsān in the month of Shābān 872 (March 1468) and appointed governors for the whole of Persian Irāk. As a result of treachery on the part of certain amirs of Hasan 'Alī, his army quartered at Marand broke up and Uzun Hasan seized the opportunity to advance as far as Kara-bāgh [q. v.]. In the meanwhile in spite of the protestations of friendship by Uzun Hasan, who recalled the loyalty of the Ak-Koyunlu to

the Timūrids, Abū Sa'id had reached Miyāna but was caught there by the approach of winter. He thought of spending the winter in Kara-bāgh, out of which Uzun Hasan was to be dislodged, but his march to the Araxes was disastrous and at Maḥmūd-ābād [cf. MUKĀN] he was blockaded by Uzun Hasan. The negotiations conducted by Abū Sa'id's mother, however, came to nothing; he took to flight but was captured on 16th Rādjab 873 (Feb. 11, 1469). Two days later Uzun Hasan seated on the throne (to emphasise his accession?) received the prisoner kindly but on Rādjab 22 Abū Sa'id was handed over to his rival, the prince Yādīgār Muḥammad b. Sultān Muḥammad b. Baisunkur, who put him to death. Abū Sa'id's amirs were put under the command of Yādīgār who, supported by Uzun Hasan, began the struggle against Husain Baikara. The latter was temporarily driven from Herāt (6 Muḥarram 875) but the exactions of the sons of Uzun Hasan (Khalil in Ōlāng Rādkān and Zeināl in Kūhistān) provoked a rising against Yādīgār, who was deposed and put to death by Sultān Husain Baikara.

After the disappearance of Abū Sa'id, the Timūrids of Khurāsān remained a purely local dynasty while Uzun Hasan's deputies occupied the remainder of Persia, including Kirmān, Fārs, Luristān, Khūzistān and Kurdistān (cf. the valuable details on the distribution of the fiefs in the letters of Uzun Hasan to Muḥammad II: Feridūn Bey, i. 275 and 276; cf. *Habīb al-Siyar*, iii. 330). The Kara-Koyunlu Hasan 'Alī had retired to Hamadhān but was surprised there and killed by Uzun Hasan's forces in 873 (1468) (cf. the *History of the Kutb-Shāhs*, Bibl. Nat. MS. Pers. No. 174, fol. 16b). About the same time Baghdād also was occupied by the great amir Khalil-beg, governor of Mōsul (cf. Feridūn Bey, ii. 276).

After these great successes, it became evident that Uzun Hasan alone in Asia was strong enough to bar the Ottoman advance and the enemies of the latter, the rulers of Karamān and the Christians, particularly the Venetians, sought to exploit this new power.

Venetian policy. On Dec. 2, 1463, the Venetian Senate had adopted the plan of an alliance with Uzun Hasan and L. Quirini was sent to Persia with this object. On March 13, 1464, the first ambassador from Uzun Hasan (a certain Mamena-tazab?) arrived in Venice and spent six months there. In 1465 Kāsim Hasan(?) arrived with a letter from Uzun Hasan. The negotiations were interrupted for some time but the conquest of Euboea (which the Venetians had held for 264 years) by the Ottomans in 1469-1470 threw them into consternation. In Feb. 1471, Quirini returned from Persia with Uzun Hasan's ambassador Mirath (Murād?) while another Persian representative arrived at the Vatican. It was then that the Venetian senate sent to Persia the noble Caterino Zeno, who through his mother was a nephew of Despina Caterina, wife of Uzun Hasan. On April 20, 1471, Zeno was in Tabriz. In the same year Hādījī Muḥammad (Azimamet) came to Venice with a request for arms and munitions. Giosafa Barbaro was then sent to Persia to take to Uzun Hasan six large mortars (*bombarde*), 600 arquebuses (*spingarde*), matchlocks (*schiopepette*), and munitions; 200 fusiliers with their officers accompanied the consignment. In Barbaro's secret instructions (of Feb. 11, 1473), it was laid down that Venice would never conclude

peace with the Ottomans until they had been forced to renounce in favour of Persia all claims on Asia Minor as far as the Straits. Barbaro was delayed in Cyprus where he took part in the operations of the Venetian fleet (commanded by P. Mocenigo) which on the appeal of the princes of *Qaramān* had occupied Selefke and two other points on the coast.

In the meanwhile Zeno was active in Persia and according to the European sources (Jorga, ii. 164), the nephew of the last Comnenos, who had sought asylum with Uzun *Hasan*, had invaded the region of Trebizond.

Invasion of Asia Minor. The *Qaramānians* were working alongside of the Venetians to force Uzun *Hasan's* hand. On the appeal of *Pir Ahmad*, *Ishāk's* successor, Uzun *Hasan* equipped an army which was placed under the command of the vizier 'Omar Beg b. *Bektash* (the *Amarbei* *Guisultan* *Nichenizza?* of Zeno, p. 16) and Uzun *Hasan's* cousin, *Yūsufca-mirzā*, and which (according to *Angiolello*, p. 77) numbered 50,000 men (Zeno, p. 16: 100,000?). These troops advanced from *Diār Bakr* on *Toḡat*, which they sacked and then on *Ḳaṣariya*, where, as *Sa'd al-Din* says, "they revealed their Turkoman character". *Caterino Zeno*, p. 18—19, was an eye-witness of a part of these operations. (The attempt to take *Bira* from Egypt is perhaps connected with the same expedition). After some time 'Omar Beg returned to *Diār Bakr* while *Yūsufca-mirzā* overran *Qaramān* and *Hamid* again.

Resumption of the war with the Ottomans. *Sultān Muḥammad II* was gravely concerned with these events and with this diplomatic activity of which he was certainly aware (cf. *Feridūn Bey*, p. 285 and *Ibn Iyās*, ii. 145). Uzun *Hasan's* letters assumed a more and more aggressive tone (cf. *Feridūn Bey*, i. 278 and the humiliating title of *imārat mā'ab* was given to the sultān in them; and p. 278: *Muḥammad II's* reply in which he addresses familiarly the *sardār-i 'adjam*). In autumn 877 (1472) the Sultān crossed from Constantinople over to the coast of Asia, but was held up there by the cold season. But by 14th *Rabi' I* (Aug. 19, 1472) the prince *Muṣṭafā* and the beglerbegi of Anatolia *Dāwūd Pasha*, who had a force of 60,000 men under him, destroyed the Turkomans in the district of *Ḳır-eli* (west of *Konya*).

The Sultān set out in the month of *Shawwāl* 877 (March 1473). His army numbered 100,000 men in all (cf. *Sa'd al-Din*, i. 529 confirmed by *Angiolello*, p. 79—80, who writes as if he were in the Ottoman army). The famous *akhmīl* [q. v.] 'Alī-Mikhāl-oghlu [q. v.] sent with the advance-guard sacked *Kemākh* and took prisoners the Armenians of this region.

Uzun *Hasan*, who had arrived in the region of *Erzindjān* at the end of July 1473, established himself on the hills on the left bank of the Euphrates and when *Khāṣṣ Murād Pasha* rashly crossed the river, he surrounded him and defeated him. *Khāṣṣ Murād* was drowned in the Euphrates and the total losses of the Ottomans rose to 12,000 men (*Angiolello*). *Caterino Zeno* who was in Uzun *Hasan's* suite, gives Aug. 1, 1473 as the date of this first encounter. The battlefield was in the district of *Terdjān* (above *Erzindjān*); the low ground on the Euphrates which *Khāṣṣ Murād* (*Angiolello*) wished to utilise begin at the level of *Pekeridj*. *Sa'd al-Din*, i. 535 is not explicit but according to *Angiolello* (and *Zeno*), the Ottomans

were ready to abandon the campaign. They left the valley of the Euphrates and leaving *Baiburt* on the right (towards the N.E.), took the road northwards towards *Trebizond*, evidently with the intention of turning there to the west. But while the Ottoman army was in the canton of *Üç-aghīzl* (probably to the north of the mountains which separate *Erzindjān* from the valley of the *Kilkīt-su*), Uzun *Hasan's* troops appeared on the heights of *Otluk-beli* (a mountain which separates the Euphrates valley from the sources of the *Çorokh*) on the right flank of the Ottomans. The latter accepted battle and on 16th *Rabi' I*, 878 (Aug. 12, 1473) (according to Zeno 10th Aug. 1473) routed the *Ak-Ḳoyunlu*. The *Sardār* of Uzun *Hasan*, *Kāfir Ishāk* (a Christian?; according to Zeno, there were Georgians in the *Ak-Ḳoyunlu* army), fell on the battlefield as did Uzun *Hasan's* son *Zeināl*. Uzun *Hasan* himself took to flight, but it was not so precipitous as *Sa'd al-Din* would have it, for Zeno's account of Aug. 18 is dated from the camp of Uzun *Hasan*, four days from *Erzindjān*. In any case the Ottomans, thanks to their firearms (*Zeno*), gained a brilliant victory. The artisans and experts captured were taken to Constantinople. The *Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu* mobilised by Uzun received their liberty; the remainder of the Turkomans were put to death (*ḳatli-i 'amm*) by order of the Sultān. *Dārāb Beg*, commander of [*Shabin*]-*Ḳara-Hiṣār* on the *Kilkīt-su* above *Ḳoyunlu-Hiṣār*, hearing of the defeat of his master, handed over the fortress to the Ottomans. On the advice of the grand vizier *Maḥmūd Pasha*, who explained the difficulties of keeping the territories still to be conquered, the Sultān refrained from pursuing Uzun *Hasan*, but later regretted this decision and the grand vizier lost his office (*Sa'd al-Din*, i. 521—544).

Uzun *Hasan* lost no appreciable territory by this defeat, but the moral effect must have been considerable. After the battle, Uzun *Hasan* wrote to Venice (*Berchet*, p. 137) that he was going to return to the attack ("cavalcheremo adosso à l'Othoman") and at the same time sent *Caterino Zeno* on a mission to plead his cause with the European governments. The Polish and Hungarian ambassadors were sent back with Zeno.

The Venetian Senate, which always attached great importance to the alliance, sent to Persia the secretary *P. Ognibene*. *Barbaro*, leaving at Rhodes the representatives of the pope and of King Ferdinand of Sicily, then set out and arrived in *Tabriz* on April 12, 1474. Lastly a new envoy, *A. Contarini*, left Venice on Feb. 13, 1474, arrived at *Tabriz* on Aug. 4, 1474 and at *Iṣfahān* on Nov. 4, 1474. We also know that at this time the friar *Lodovico* of Bologna was in Persia, who said he represented the Duke of Burgundy. But on this occasion the ambassadors could obtain nothing definite out of Uzun *Hasan*.

In the meanwhile Uzun *Hasan* had gone to *Shirāz* to put down the rebellion of his son *Oghurlu Muḥammad*. On his return from *Tabriz* he took leave of *Contarini* (April 26, 1475) who saw a review of his troops (25,000?) but said that the expedition against the Ottomans was postponed to a later date. In 880 the plague wrought great havoc in Persia and Uzun *Hasan's* troops had to take the field against his brother *Uwais* who was defeated and slain at *Ruhā* (*Ibn Iyās*, ii. 160). Very soon the Venetians recognised the futility of their hopes and less than a year after

the death of Uzun Hasan signed a peace with the Ottomans (Dec. 1478).

Relations with Georgia. According to Münedjdjim-başı, Uzun Hasan thrice invaded Georgia, in 871 (1466), in 877 (summer of 1472?) and after his defeat by the Ottomans. According to the *Djihān-ārā* this last expedition took place in 881 (1476–1477). Barbaro (p. 90) who was an eye-witness, took part in the negotiations with the Georgians. The Georgian sources of the xvth century are very confused (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii/1, p. 12, 249). The King of Kharthlia, Constantine III (1469–1505) seems to have utilised the support of the Ak-Koyunlu against his rivals Bagrat of Imerethia and the Atābeg of Akhal-tsikhe (Kwarkware < Korqora).

Relations with Egypt. The frontier between the original fief of Uzun Hasan (Diyār Bakr) and the lands of the sultāns of Egypt lay roughly along the bend of the Euphrates. The Egyptian historians alone (used by Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, v.) tell us of the extensive relations between the Ak-Koyunlu and the Burdjī Mamlūks. The rivalry with the Ottomans forced Uzun Hasan to deal very tactfully with the ruler of Cairo (we have references to them from 861 = 1456) but on the other hand, he had to seek an exit to the Mediterranean to be in contact with the Venetians. The lands on the right bank of the Euphrates, belonging to the rulers of Egypt and Syria thus formed an impediment to him and Uzun Hasan endeavoured to round off his lands at the expense of the Mamlūks.

In 868 the Kurds who had seized the stronghold of Gargar (on the right bank of the Euphrates S. E. of Malatya) sent its keys to Uzun Hasan who in 869 (1465) restored Gargar to the wāf of Aleppo but at the same time recompensed himself by taking Kharpert (then occupied by Arslān Dulghadir) and by ravaging Abulastain [cf. ALBISTĀN and DHU 'L-KADAR].

In 877 (1471) Kakhtā [q. v.] and Gargar were occupied by Uzun Hasan's troops but the amir Yeshbek al-Dawādār sent by Kā'it-bāy [q. v.] drove the Ak-Koyunlu out of Bira (cf. Ibn Iyās, ii. 140–144 and Behnsch, *sub anno* 1783 [1471]). The Ottoman ambassador sent to Cairo stirred up feeling against Uzun Hasan, the ally of the Christians, but Kā'it-bāy acted with prudence. The amir Rustam and the kādi Ahmad b. Wadjin who were leaders of the 'Irāk ḥadīdī in 877 (1473) succeeded in getting the *khutba* read in Medina in the name of *al-malik al-'adil Hasan al-Tawil khādīm al-haramain*, but the Amīr of Mecca, Muhammad b. Barakāt (cf. iii., p. 514), arrested Rustam and his companion and sent them to Kā'it-bāy, who a few months later liberated them "to please Uzun Hasan" (Ibn Iyās, ii. 145–146). In 880 Oghurlu Muhammad fleeing from his father was supported by the Aleppan troops but the latter suffered a severe reverse (*ibid.*, ii. 152). In 882 Kā'it-bāy visited the line of the Euphrates and re-established the situation.

Death of Uzun Hasan. Returning from Tiflis, Uzun Hasan fell ill and at the age of 54 died at Tabriz on the eve of the feast of Ramaḍān of 882 (night of Jan. 5–6, 1478, which agrees exactly with Barbaro's statement, p. 93: the Eve of Epiphany).

The historians (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 330; *Djihān-ārā*; Münedjdjim-başı, iii. 165) praise his justice

and piety. He created many pious endowments (*khairāt wa-hasanāt*). On his mosque in Tabriz cf. the article TABRIZ. The *Akhūlāk-i Djalālī* of Dawānī is dedicated to Uzun Hasan (cf. Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 443^a). The astronomer 'Alī Qushchī lived at the court of Uzun Hasan and was sent as ambassador to the court of Constantinople (Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 456^b; Münedjdjim-başı, p. 164).

The family. The blood of the Ak-Koyunlu princes was considerably mixed. The mother of Kara 'Othmān, to begin with, was the princess Maria of Trebizond (cf. the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos, ed. by Fallmerayer).

Despina, whom Uzun Hasan married, when he was thirty-four, was certainly not his first wife and in 1471 when her nephew Caterino Zeno visited her, she was living at Kharpert far from the court. She had remained a Christian and was buried in a church of Diyār Bakr (Barbaro, p. 84). According to Angiolello, p. 73, Uzun Hasan had one son and three daughters by her; the son (Jacob?) is said to have been strangled by his brothers after the father's death (?). Despina's daughter Martha (whom the *Silsilat al-nasab-i safawiya*, Berlin 1843, p. 68 calls Bāgi-Akā; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*: Halima Begi Akā and Münedjdjim-başı: 'Ālam-shāh Begum) was given in marriage to Shaikh Haidar of Ardebil and became the mother of the Safawid Shāh Ismā'īl I (the mother of Shaikh Haidar, Khadidja-Begum, was the sister of Uzun Hasan).

The oldest son of Uzun Hasan, Muhammad, was the son of a Kurd *umm walad* (cf. Ibn Iyās, ii. 160; Caterino Zeno, p. 36; Contarini, p. 173). In 879 (1474) after a rising in Shirāz, he took refuge for some time with Sultān Bāyazid, but was finally killed in Persia by his father's orders (Ibn Iyās, ii. 59).

Uzun Hasan's principal wife (*mahd 'ulyā*) was Saldjūk-Shāh-Begum who played a very active part in the government (cf. *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, fol. 198^b). Her sons were Sultān Khalīl, Ya'qūb, Yūsuf (and perhaps Masīh). We do not know the name of Zeināl's mother.

Uzun Hasan's viziers were Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Saiyid Ahmad, Burhān al-Din 'Abd al-Hamid Kirmānī and Maḍjd al-Din Shirāzī (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 330).

Bibliography: According to the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, a contemporary of Uzun Hasan, Mawlānā Abū Bakr Ṭihirānī, had written his history. This rare work, inaccessible to Khondamīr, may have been used by Münedjdjim-başı among whose sources (cf. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*¹, vii. 549) is a *Tārīkh-i Bayānduriya*. The latter may be identical with a *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya* in which, according to the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī* (fol. 1b), the ancestors of Uzun Hasan were given in detail.

'Abd al-Razzāk, *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, is still in manuscript; Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān, *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. Pers. N^o. 101 (history of Ya'qūb b. Uzun Hasan, with some notes [fol. 6b–9b] on Uzun Hasan to whom the author gives the title of *shāhib-kirān*); Khondamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Teheran 1271, iii. 330 (very short paragraph) and p. 233–237, 251, 252 and 389 (the celebrities of the period); Ibn Iyās, *Tārīkh Miṣr*, ii., Cairo 1311; Ahmad al-Ghaffārī, *Djihān-ārā*, Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 141 (I owe to Muhammad Khān Kazwīnī the use of a copy of this MS.), ff. 187b–190b, history of the Ak-Koyunlus with valuable details; the author's grandfather was

the *kādi mu‘askar* (*sic*) in the suite of Uzun Ḥasan in the campaign of 881 in Georgia; ‘Ashīk-pāshā-zāde, *Tārīkh*, Stambul 1332; Sa‘d al-Dīn, *Tādī al-Tawārīkh*, Constantinople 1279, i. 476—484 (capture of Trebizond), p. 521—544 (wars with Uzun Ḥasan), a few meagre facts drowned in rhetoric; *Diannābi*, *Tārīkh*, still in MS. (cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 108), was used by v. Hammer; Münedjdim-bāshī, *Ṣaḥā’if al-Akhbār* (Turkish abridgment of the Arabic original), iii. 154—167 (numerous unedited details), cf. also iii. 377 and iii. 387; Feridūn Bey, *Mūnsha’āt-i Salāṭīn*, Stambul 1274, i. 274—288 (very valuable documents and of undoubted authenticity); Chalcocondylas, Bonn 1843, p. 166—168 (very confused data regarding the relations of the Ἀσπροβάταντες = Ak-Koyunlu with their neighbours), 461—497 *passim* (the correspondence between Despina and the Comnenoi taken to Constantinople was the pretext for their execution); Ducas, p. 339, details on the embassy of 1457; Behnisch, *Rerum seculo XV*, in *Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838 (curious details).

Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, Munich 1827, p. 258 *sqq.*; Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, i. 464—468, 499—512; E. Cornet, *Lettere al Senato Veneto de Giosafatte Barbaro, ambasciadore ad Usunhasan di Persia*, Vienna 1852; E. Cornet, *Le guerre dei Veneti nell’Asia 1470—1474*, Vienna 1856; G. Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Turin 1865 (excellent study, the supplement to which under the same title appeared in *Raccolta Veneta*, series i., vol. i., Venice 1866, p. 25—62); Weil, *Geschichte d. Chalifen*, v. (1862), 275, 296—297, 307—308, 311—312, 337—339, 340—341 (on the relations with Egypt); vol. 49 (1873) of the *Works issued by the Hakluyt Society* contains an English version of the travels of Barbaro, Contarini (with an appendix on the possessions of Uzun Ḥasan) and Zeno, as well as the memoirs of Angiolello [in this article the Venetian travellers are quoted from this edition]; Jorga, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, Gotha 1909, ii. 95—104, 160—168; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iii. 404—414; Avalov, *Is istorii vostochnago voprosa v XV stol.*, in *Sbornik v čest Struwe*, Prague 1925, p. 241—252. (V. MINORSKY)

AL-‘UZZĀ, an old Arabian goddess, whose name means “the Strong, the Powerful”. She was especially associated with the *Ghatafān* (cf. Yāqūt, i. 296) but her principal sanctuary was in the valley of *Nakhla* on the road from *Tā’if* to Mecca (cf. Yāqūt, iv. 765 *sqq.*) to which Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, xci. 3, where *nakhla* is to be read) refers. It consisted of three *samra* (acacia) trees in one of which the goddess revealed herself. It also included the sacred stone (Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, p. 351) and the so-called *Ghabghab*, a cave into which the blood of animals sacrificed was poured (Ibn Hishām, p. 55, 6). There are also references (e.g. Ibn Hishām, p. 839) to a “house” which Wellhausen takes to be a confusion with another sanctuary of al-‘Uzzā. From these centres her cult spread among a number of Beduin tribes, the *Khuzā’a*, *Ghanm*, *Kināna*, *Bali*, *Thaḳif* and especially the *Quraysh*, among whom she gradually acquired a predominant position. Here she formed with al-Lāt [q. v.] and Manāt [q. v.] a trinity in which she was the youngest but came in time to overshadow the others. The Meccans called the three

“Allāh’s daughters”, which produced a vigorous polemic from Muḥammad after he had retracted a compromise [see MUḤAMMAD]. The way in which *Qur’ān*, liii. 19 *sq.*, mentions the three suggests that Manāt was subordinate to the other two, and in keeping with this is the fact that al-‘Uzzā and al-Lāt are several times mentioned alone (Ṭabarī, i. 185; Ibn Hishām, p. 145, 7, 206, 2, 871, 6, where Wadd is also mentioned). When in the year 3, Abū Sufyān set out to attack Muḥammad he took the symbols of al-‘Uzzā and al-Lāt with him (Ṭabarī, i. 1395). That of the two al-‘Uzzā was the more important as the patron deity of Mecca is shown from Abū Sufyān’s war-cry: al-‘Uzzā is for us and not for you (Ṭabarī, i. 1418; cf. on the other hand: arise *Hubāl!*: Ibn Hishām, p. 582) and the same thing is seen in Ibn Hishām’s poem, p. 145, where Zaid b. ‘Amr talks of “‘Uzzā and her two daughters”, if by them are meant al-Lāt and Manāt.

Outside of Arabia proper, ‘Uzzā was worshipped especially by the Lakhmids of Ḥira. Mundhir IV swears by her (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii. 21, 5 from below) and according to *Ḥamāsa*, p. 116, a Lakhmid prince Nuḡmān sent men to her so that she might settle a dispute. Her worship here had a particularly cruel character. Mundhir IV sacrificed to her 400 captured nuns and on another occasion a son of the *Djafnid* Ḥārith, whom he had taken prisoner.

The name ‘Uzzā is also, although rarely, found among the Syrians. As a rule, they use instead the name *Kawkabā* “the (female) star”, which they, like the Jews, apply especially to the morning star. It agrees very well with this that the Saracens who stormed the Sinai monastery according to Nilus wanted to sacrifice the young Theodulos to the morning star. The nature of ‘Uzzā could be defined in this way but the question arises whether we would yet have the true Arab conception of her and whether some syncretism had not taken place in the frontier lands. The same question is raised by the identification of ‘Uzzā with the “Queen of the Heavens” (Jer. vii. 18; xlv. 17—19 in Isaac of Antioch, *Opera*, ed. Bickell, i. 210, 220, 244). This name occurs among the Syrians and the sacrifice of the women upon the roofs mentioned by Jeremiah is known among the Arabs according to Isaac, and the baking of cakes in honour of the goddess can also be proved to have existed among the Arabs (see also Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 41). But this may all be due to foreign influence (just as the word *kawwānim* used by Jeremiah goes back to the Assyrian *kamanu* connected with the worship of *Istar*) so that the true Arab significance of al-‘Uzzā still remains uncertain.

After the taking of Mecca, Muḥammad sent Khālīd b. al-Walīd to the sanctuary of al-‘Uzzā to destroy it. According to Wākidi, the last priest was Aflāḥ b. Naṣr al-Shaibānī, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Dubaiya* b. Ḥarma. Her cult disappeared after this as did the numerous proper names, combinations of al-‘Uzzā, while the masculine counterpart ‘Abd al-‘Azīz remained because ‘Azīz was one of the names of Allāh. But Doughty’s statement that the Arabs still seek the help of the three goddesses in cases of illness is therefore very interesting [see AL-LĀT].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, transl. Wellhausen, in *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 34—37; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 55, 145, 7, 206, 2,

839, 871, 6 (cf. vol. ii. 46); Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, S. 350 sq.; Ibn Sa’d, ed. Sachau, i. 5, 99; Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1648 sq.; Yākūt, *Mu’djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 296; iii. 644, 5; iv. 769 sq.; Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii.

24, 247; Procopius, *De bello Pers.*, ii. 28; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, p. 34—45; Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in Hira*, p. 81 sq., 141 sq. (FR. BUHL)

V.

VALENCIA, Arabic *Balansiya*, a town in Spain, the third in size as regards population, which is over 250,000, lying on the east of the Peninsula, 3 miles from the Mediterranean and from its port, el Grao. It is connected with Madrid by 340 miles of railway; the distance as the crow flies is however only 188 miles. Valencia is the capital of the province of the same name and the diocese of an archbishop. Its situation is a striking one, in the centre of the fertile Huerta de Valencia which is watered by the Turia or Guadalaviar (Ar. *Wādī ‘l-abyad*, the “White River”). Unlike Cordova or Toledo, the old capital of Valencia has seen its importance grow with the years and it remains the capital of eastern Spain, the *Sharḥ al-Andalus* of the Muslim period. It is still known officially as Valencia del Cid in memory of the part played in its history by the celebrated Castilian hero.

Valencia was founded by the Romans in 138 B.C. After the death of the rebel Viriathus, the consul D. Junius Brutus established a colony there of veterans who had remained faithful to Rome. The inhabitants later took the side of Sertorius and in 75 B.C. Pompey partially destroyed the town which began to return to prosperity under Augustus. It was taken by the Visigoths in 413 and became Muslim in 714, when Ṭāriḥ [q.v.] established himself there and at Saguntum, Jativa and Denia.

In the political history of Umayyad Spain, Valencia seems only to have been a place of minor importance. The country of which it was the capital soon became arabicised by the settlement of Ḳaisī colonies: the capital of eastern Spain thus was one of the most active centres of Arab culture throughout the whole period of the Muslim occupation; on the other hand in the mountains along the Valencian littoral there were little islands of people of Berber origin. Valencia at this time was the capital of a province or *kūra*, as we know from the eastern writer al-Maḳḍisī and the Spanish al-Rāzī (in Yākūt, *Mu’djam al-Buldān*, s. v.) and the residence of a governor (*wālī*) appointed by the caliph of Cordova. It is only from the 11th century, with the break up of the caliphate, that, becoming the capital of an independent Muslim state and very soon one of the principal objectives of the Christian reconquista, Valencia began to occupy a more and more important place in the Spanish and Arabic chronicles of the mediaeval history of Spain that have come down to us.

The Muslim kingdom of Valencia was founded in 401 (1010—1011) by two enfranchised ‘Āmirids, Mubārak and Muzaḥḥar, previously in charge of the irrigation system of the district who declared

themselves independent and shared the power. After a very short reign Mubārak died and Muzaḥḥar was driven from Valencia; the inhabitants of this town then chose another “Slaḥ” [cf. ṢAKĀLIBA] to rule them, called Labīb, who placed himself under the suzerainty of the Christian count of Barcelona. The principality of Valencia soon passed into the hands of a grandson of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ‘Āmir [q.v.] ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān who, like his grandfather, assumed the *laḡab* of al-Manṣūr; he had previously been a refugee at the court of the Ṭudjibid Mundhir b. Yahyā at Saragossa. The reign of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, which lasted till his death in 452 (1061) brought an era of peace and prosperity to Valencia. He recognised the authority of the caliph of Cordova, al-Ḳāsim b. Hammūd, who gave him the right to bear the titles al-Mu’tamin and *Dhu ‘l-Sabikatain*, and kept on good terms with the Christian kingdoms of Spain. His son ‘Abd al-Malik succeeded him and took the title al-Muzaḥḥar. He was still a youth at his accession and the vizier Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz acted as regent. Very soon afterwards, Ferdinand I of Castile and Leon attacked Valencia but failed to take the town, after inflicting a severe defeat on the Valencians who made a sortie to attempt to drive off the besiegers. ‘Abd al-Malik sought the assistance of the king of Toledo al-Ma’mūn b. *Dhu ‘l-Nūn* [q.v.] but the latter came to Valencia and soon dethroned the young king (457 = 1065). The principality of Valencia was then incorporated in the kingdom of Toledo and al-Ma’mūn left the vizier Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz there to govern it. When al-Ma’mūn died in 467 (1075) he was succeeded by his son Yahyā al-Ḳādir, whose great incapacity soon became apparent. Valencia then gradually recovered its independence; al-Ḳādir sought the help of Alfonso VI, king of Castile, to bring the town under his authority again but he ended by having to surrender his own capital to him in 478 (1085). For the course of events and part played in them by the great Castilian hero Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, the Cid of history and legend, cf. the article AL-SĪD.

On their arrival in Spain, the Almoravids tried to regain the kingdom of Valencia for Islām but their efforts against the Cid were fruitless. When he died in 492 (1099) his widow Chimena was still able to offer some resistance to the attacks of the Almoravids, led by Mazdali. But in the end she abandoned Valencia after first of all setting it on fire and the Muslims entered it on the 15th Raddjāb 495 (May 5, 1102).

Governors appointed by the Almoravids succeeded

one another at Valencia until the middle of the xiith century when the town gradually began to resume its independence in the troubled period which preceded the coming of the Almohads into Spain, and it linked its fortunes with those of Murcia whose series of ephemeral rulers it recognised. In 542 (1147), Ibn Mardaniṣh was proclaimed king of Valencia but four years later his subjects rebelled against him. Under the nominal suzerainty of the Almohads, Valencia continued in the hands of local princes until it finally fell into Christian hands, two years after Cordova, when James I of Aragon took it on Sept. 28, 1238.

Bibliography: All the Arab geographers who have dealt with Muslim Spain devote more or less attention to Valencia: cf. al-Idrisī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text p. 191, transl. p. 132; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 730—732; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, text p. 178, transl. p. 258; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miṭṭar*, s. v. — On the Muslim history of Valencia, cf. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii. 111; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères* and *Ibar*, iv.; Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḍ al-Kīrṭās*; the biographers of the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*. Cf. also F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almorávides en España*, Saragossa 1899; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, index; Gonzalez Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden-Paris 1931, and *L'Espagne Musulmane du X^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1932; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929 (very important); A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; E. Tormo, *Levante* (Guías Calpe), Madrid 1923. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

VAN. [See WAN.]

VARNA, a Bulgarian town on the Black Sea, the chief harbour of export of the country, capital of the district of the same name, lies at the mouth of the Devna surrounded by gardens and vineyards. The town, which down to 1878 was strongly fortified, is the terminal station of railway from Sofia and Ruṣṭuk and according to the census of Dec. 31, 1926 has 60,563 inhabitants. The development of the modern harbour has considerably increased trade, commerce and industry. Before the war of 1878, Turks formed more than half the population, and Jireček (*Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, p. 531) could say as late as 1891: "Turkish is predominant in the streets and is also spoken by the Armenians and the Gagauz" but linguistic and ethnographical conditions are now completely changed.

In ancient times the site of the modern Varna was occupied by Odessos (later Odysso, Odysopolis), a Milesian colony founded in 585 B. C. Excavations have shown that the town also flourished in the Roman period. It has borne its present name since the end of the seventh century (679) and was called after the river Devna which was previously called Varna or Varnas. Varna is occasionally mentioned in the middle ages. Idrīsī in 548 (1153—1154) mentions "Barnas" as a large town. (cf. *Die Weltkarte des Idrisi vom Jahre 1154 n. Chr.*, restored and edited by Konrad Miller, Stuttgart 1928). According to Jireček (*op. cit.*, p. 531), Varna was Bulgarian again from 1201 and much visited by Italian seafarers. "In the

second half of the fourteenth century a Bulgarian dynasty of Kuman origin was established on the coast here" (*ibid.*). In 1366 Varna was besieged by the Crusaders under Amadeus VI of Savoy.

The first Turkish attack on Varna which took place in the time of Murād II in 1388 under the leadership of Djandarlı 'Alī Pasha (cf. on him Taeschner and Wittek, *Die Vezirfamilie der Gendarlyzade*, in *Isl.*, xviii. 86 sqq.), but was unsuccessful. It was only after the fall of Bdyn (Vidin) that the whole of Bulgaria from Varna to the Timok became a Turkish province (1393; cf. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 356). On Nov. 10, 1444, was fought the celebrated battle between Murād II and the Christians under Wladislaw III king of Poland and Hungary, in which the latter lost his life (hence his Polish epithet Warneńczyk) and his army suffered a fearful defeat. This victory of the Turks consolidated in great measure their position in Europe and formed a stepping stone to the conquest of Constantinople.

According to Ḥadjdī Khalīfa, in the xviiith century Varna was the capital of a district in the sandjak of Silistria. About this time and later it was repeatedly the scene of battles between Russians and Turks (1610, 1773 and 1810). Ewliyā Čelebi in his *Travels* (i. 290) records a defeat of Cossacks at Varna in 1061 (1650—1651); he himself was wounded in another Cossack raid on Varna (v. 84—88). The same traveller mentions the town in several other passages (e.g. iii. 303, 304, 350, 373) and describes it fully in connection with his visit in 1656 (v. 88—92). According to him, the Muslims lived in seven mahallas while the Greeks (*Rūm*), Jews and Armenians occupied five. Varna then contained 4,000 well built houses, 5 large mosques, the names of which Ewliyā gives, and 36 masjdids. The trade of the harbour was very busy. In the neighbourhood there were 10,000 vineyards and many gardens. In this connection Ewliyā tells the amusing story of the Kāḍi of Varna of the time (called Pačawrā-Kāḍi by the people) who in addition to a wicked tongue had so large a nose that he could not perform the prostrations (*sudjūd*) with his forehead but only — contrary to the rules — with the right ear. Although the Pačawrā-Kāḍi was very strict (*muṣallī*), it was continually discussed in the town whether his ṣalāt could be regarded as valid at all.

In the Russo-Turkish war of 1828—1829 Varna had to surrender on Oct. 10, 1828 after a three months' siege and was only restored to the Turks at the peace of Adrianople. In the Crimean war, the French and English joined the Turkish army at Varna by the end of June 1854, built a large camp here and at the beginning of September began the Crimean campaign from here. In the last Russo-Turkish war, Varna was not near the field of action and was handed over without seeing any fighting to the Russians and Bulgarians on the conclusion of peace (1878). At the Congress of Berlin, Varna was definitely allotted to Bulgaria.

The cession of the Dobrudja to Rumania (1913) is said to have affected the commerce of Varna. In the Great War Varna was twice bombarded (27 Oct. 1915 and 16 Jan. 1916) by the Russian fleet.

Bibliography: The battle of Varna is very fully described by the early Ottoman historians, e.g. Uruḍ b. 'Adil, f. 55—58 (Oxford MS.) and f. 117—120 (Cambridge MS.); 'Ashīk-pasha-zāde, Stambul 1332, p. 132—133; Neshri,

in *M. O. G.*, i. 118—119; Anonymous, ed. Giese, p. 65—70 (transl. p. 92—94) but it is not neglected by modern Turkish historians (cf. Ahmed Refik, *Türkiye Tarihî*, i/i. [Istanbul 1923], p. 240—242, with a plan of the battle-field). — The Ukrainian orientalist A. Krymski gives in his *History of Turkey* (Little Russian, Kiev 1924; cf. the review in *M. O. G.*, ii. 335—37), p. 47—56 not only an account of the battle but also discusses the reports of eyewitnesses, the sources in the earliest European, Turkish and Byzantine historians as well as European works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries including Slav and Rumanian, with occasional critical notes. Krymski came to the conclusion that the works on the subject by Slavs and Rumanians of the sixteenth century are of less value than German works of the sixteenth century. — Also: Hâdjidjî Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, transl. J. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812; Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyâhatnâme*, i., iii. and v., Constantinople 1314—1315; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*², i. 345—356 and iv. 647; Const. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876; do., *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague—Vienna—Leipzig 1891, p. 530—532 (= main passage) and p. 537; *Enciklopedičeski Slovar' Brokgaus-Efron*, vol. v. (St. Petersburg 1892), s. v.; J. Nikolaos, 'H 'Oδυσσέας, Varna 1894 (inaccessible to me; quoted by Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford, 1910² and 267); Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. i., Gotha 1908, p. 441—443 (with literature of the battle of 1444); St. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*⁵ (= *The Story of the Nations*, vol. xiv.), London 1908, p. 91—95; H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire (1300—1403)*, Oxford 1916, p. 129 and 172; A. Hajek, *Bulgarien unter der Türkenherrschaft*, Berlin and Leipzig 1925, p. 10, 13, 107—108; O. Tafrali, *La cité pontique de Dionysopolis, exploration archéologique de la côte de la mer Noire entre les caps Kali-Akra et Ecrène faite en 1920*, Paris 1927, s. Index (only deals with Varna indirectly); *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹⁴, 1929, s. v.; *Annuaire statistique du Royaume du Bulgarie 1929—1930* (Bulgarian and French), Sofia 1930, p. 22; *Almanah kraljevine Jugoslavije* (Zagreb since 1930), i. 40 and 44.

(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

VIJAYANAGAR, a city of Southern India, now in ruins, situated in 15° 20' N. and 76° 28' E., on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra. It was founded about 1336 A.D., either by Vira Ballala III of Dvāravatipūra, or by three Hindū chiefs variously described as being wardens of the northern marches of his kingdom and as officers of the Kākatiya kingdom of Warangal or of Muhammad b. Tughluq [q. v.] of Dihli. Two of these chiefs, Harihara and Bukka, established themselves in Vijayanagar while the Muslims, of

the Deccan were in rebellion against Muhammad b. Tughluq, and later, while 'Alā' al-Din Bahman Shāh was occupied in founding and consolidating the kingdom of the Deccan, they gradually extended their rule over the Peninsula and founded the great Hindū kingdom of Vijayanagar, the history of which is largely a record of intermittent warfare with the Muslims on its northern frontier, first with the great kingdom of the Deccan, and later with the Muslim states which rose on its ruins. The wealthy Hindū kingdom was able to maintain an army greatly outnumbering that of the Bahmanids, but the balance of success lay with the more virile Muslims, though for two centuries and a quarter they were unable entirely to subdue the great Hindū state. The ostensible cause of difference was usually the possession of the Rāyçūr Dūāb, the debatable land lying between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra, but the Bahmanids seldom needed a pretext for attacking their Hindū neighbours. About the middle of the sixteenth century, after the dissolution of the Bahmanī kingdom, the Sultāns of the independent Muslim kingdoms of Bidjāpur, Aḥmadnagar, Gulkunda, and Bidar foolishly sought the aid of the Rādja of Vijayanagar in their internecine disputes, and the Rādja, more powerful than any one of them, so disgusted all by his assumption of superiority and by the insults which he offered to their religion that they formed a confederacy against him. In December, 1564, the allied Sultāns of Bidjāpur, Aḥmadnagar, Gulkunda and Bidar met at Sholāpur, and, marching southward met the army of Vijayanagar on January 5, 1565, on the south bank of the Krishna, about thirty miles from the small town of Tālikota. Rāma Rādja, the regent of Vijayanagar, was captured and put to death, and at the sight of his head, raised on a spear, the Hindū army broke and fled, and was pursued with great slaughter as far as Vijayanagar, which the Muslims destroyed, after having occupied the city for six months, reduced some neighbouring strongholds, and laid waste the country. The great kingdom of Vijayanagar ceased to exist. Some of its northern districts were annexed by the neighbouring Muslim states, and its southern districts passed under the rule of minor Hindū chiefs.

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(T. W. HAIG)

VIZIER. [See WAZIR.]

W

WABĀR, a district and tribe of the earliest period, in the southern half of Arabia. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, p. 835 and Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 896 give the vocalisation *Wabāri* and compare the form with Ḥadhāmi and Kaṭāmi.

The Wabār are mentioned by the historians along with the 'Ād, Thamūd and other extinct tribes as one of the original peoples of Arabia, all of whom are included (as *al-'Arab al-bā'ida*) by some genealogists among the "true, original Arabs" (*al-'Arab al-'arba'* or *al-'Āriba*). Al-Suyūṭī, for example, with whose estimate of the 'Arba' Ibn Duraid in the *Djamhara* and others agree (see E. Fresnel, *Lettre IV... sur l'histoire des Arabes*., in *J.A.*, ser. iii., vol. v., 1838, p. 529 sqq.; following him Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1846, xii. 57), gives as the true Arabs the 'Ād, Thamūd, Ṭasm, Djadis, etc. putting the Wabār in the last (ninth) place and distinguishing from this group the *muta'ar-riba*, the naturalised, "arabised" Arabs, who also include the descendants of Kaḥṭān, who altogether make up the descendants of Iram, son of Shem, and along with them as a special (third) group of peoples, the *musta'riba*, which comprises the descendants of Ismā'īl (the Ma'add), while other genealogists with Yemeni bias oppose the *muta'ar-riba* or *musta'riba* as one group (the Ismā'īli) to those extinct tribes and along with them to the Kaḥṭān as the 'Arba'. Al-Hamdānī (223 A.H.) describes Wabār as the land in which live *al-'Arab al-'ariba* and Ṭabari also (ed. de Goeje, i. 750) so describes the Banū Wabār (in some MSS. corrupt; in i. 221 we have the form *abār*; Ibn al-Athīr also gives the right form in his Chronicle). Similarly al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih* (B.G.A., viii. 184) and *Murūdj* (Paris 1861 sqq., iii. 288 sq.) numbers the Wabār and others among the extinct Arab tribes, at the same time giving the names of their ancestors, as does Ṭabari, i. 221 (on the genealogy, cf. i. 750).

The statements of the Arab geographers and historians about the history of the Wabār are strongly saturated with legend. The stories current among the Arabs are given by Ibn al-Faḥih (B.G.A., v. 37 sq.) whose statements are combined from several sources, al-Bakrī (*op. cit.*), much more fully Yākūt (iv. 896 sqq.; a brief synopsis in the *Lisān*, still more briefly in the *Kāmis* and a little more fully in the *Tādī*, s. v.). Yākūt quotes various authorities, including Hishām b. al-Kalbī, Muḥammad b. Ishāq, Ibn al-Faḥih, and other direct and indirect sources. His statements (iv. 897) agree almost word for word with those of Ibn al-Faḥih. Al-Kāzwinī (*Adjā'ib*, ii. 41, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848) and later writers, except of course the *Marāsid al-Iṭīlā'*, are based on Yākūt. The same characteristic features are common to the authors and compilers mentioned. These include the purely legendary elements, that the name of the land goes back to an ancestor Wabār, who flourished at the time of the confusion of tongues (so al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 184; Ṭabari, i. 221, 250), that after the fall of the 'Ād (cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, i/i. 20), the

previous inhabitants of Wabār, the Djinn took possession of the land (so also al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 154, 223; Ṭabari, i. 221), and men lived there no longer but only half men (*nasnās*), beings who had only half a head, one eye, one hand, one leg (Yākūt, ii. 263, tells the same story of *Shihr*), that no one dared enter this land and its mysterious inhabitants destroyed the crops of the adjoining lands between *Shihr* and Yaman. A feature which is developed in the legend, on older models, is the story that Wabār was a particularly fertile land, rich in water and fruit-trees and especially in palms (so also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii. 276, 288 sq.); al-Nābigha's mention of palms in the land of Wabār (in Ahlwardt, *The Divans* etc., London 1870, p. 112 from Yākūt) was taken as evidence that the land was fertile and inhabited (cf. al-Bakrī, *loc. cit.*, with Yākūt, iv. 898). — The mentions of Wabār in the poetry are of course not independent evidence, but repeat as a rule only the conventional notions of the great antiquity and fall of the people and the isolation of their land (cf. also Yākūt, iv. 897).

What arouses interest in these fables and may be of use are the geographical ideas at the bottom of them. According to some of these statements, the broad land of Wabār stretched from *Shihr* to *Ṣan'a'*, in general to the eastern frontier of Yaman; according to others, it comprised the whole territory between Nadjran and Ḥaḍramūt; lastly, according to others, it was the territory between the "sand of Yabrin" (*Rimāl Yabrin*) and Yaman (see also Djawhari). From these topographical hints, which in spite of their differences together give a rough general picture, it can be deduced that the portion of the South Arabian desert, of the Rub' al-Khālī or Dahnā, north of the Mahra [q. v.] country, was called Wabār by the Arabs, but this geographical name was also understood in a wider sense and extended to the whole Dahnā. The part called Wabār adjoined in the east the desert area of al-Aḥḳāf (dunes) which lay north and west of Ḥaḍramūt. C. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Leyden 1901, i. 160) says on the authority of information received from natives that in the expression *ahl al-aḥḳāf* the place-name, according to South Arabian ideas, refers not only to the district of al-Aḥḳāf (North Ḥaḍramūt, p. 149) but also to caves in which the Arabian troglodytes live (cf. Yākūt, i. 154, on the different topographical clues for this district).

It is impossible to accept Ritter's (*op. cit.*, xiii. 315) identification of the Wabār with the *Βαβοῦραροι*, who are mentioned by Ptolemy in connection with the Thamūdīs and are to be located in the northern half of the west coast of Arabia (the first component of the name is obviously connected with *Banū*; attempts at identification will be found in Sprenger, *Die Alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 30 sq. and in E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabians*, Berlin 1890, ii. 231 sq.). Ritter's comparison (xii. 271, 392) of Wabār in Idrīsī (ed. Jaubert, i. 156) is also

to be rejected. There never was any cogent reason to dismiss the Wabār into the realm of fable, with Sprenger (*op. cit.*, p. 296) and others, as a people that never existed and to deny any historical or geographical foundation to their mention along with other extinct tribes. Wüstenfeld (*Die Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arabischen Stämme*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, 1868, xiv. 13) in agreement with the Arab writers described the tribes of 'Ād, Thamūd etc. as the original inhabitants of Arabia, who had partly extinguished one another and partly become mingled with the peoples who succeeded them, so that they are to be regarded as having been extinct many centuries before Islām.

Although the records are clothed in the form of legend, it does not follow that the whole story is a pure invention, but only that we have here the memory of an ancient people, which has become a legend; similar things are to be found in the history of most nations. There is a series of fabulous stories associated with the whole of Southern Arabia between Yaman and 'Omān, a region little known to Arab men of letters. Moritz (*Arabien*, Hanover 1923, p. 28 sq.) also says that the names of those extinct peoples of the early days of Arabia including the "Wibār" (so also on p. 60, 122) are at least historical and that there may be a historical kernel in the stories of the fertility of cultivated areas which later became desert through natural causes, such as continued drought and sandstorms. He quotes similar phenomena in Egypt. The formation of the desert, moreover, must have made some progress since the time of Ptolemy, as his map of Arabia shows towns or villages in regions which have since become desert or only contain ruins; on references in Greek and Roman writers for the historicity of the Thamūd cf. the article EGRA in Pauly-Wissowa's, *Realencykl. der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*. — It is also worthy of note that south of Saih, the chief town of the flourishing oasis of Aflādī, Philby (*The Heart of Arabia*, 1922, ii. 99 sqq.) in 1917 saw, along with other remains of an ancient culture, the ruins of a large building, the Ḳuṣairāt 'Ād, so called, as his companions told him, after the king 'Ād b. Shaddād, who ruled in the remote past over these regions and whose capital was in "Wubār" (*ibid.*, ii. 353), a month's journey to the south in the desert near the frontier of Ḥaḍramūt. The story told by him of this king contains several details found in the well-known traditions of the Prophet Hūd. The ruined site of Ḳuṣairāt 'Ād is marked in Philby's map under 22° 10' N. Lat. and 46° 20' East Long., a position which of course is only calculated approximately. Of Wabār he was also told (p. 221) that the Dimnān, a clan of the Āl Murra, included it in their territory. If the geographical conception of Wabār still exists among the Arabs, there is no reason to suppose that the references in literature to this land and people are based on an invention of the genealogists. The old view put forward by Blau (in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxii. 659) and recently championed by Moritz (*op. cit.*, p. 29, 122) that the Wabār "offenbar die *Ἰωβαρίται* des Ptolemaeus sind (vi. 7, 24)" is certainly not probable (cf. the article IOBARITAI in Pauly-Wissowa; *ibid.* for Landberg's citation of the Djawbān, which has lately been used again as a basis for further deductions, and also for Glaser's errors). Isolated state-

ments of Arabic authors regarding the countries round Wabār seem to make it possible to define its frontiers approximately. According to Ṭabari, i. 221, the land of Abār (see above) lay between Yamāma and Shihṛ; Yāḳūt, iii. 591, gives the information that the "Sand of 'Ālīdj" (*raml 'Ālīdj*) adjoins Wabār; the former is a northern salient of the great South Arabian desert which stretches between Bahraīn and Yamāma and is characterised by the fact that trees and plants grow there. As a matter of fact the north-eastern termination of the great desert is an oasis, that of Yabrīn, in which the desert region, which some, especially later geographers, understood as the Dahnā proper, i. e. a north-easterly continuation of the Rub' al-Ḳhālī, has its southern limit. After this oasis, the most southern part of the district of Yamāma, the adjoining desert is also called "Sand of Yabrīn". The frontiers between 'Ālīdj and the Dahnā fluctuate in the Arab geographers, and sometimes the two regions are even said to be identical. Al-Bakrī interprets the extent of the desert of Yabrīn in a wider sense, for according to him it extends from Yamāma to Ḥaḍramūt. For our knowledge of Yabrīn, the *Δαβρίς* of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 35, the statements in Abu 'l-Fidā' are important (see Rommel, *Abdulfedae Arabiae descriptio*, Göttingen 1802, p. 84), in Yāḳūt (see his several references from the index) and al-Hamdānī (p. 105, 137, 149). Burckhardt had already heard from Beduins that the only habitable area in the eastern Dahnā was the Wādī Yabrīn with date-plams and wells (which the latest reports confirm) but with an unhealthy climate. It is an oasis, rich in water, with settlements and was at one time, as Pelly, who visited the region in 1865 tells us, a fertile well-tilled district with an imposing town, but suffered heavily in the Ḳarāmatīan wars. Philby obtained some information about the oasis, which belongs to a section of the Āl Murra (see *op. cit.*, ii. 216 sqq.). Cheesman's account contained the first more accurate information (in *G. J.*, lxxv. 1925, p. 112 sqq.). Using the statements of the Arab authors, we may regard the oasis of Yabrīn as the most northerly part of the ancient extensive land of Wabār; this agrees with the stories of Wabār's wealth of palm-trees and with the geographical background of the legends, in so far as they do not, like some geographers, locate Wabār definitely in the adjoining desert of 'Ālīdj (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, iii. 288). The southern continuation of it is then either the sandy region of Khīrān about sixteen days' journey south of Yabrīn, a settlement of the Āl Murra with some wells and water-pools (Philby, *op. cit.*, ii. 219), or the district about half a degree west of it in the same latitude. The farther continuation to the south goes via al-Aḥḳāf to the northern frontier of Ḥaḍramūt, N. W. of Mahra. The sandy region of Yabrīn also runs southwards into the desert of al-Djuz' and then into that of al-Aḥḳāf. In Stieler, *Handatlas*, 9th ed., map 60, Gotha 1905, Wabār is located about 46°—47° East long. and c. 22° 40' N. Lat. which is rather too high.

Bibliography: The works of the Arab authors and of the modern writers (Ritter, Sprenger, Moritz, Philby, etc.) have been given with references in the article. We need only add F. Wüstenfeld, *Bahrein und Femāma*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xix. (1874), 173 sqq.

(J. TKATSCH)

WADĀ'Ī. Wadā'ī or Waddā'ī, also called Bergu or Borgu and Dār-Šāliḥ, lies to the west of Dār-Fūr from which it is separated by the provinces of Tama, Mara, Masalit and Sila, which have in the past been politically dependent sometimes on Dār-Fūr and sometimes on Wadā'ī according to the fortune of war. The boundaries of Wadā'ī in other directions are not very precise; the kingdom at its greatest extent at the height of its power did not stretch beyond Kuti on the south, Fitri on the west, Ennedi and the mountains of Kapka or Gabga in the north (Gaoga of Leo Africanus and of the Arab geographers, not to be confused with Gāogāo or Gāo on the Niger).

Although lying at the southern limits of the desert regions and receiving a very slight rainfall, the country is comparatively fertile. It is watered by a certain number of seasonal water-courses and two fairly large rivers: the Bathā' which ends in the west in Lake Fitri and the Baḥr al-Salamāt which flows to the south into the Upper Shari.

The population is a very mixed one, consisting for the most part of tribes of negro stock and to a smaller extent of peoples some of which owe their origin to a mixture of black and white stocks, while others are of almost pure white origin. To the first category (tribes of negro stock) belong the Māba, politically and socially the most important, the Kodoi, the Mimi, the Kashmere, the Kadjakse, the Kondogo, the Mara or Mararit, the Dadjo, etc., all Muslims, then, in the south, the Biṇa and Rūṇa, among whom Islām has made less progress, all belonging to the same great ethnic group and speaking languages related to one another; these languages are to be classed in the same linguistic group as the Nūba, Kanuri, Tēda etc. We also find in Wadā'ī, especially in the southern provinces, an appreciable number of representatives of tribes who have still remained pagan in part or completely, like the Kūka, Gula, Nduka etc., speaking dialects related to that of Baghirmi. The peoples of mixed stock are first the Bideyāt or Anna, the Zagḥāwa or Gabga, nomads of the north, all Muslims, speaking negro languages related to that of the Tēda of Tibesti and related also to the dialects of the Māba, Kodoi etc., then the Tundjūr, who are said to be of Semitic, pre-Islāmic origin, who speak an Arabic dialect that seems to be very archaic and are said only to have adopted Islām in the xviiith century; their Islām is even now very superficial. Lastly, the Arab element, in the strict sense, is represented by a few Ūlād Slīmān, nomads who came in 1842 from Fezzān from which they had been driven by the Turks, and by much more numerous Shuwa, some nomads (breeders of camels, sheep and goats), some settled (cattle-raisers), the latter often showing an admixture of negro blood; these Shuwa have been coming in little groups from quite an early period, some from Upper Egypt, others from Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. The principal tribes of the Shuwa are the Salamāt, Khuzām, Dja'adne, Maḥāmid, Dakakire etc. The Ūlād Slīmān and the Shuwa are Muslims and speak Arabic.

The whole population of Wadā'ī proper is estimated at 749,000, which represents a mean density of 26 people to one square mile.

The capital was Kadama, to the S. W. of Abeshe, down to the middle of the xviiith century. Then

it was Wara to the N. N. W. of Abeshe, down to the middle of the sixteenth century. It was then transferred to Abeshe (or Abesher), which is a town of about 30,000 inhabitants with houses of clay and huts thatched with straw; the royal quarter, surrounded by a high wall of earth, is distinguished by a castle, three storeys high, of baked brick, built in 1860 in the reign of king 'Alī by two Egyptian or Tripolitanian architects.

According to local tradition, Wadā'ī was at first under the authority of a dynasty of foreign princes, belonging to the tribe of the Tundjūr, who had their capital at Kadama and who were more or less vassals of Dār-Fūr. These princes were not Muslims but several of them whose memory has survived have Arabic names, like the last of them, Dāwūd, called Almerenn. It was only in 1615 that Islām is said to have been introduced among the native peoples of Wadā'ī as a result of the preaching of a legendary individual sometimes called 'Djāmī' and sometimes Šāliḥ, whom some say was of Māba stock, but whom others connect with the Arab tribe of Dja'alīn, which has its cradle near Berber on the Nile. In any case, the family which claims descent from Djāmī' is undoubtedly of negro stock and regarded as of Māba origin.

About 1635 a son or nephew of Djāmī' called 'Abd al-Karīm and also known as Muḥammad al-Šāliḥ gathered around him the Māba and the Kodoi recently converted to Islām by his father or his uncle, as well as the Arabs of the district, preached the holy war against the infidel dynasty of the Tundjūr princes, defeated or killed the king Dāwūd, proclaimed himself *kolak* (i. e. sovereign) of Wadā'ī, made his capital at Wara and founded a new dynasty there which retained the throne till 1911.

The *kolak* exercised power with the help of several councillors, including his mother, who had the title of *momo*, and four dignitaries called *kemākil*, assisted by lieutenants (*andeker*), squires (*warnang*) and a supervisor (*sinnelik*). He had around him chamberlains, pages, eunuchs, messengers and tax-collectors as well as a military guard, one section free men and the other slaves. The territorial commands were in the hands of military governors each of whom, called an *agid*, had at his disposal an army raised from the tribes of his district. The most important of these commands were: that of an *agid* who had the title of *djerma* under whom were the Kodoi, as well as the town of Wara and the western provinces; that of the *agid* Almahāmid which included the Arabs of the north and the Zagḥāwa; that of the *agid* al-Salamāt, who ruled the territories of the south. There were as many as 80 *agid*. Each province or *dār* was administered, under the authority of the *agid*, by a *tandjah*, and each village had at its head a political chief and an agricultural official.

This organisation however lacked solidarity; the different *agid* were often fighting with one another or with the *kolak* and they had frequently to use force to secure the obedience of those under them. The history of Wadā'ī, so far as we know it, is simply the history of foreign or civil wars and of the cruelties perpetrated by the kings and dignitaries on members of their own families.

The first *kolak*, 'Abd al-Karīm (1635—1655), paid tribute to Dār-Fūr, like the Tundjūr rulers who had preceded him. He succeeded however in giving Wadā'ī a certain amount of independence

and settled its eastern boundaries by agreement with Sulaimān Solong, the king of Dār-Fūr. He contributed to completing the conversion of a considerable section of his subjects to Islām. This work was continued after him by his son Kharūt al-Kabīr (1655—1678). Kharīf (1678—1681) and Ya'qūb 'Arūs (1681—1707) endeavoured to cast off the suzerainty of Dār-Fūr; the second succeeded in defeating the Dār-Fūr army which was commanded by 'Umar Lele and in taking him prisoner. Kharūt al-Ṣaghīr (1707—1745) engaged in an unsuccessful war with the Barghirmi. Djoda (1745—1795) resumed the struggle against Dār-Fūr, defeated its king 'Abd al-Kāsim and secured the independence of Wadā'ī; he undertook a number of expeditions against the pagans of the south and even succeeded in taking a portion of Kanem from the rule of Bornu. Ṣāliḥ Derret (1795—1803) was dethroned by his son 'Abd al-Karīm who assumed the name of Ṣābūn (1803—1813) and distinguished himself in a war against 'Abd al-Raḥmān Gawrang, king of Barghirmi, whose capital Māsēnya he took and plundered in 1806. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was killed in the course of the campaign and his son and successor Burgumanda had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Wadā'ī. The *kolak* Ṣābūn developed the trade of his lands and established relations with Egypt. He was however of a cruel and blood-thirsty disposition and made enemies in his entourage, who finally assassinated him. His son Yūsuf Kharifein (1814—1829), a debauchee and drunkard, was poisoned as a result of a conspiracy against him. Rākib (1829—1830) was placed on the throne at an early age under the regency of his mother but soon died of smallpox. 'Abd al-'Azīz, great-grandson of Djoda, was chosen to succeed him after a bloody civil war but he also died of smallpox in 1834.

Famine now desolated the kingdom, and drove the Wadā'ians to plunder the western provinces of Dār-Fūr. Muḥammad Fāḍil, king of this country, sent a punitive expedition which reached Wara and put on the throne a Wadā'ian prince named Muḥammad Sharīf who recognised the suzerainty of Dār-Fūr and reigned from 1835 to 1858, possessing a prestige and authority and a sense of justice which had been previously unknown. Having cause to complain of the conduct of the powerful Shaikh 'Omar, lord of Bornu, he attacked him and defeated him at Kusri and forced him to pay an indemnity of 8,000 dollars. It was Muḥammad Sharīf who moved the capital from Wara to Abeshe. He became blind and had to defend himself against one of his own sons; ultimately he went out of his mind and died in 1858. It was in his reign that Wadā'ī for the first time was visited by a European, the German Vogel, who spent 13 days in Abeshe in 1856 and was murdered on leaving it.

His successor 'Alī (1858—1874) devoted himself to the restoration of order in the state and encouraged trade between Wadā'ī and Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. In 1870 he went to war with Abū Sakkin, lord of Barghirmi, who had attempted to cast off the bonds of vassalage; he besieged him in his palace, which he mined and took by storm, and brought back from Māsēnya in 1874 over 20,000 captives, chosen mainly from among the artisans, as a result of which he gave a considerable stimulus to industry in Wadā'ī. It was he who built the royal palace of Abeshe and added to Wadā'ī the

provinces of Rūḥa and Kutī. In 1873 he was visited by the German explorer Nachtigal, whom he treated with great consideration.

Yūsuf (1874—1898) allowed Barghirmi to regain its independence. He entered into friendly relations with al-Mahdī, the head of the Sanūsiya brotherhood. It was in his reign that the adventurer Rabah, who came from Baḥr al-Ghazāl, invaded Kutī (1879), then Rūḥa, laid waste the southern provinces of Wadā'ī and installed a slave-dealer named Sanūsī as sultān of Kutī and Rūḥa (1890). In 1891 the latter was visited by the French explorer Crampel, who had come from Ubangi; he tried to prevent him from going on to Wadā'ī and being unable to make him abandon his plans, had him assassinated along with his companions. In 1894, Rabah being engaged in conquering Bornu, the *kolak* Yūsuf sent an army against Sanūsī and forced him to recognise his suzerainty. A little later, in 1897, the same Sanūsī signed a treaty of friendship with the explorer Gentil, the French commissioner in Ubangi and Shari.

Ibrāhīm (1898—1901) had to put down several risings and died of wounds received in battle. Abū Ghazālī (1901—1902) had to fight against one of his *agīds* named 'Āsil who raised a considerable section of the people against the *kolak* with such success that the *kolak* had to abandon his capital. In his place Dūdmurra, son of Yūsuf, was proclaimed; he pursued Abū Ghazālī, captured him and put out his eyes, while 'Āsil, who had taken refuge in Fitri, put himself under the protection of the French troops who had established themselves in Yao. Dūdmurra reigned from 1902 to 1911. Soon after his accession, 'Āsil left Fitri and made war on the pagans of southern Wadā'ī; arrested by order of Commandant Largeau in 1903, he was for a time interned at the French post of Fort-de-Possel. However, Dūdmurra's advisers professed to hold the French responsible for 'Āsil's doings and the *agīd* al-Salamāt set fire to the French custom-house of Gulfe to the west of Lake Iro and attacked Lieutenant Dujour at Tomba in April 1904. On June 7, the *djerma* 'Uḥmān summoned the commandant of the French fort at Yao to evacuate the district of Fitri; the latter indignantly rejected the ultimatum and his post was attacked in January 1905 by a lieutenant of the *djerma*. The attack was driven off and the Wadā'ian army routed by Captain Rivière. Dūdmurra blamed 'Uḥmān and had him poisoned in 1906. Various Wadā'ian governors however continued to raid French territory, which gave rise to fighting in 1907 and decided the French to invade the western dependencies of Wadā'ī along with 'Āsil, who, restored to favour with the French, posed as a claimant to the throne. Dūdmurra sent against the French an army of 2,800 rifles, led by the *agīd* Almahāmīd, who was defeated on March 29, 1908 by the 280 men led by Captain Jérusalémy and for a second time on June 16 of the same year by Commandant Julien.

On June 2, 1909, Abeshe was taken by Captain Fiegenschuh and Lieutenant Bourreau and on Aug. 30, 'Āsil had himself proclaimed *kolak* in place of Dūdmurra, who had fled. But in January 1910, Captain Fiegenschuh, going with a detachment of troops among the Masalit, was attacked and massacred by them at Bir-Tawil, and 'Alī Dīnār, king of Dār-Fūr, seized the opportunity to invade eastern Wadā'ī, while Dūdmurra again resumed

the offensive from the north. The latter was driven back across the Gabga by Captain Chauvelot. Then on Nov. 8, 1910, Lt. Col. Moll took Djirdjel, the chief town of the Masalit, which Dūdmurra was defending; the latter was wounded and put to flight, but Moll was himself killed at Dorothé along with two lieutenants and five non-commissioned officers. A little later, on Jan. 12, 1911, Captain Modat took at Ndele (Kuti) the fortified palace of Sanūsī who was killed in the fighting and in October of the same year, the *kolak* Dūdmurra came to make his submission to Colonel Largeau and abdicated. 'Āsil became king of Wadā'i under a French protectorate but he reigned only a few months as he had to be deposed on June 5, 1912, on account of his duplicity. Since then Wadā'i has been directly administered by the commandant of the district of Abeshe, which forms a part of the French colony of Tchad.

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(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

WĀDĪ ḤALFA or simply *Ḥalfa*, a modern town in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān, 21° 55' N. 31° 19' E., on the right bank of the Nile, c. 770 miles south of Cairo and 5 miles north of the Second Cataract, is the chief town of the province or *mudiriya* of that name. It includes the village of Tawfiḳiyya, a new suburb with fine bazaars, and its inhabitants, inclusive of the Nubian villagers of Dabarōsa, number almost 3,000. Besides the Muslim places of worship there are the churches of the Copts, Greeks and English. The Government offices and hospital, and the official residential district lie to the south. The head of King John of Abyssinia is said to be beneath a tree near the hospital. The name of the place is due to the *ḥalfa* grass abounding in this region. In Pharaonic times the district was called Buhen. Opposite the town, on the west bank, are the remains of the old Egyptian fortress of that name established under the Middle Empire. Pa-nebes, the Πανουψ of Ptolemy, was also in the neighbourhood (Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, ii. 83).

It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that the town developed from a miserable Sūdānese trading village into the important centre it now is on the frontier of Egypt and the Sūdān. During the years 1884—5 it was made a military base of the British troops. Lord Wolseley's expeditionary force passed through it on its way to assist General Gordon at Khartūm. The place grew in importance as a result of the subsequent decision which made it the political frontier, and when a garrison of Egyptian troops was established on the spot it figured again in the campaigns of 1896—98 against the Mahdī. By the Sūdān Convention of 1899 conditions were changed. The modern political boundary is now fixed at 22° N. Lat., a distance of 27 miles north of Wādī Ḥalfa. The government railway to Khartūm, which begins at the town, accounts largely for its present day importance. Nile steamers connect it on the north with Shallāl, a village on the outskirts of Assuān,

the terminus of the Egyptian State Railways.

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(J. WALKER)

WĀDĪ 'L-KURĀ, the valley between el-'Elā' and al-Medīna on the old trading route from South Arabia to Syria, usually called Wādī Deidibbān. It is the dry bed of two wādīs which join in the centre, the Wādī al-Dijzel from the north and the Wādī el-Ḥamḍ from the south which comes down from near Medīna above the village of Henakiyya and runs between the Djebel Ḥamzī or Uḥud (Eḥad) and the city of the Prophet. Half-way between el-'Elā' and al-Medīna it is joined on the right by the Wādī el-Tubḍj or Wādī el-Silsila, which connects it with Khaibar.

The most important place in the Wādī 'l-Kurā' is el-'Elā' with rich date-groves and cornfields which owe their existence to warm springs in the valley. At one time Qurḥ was the most important trading centre of the Wādī 'l-Kurā'. It presumably took the place of the ancient Dēdān (Daidān) the ruins of which, now called al-Khraiba, lie in the northeastern corner of the gardens of el-'Elā'. The oasis of Dēdān, which was of importance as an important point on the old trading route from the south to Egypt and Syria, was at one time in the possession of Minaean rulers who had deputies here. Numerous Minaean inscriptions, which were found in el-'Elā', and the mention of the name Dedan (دَدَان) in ancient South Arabian inscriptions and in the Bible (Gen. x. 7; xxv. 3) are further evidence of the close connections the old South Arabian states had with this place. Yāḳūt still knows the old name of this place and records that Daidān was once a large town on the road from al-Belḳā' to the Ḥidjāz but was already in ruins in his time. Legend connects the decline of the people of 'Ād and the story of the prophet Ḥūd with this region. These stories were probably suggested by the rock tombs in the vicinity of Daidān (Khraibe). At the beginning of Islām the Wādī 'l-Kurā' supported a considerable Jewish population who, like their co-religionists in al-Medīna, were hostile to Islām. When in the year 2 (623—624) the Ẹainuḳā' were driven out of al-Medīna and went through the Wādī 'l-Kurā' to Syria, they sheltered them for a month and gave them food and horses for the journey. In the year 5 (626—627) the Jews of the Wādī 'l-Kurā' joined the defensive alliance formed by the Jews of Taimā', Fadak and Khaibar against Muḥammad. It was however not till 7 (628) that they came to blows with the Prophet's forces, when after the capture of Khaibar, he marched through the Wādī 'l-Kurā' to al-Medīna. The Jews of the valley, which was defended by towers, offered a vain defence. They were forced to surrender after heavy losses but were allowed to remain in the country; they had to till the soil for their hated enemy, and in this way contributed considerable wealth to the treasury in al-Medīna. Henceforth this important corridor, used

for the victorious campaign of the Muslims under Abū 'Ubaida against Syria, remained in the hands of the lords of al-Medīna, although for administrative purposes it continued for a time to belong to Syria and formed the frontier against the Ḥidjāz. The Jews were allowed to remain for some time in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā'. Whether they were expelled as early as the reign of the caliph 'Umar I is not certain. All we know is that in al-Balādhuri's time there were no longer any Jews in the Wādī and the land had long been divided among the Muslims and belonged to the district of al-Medīna.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

WĀDĪ NŪN, older form WĀDĪ NŪL. This is not the name of a river but of a great plain in S.W. Morocco between the western Anti-Atlas and its Saharan outliers twenty miles from the sea. The plain is formed by the silt from a number of water-courses, of which the chief are the Wādī Ṣaiyād and the Wādī Umm al-'Aṣhar, which unite to form the Wādī Āsāka; the latter river joins the sea through a defile which has given it its name.

We find in the Wādī Nūn a certain number of oases with large villages (Awgelmīm or Gleimīm, Kṣābī, Tiliwīn, Fask, Dubiyān, Tighmart, Asrīr, Wa'rūn, Abbūda etc.) which serve as trading centres for the Saharan nomads and contain 3,000—3,500 families. These are Arabo-Berbers belonging for the most part to the Ma'kil and the Lamṭa [q.v.]; a few belong to the Gazūla and to the Ṣanhādja. They almost all belong to the Tekna, but some to the Ait Ba'amrān and the Akhsās. There are also a number of *shorfā*, marabouts, *ḥarāṭīn* and Jews.

There is hardly a historian or geographer who has dealt with the Maghrib al-Akṣā who has not mentioned this province. It owes its importance to several things: the Wādī Nūn is in Morocco one of the rare groups of oases which throughout the centuries has communicated in the south with the Mauritanian Adrār and the Senegal and in the southeast with the bend of the Niger; it is at the exit of the easiest route between the desert and the northern slope of the Atlas, a natural route which runs on as far as Mogador; lastly its proximity to the Ocean has enabled its inhabitants to enter at various periods into commercial relations with Europe and to secure the exportation of the rich produce of the Sūdān.

Historical sketch. The Wādī Nūn was, we are told, at one time a great pastoral region; native tradition says that it used to be called Wādī Nūḵ "the river of the she-camels". Its name is sometimes derived from the Hebrew and Nūn is said to be a fish-god. Jewish legends make the whale

throw Jonah up on the coast of Sūs and the memory of Joshua son of Nūn is said to survive in the name of the tribe of Ait 'Isā.

In the viith century of our era, Lamṭa Berbers were the owners of the oases and we may imagine that the expedition of 'Uḳba b. Nāfi' and the ephemeral rule of 'Abd Allāh b. Idris in Sūs brought them for the first time into contact with Islām. They were probably great nomads; in the tenth century however, they had a town, Nūl Lamṭa, which seems to have occupied the site of the present village of Asrīr. We do not know the date of its foundation but it was undoubtedly much earlier; it was a great market, where shields were made of antelope hide (*lamṭ*) and from it caravans set out to cross the Sahara for the Sūdān and Mauritania. It was no doubt this commercial activity that at an early date attracted a Jewish colony here.

In the xith century, Nūl Lamṭa was conquered by the Almoravids who made it one of their bases of operation and established a mint there. The Lamṭa served this dynasty faithfully; on the other hand, their risings against the Almohads in the following century resulted in bloody reprisals. A little later, in 1218, the invasion of the Ma'kil Arabs reached the Wādī Nūn and one of their tribes, the Dhwi Ḥassān, soon incorporated the Lamṭa, who ceased henceforth to play an independent part.

Nūl henceforth lost its importance and was replaced as a port for the Sahara by Tagaost (the modern Kṣābī); it was under this name that Europe for long knew the Wādī Nūn. In the xvth century began the expeditions from the Canaries to the coasts of Africa, the object of which was to procure slaves for the exploitation of the country; these were the celebrated *entradas*, several of which reached the gates of Tagaost and resulted in the foundation of a number of Spanish fortresses; one of them, San Miguel de Saca, which however only lasted for a very short time, was quite close to the Wādī Nūn, at the mouth of the Āsāka. These expeditions were perhaps preceded or accompanied by Christian missions. In 1525, Tagaost venerated the relics of a Portuguese of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, who had lived in this region.

The foundation of the Sa'dian dynasty resulted in the expulsion of the Christians and the people of Nūn supplied *gish* contingents to the sovereigns who had liberated Muslim soil. But very soon, it seems, their oases began to lose their position as starting-points for caravans. The *Shorfā* came from Tāgmādārt in the upper Dar'a and it was by this route naturally that they brought to Mar-rākūsh the booty of their conquests on the Niger.

This fact no doubt explains why the people of the Wādī Nūn very soon disowned this dynasty, as well as why they were always at more or less open enmity with the Filālīs, who for similar reasons favoured the route by Tāfilālt. In the xviiith and xviiiith centuries the Wādī Nūn seems to have belonged to the marabout state of Tāzer-wālt, founded by Abū Ḥassūn al-Samlāli, whose ambition at one time was to conquer the Sūdān. He and his successors in every case maintained very regular commercial relations with the country south of the desert. In their reign European ships frequently came to the coast of Sūs to carry away merchandise brought down by the caravans. This

was a period of prosperity for the Wādī Nūn, which towards the beginning of the xixth century, formed a practically independent state under Shaikh Bairūk the capital of which, Awgelmim, soon supplanted Tagaost.

The sultāns however became disturbed at this direct trade between Europe and the southern provinces of the empire; they were losing all the profit from it. In the second half of the xviiith century, Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh closed the southern ports to trading-ships and forced them henceforth to come to Mogador, which he had just founded. Tāzerwālt and Wādī Nūn had to send their caravans there and pay heavy taxes on the articles exported. All their efforts and especially those of Bairūk and his sons were in the direction of direct relations with the European governments, to make their country appear an independent state and to lead ships to disobey the sultān's orders by founding on the coast a port where the customs duties were lower than those at Mogador. The way was paved for this policy by the old relations of the Jews of the Wādī Nūn with the European merchants and by the numerous shipwrecks which took place in this district at the end of the xviiith century, which gave Bairūk an opportunity to discuss his plan with Christians. He tried first of all in 1835—1836 to interest England and then France in 1837 to 1853; finally after his death in 1859, his sons began negotiations with Spain which enabled this nation to get, by the treaty of Tetwān, the concession of a fishing station on the coast. So far these attempts had yielded no appreciable result, the authority of the Ūlād Bairūk seemed rather precarious and besides the coast of the Wādī Nūn did not afford sufficient shelter for ships. It was only in 1876 that Mackenzie built a factory on Cape Juby, soon followed by Curtis, who settled near Awgelmim in the Wādī Areksis. These marked the beginning of a series of explorations and experiments which disturbed sultān Mawlāy al-Ḥasan so much that in 1886 he decided upon an expedition to the south. This ended in the submission of Tāzerwālt and of the Wādī Nūn and in the departure of the English merchants. The marabout shaikh Ma' al-Ainain [q. v.] whose anti-foreign influence was increasing in the Sahara undertook to put a stop to any Christian enterprise on these coasts. It was not till four years after his death, in 1916, that Spain established herself on Cape Juby and a German submarine landed a mission to seek an alliance with his son Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Haiba, who was directing the opposition of the tribes in the Anti-Atlas against the French advance; this last effort led to nothing.

Wādī Nūn besides had no longer the same reasons for attracting Europeans: the power of the Bairūk no longer existed, the progress of the French in Southern Algeria and in the sub-tropical zone had gradually lessened the trans-Saharan traffic and Awgelmim had gradually lost all its commercial importance.

Political organisation. Each village of the Wādī Nūn has its own organisation: a chief and an assembly of notables. It is also attached to the organisation of the tribe on which it depends, an organisation which has almost always a tendency to monarchy. The majority are in the system of alliances which among the Tekna divides the tribes of the coast (Ait Dīmāl) from the tribes of the interior (Ait 'Aṭhmān or Ait Bella).

Economic life. In the Wādī Nūn a few cereals are grown, the vine and tobacco. The latter has a certain reputation in all the western Sūdān. There are also palm-trees, figs, pomegranates, a few arganiers, oranges and Barbary figs. Numerous hives produce an excellent honey. The main wealth of the country is in rearing camels, horses, cattle and particularly sheep and goats.

Industry is rudimentary; there are a few armourers and several Jewish goldsmiths. Fishing is practised by certain tribes of the Tekna.

The markets of Awgelmim and Tighmart are of only local significance. The most notable are the fairs (*mūsem*, *amuggār*) of Asrīr, Kṣābī and Awgelmim which annually give an opportunity for the settled population and the nomads to exchange commodities. Trans-Saharan trade has practically disappeared completely.

Bibliography: On account of the relations of Wādī Nūn with Europe the bibliography of this province of Morocco is very important; and will be found in the bibliography of the western Sahara publ. by M. Funck Brentano in *Hespéris* (vol. xi., 1930, fasc. i.—ii.). — In addition to the classical historians and geographers of North Africa (al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, Abu 'l-Fida', Ibn Khaldūn, Leo Africanus, Marmol), we only mention the more important here: *Histoire du Naufrage et de la captivité de M. de Brisson*, Geneva 1789; R. Adams, *The Narrative of Robert Adams*, London 1816; J. Riley, *Loss of the American brig Commerce*, London 1817; F. D. B., *Naufrage du brick la Nossa Senhora-da-Conceição*, in Lafond, *Voyages autour du monde et naufrages célèbres*, Paris 1844—1847, vol. viii.; Cochelet, *Naufrage du brick français la Sophie*, Paris 1821; Davidson, *Notes taken during Travels in Africa*, London 1839; Panet, *Relation d'un voyage du Sénégal à Soueïra*, in *Rev. marit. et colon.*, 1850; Bou el Moghad, *Voyage par terre entre le Sénégal et le Maroc*, in *Rev. marit. et colon.*, May 1861; *El Uad Nun y Tekna segun Gatell*, in *Rev. geograph. commercial*, 1865; Jannasch, *Die deutsche Handelsexpedition 1886*, Berlin 1887; Douls, *Voyage d'exploration à travers le Sahara occidental et le Sud marocain*, in *Bull. Soc. de Géogr.*, Paris 1888, ix.; A. Le Chatelier, *Tribus du Sudouest marocain*, Paris 1891; P. Marty, *Les tribus de la Haute Mauritanie*, Paris 1915; R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930.

(F. DE LA CHAPELLE)

WADĪ'A (A.), deposit, custody, is a contract (*ʿakd*) by which the depositor (*mūdīʿ*, *mustawdīʿ*) hands over to the depositary (*mūdaʿ*, *mustawdaʿ*) a thing to be kept and returned intact at a later date. Wadī'a means not only the thing to be kept but also the agreement regarding the transaction. The custody is therefore based on a special agreement and is therefore dealt with in legal works as a branch of the law of contract, while in the case of *amāna* "entrusted goods" there is no agreement but only a general obligation to keep faith, without a binding agreement; under *amāna* therefore come such things as come into the keeping (*yad*) of any one by chance or without special intention, e.g. a garment blown into the house by the wind or an article found (*luḡaṭa*) or a pledge (*rahn*).

1. Wadī'a is not found as a technical term in the Qur'ān but only *amāna* in the more general

meaning. Muḥammad with all emphasis admonishes his followers to keep their contracts and to restore goods and pledges entrusted to their care (Sūra iv. 61; ii. 283) and promises Paradise to those who obey these commands (xxiii. 8 *sqq.*; lxx. 32). These verses show how little and how reluctantly the pagan Arabs fulfilled the obligations and agreements they had entered upon. The later *fuḥḥāḥ*² also quoted Sūra v. 3: "Help one another to do good and to the fear of God" in order to find support for the contract of custody in the Qurʾān and represent it as a commendable action (*mustahabb*).

2. Traditions also remind that goods entrusted should be restored: "To whom a thing is entrusted, he should return it" or "give the thing entrusted back to him who entrusted it to you". More numerous are the ḥadīths which relate to compensation when the thing deposited has been lost or has perished; in these cases there is no liability (Ibn Māḍja, *Ṣaḍāḡāt*, bāb 7; *Kanz al-Ummāl*, viii., N^o. 5443, 5444, 5448, 5449, 5450) because the depositary is regarded as a person worthy of confidence (*Kanz al-Ummāl*, N^o. 5444, 5447). In other ḥadīths it is asserted that there is a forfeit, because the depositary has not observed the necessary care or has acted illegally, although this is not definitely asserted in the traditions (*Kanz al-Ummāl*, N^o. 5451, 5452).

3. In the Fīkh books the doctrine and legal position of *wadī'a* are minutely expounded. According to the jurists we have the following rules:

I. Placing in custody is a contract (*ʿaḳd*) and an *ʿaḳd dīʿāʾis*, i. e. a revocable contract which can be cancelled at any time simply at the wish of one of the parties. The following conditions (*arkān*) are necessary to secure the validity of the agreement:

a. The two contracting parties must be capable of doing business. Therefore a minor (*ṣaghīr*), a lunatic (*maḍnūn*) and a spendthrift (*ṣafīh*, *mu-baḍḥadhīr*) who has no guardian, can neither put nor take anything in trust, i. e. he can be neither a depositor nor a depositary. If a minor makes a deposit with a person competent to do business, there is no contract but it is binding on the ground of *amāna*.

b. Only such things as are *māl* can be deposited. Therefore impure things (*nadjiis*) for example cannot be deposited.

c. A form (*ṣiḡha*) is requisite and this is offer and acceptance (*idjāb wa-ḡubūl*), i. e. the declaration by both that they are willing; one must have the will to give the thing into custody and the other to take it. This may be expressed in words or in other form of declaration or may be done silently, e. g. by the depositary at once taking over the thing silently after the depositor has offered it.

II. The depositary's obligation to preserve. He has to keep the thing as such things are kept, "as is the custom in ordinary usage". He has to use the care with which he preserves his own things, in the words of Roman law *diligentia quam in suis*. As to the place of preservation, he can keep the thing deposited where he pleases. But if the depositor has given instructions and directions about the method and place of custody the depositary must observe them strictly.

If he does not do so, he is liable to pay compensation if the goods suffer injury or perish.

III. The right to compensation (*damān*). The depositary is not liable if the thing deposited is damaged or perishes through no fault of his. Nor is he liable for the acts of a higher power or accident. On the other hand in cases of *tafrīt* and *ta'addī*, the depositary is always liable.

a. It is a case of *tafrīt*, when he does less than he ought to, i. e. omits the necessary care. This occurs:

1. When he does not prevent damage to the thing deposited, e. g. if he neglects to give food and water to a mule left with him or does not keep the moths from clothes deposited with him.

2. If he is neglectful in the usual way of preserving the thing deposited and does not observe the instructions of the depositor.

b. It is a case of *ta'addī*, if he "exceeds the bounds", i. e. proceeds contrary to the law. This occurs:

1. If he deposits the thing with a third person, for the deposit is based on the personal confidence which the depositor has placed in a definite individual known to him. Ibn Abī Lailā alone allows the depositary to deposit again. Opinions differ regarding further deposit with members of the family. As members of the family are considered such persons as live with the depositary and belong to his household: wife, children, parents, servants, slaves, *umm walad*. The Shāfi'ī jurists follow *ḡiyās* and forbid further depositing, while the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs who follow *istiḡsān* allow it. According to all schools, however, the depositary may deposit again in face of pressure of a higher power in order to save the thing deposited. As cases of this kind the examples are given of shipwreck, fire, inundation, enemy raids.

2. If the depositary uses the thing or derives advantage from it, e. g. if he wears the deposited clothes or rides the mule: unless he is trying thereby to avert damage.

IV. The termination of the contract. The contract of preservation is extinguished by the return of the thing deposited. Both parties have the right to dissolve the agreement when they please. The restoration can therefore be made at any time and at the wish of one party, since this contract is an *ʿaḳd dīʿāʾis*. If one of the two parties dies or becomes insane the agreement is dissolved. The thing remains until its return *amāna* in the hand of the depositary. Here again we have a clear distinction between depositing by agreement and *amāna* with no agreement.

If the depositary refuses the return of the article without reason, the degree of liability increases, if the thing deposited deteriorates. While the depositary is generally not responsible for any casual deterioration, he is now liable for casual deterioration also, since he is delaying restitution.

4. In literature, a thing entrusted to some one's custody sometimes plays an important part in a story. Entrusting with a depositary, especially a faithless or deceitful one, provides well-known motives (cf. *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Märchens*, ed. L. Mackensen, s. v. Unredliche Aufbewahrer). The motif most frequently occurring in Oriental literature is that of the faithless depositary who is in turn outwitted. The *ḡaḍī* is frequently represented as a deceitful depositary. As it would lead us too far to analyse the legal

principles underlying this and the motives, we only mention the more important literature with its parallels: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Kitāb al-Adhkiyā*, Cairo 1277, p. 55; al-Watwāt, *Ghurur al-Khaṣā'is*, Būlak 1284, p. 98; R. Basset, in *Revue des traditions populaires*, vi. (1891), p. 66—67; Chauvin, ix. 13; Born Jūda's, ii. 237; *Hikāyat-i Latif*, Lucknow 1912, A. Heyne, N^o. 10, 23, 30; Leszinski, *Pers. Schnurren*, N^o. 40; Th. Menzel, *Der Zauberspiegel*, Hanover 1924, p. 89; R. Köhler, *Kl. Schriften*, ii. 491; Zachariae, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 167, 390; S. B. Pr. Ak. W., 1883, p. 586; G. Jacob, *Türk. Bibl.*, v. 25; *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, xviii. 69.

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(OTTO SPIES)

WAFĀ, SHARAF AL-DIN 'ALĪ ḤUSAINĪ, a Persian poet of the xviiith century, belonged to a family of sayyids of Kumm, who had charge of the mausoleum of Fāṭima, daughter of the Imām Mūsā Kāzīm [cf. KUMM]. He went to India at the end of the reign of Nādir Shāh, stayed there nearly 30 years, returned home in 1180 (1766), made the pilgrimage to Mecca and died in Persia in 1194 (1780). The Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a short *mathnawī* entitled *Lu'lu'-i manẓūm* "Pearls arranged in Order" by him; his *Diwān* is in the India Office Library.

Other poets have had the same *takhalluṣ*: 1. Wafā' of Ferāhān (Mīrzā Muḥammad-i Husain), a sayyid and mystic, brother of Mīrzā 'Isā, called the great Kā'im-makām. He was for a time a minister of the Zand dynasty and on their disappearance rendered great service to the Kādjārs. He died at Qazwin and has left a *Diwān*; 2. Wafā' of Yazd (Ākā Muḥammad), a poet of the xixth century; 3. Wafā' Ashrafi (Mīrzā Mahdī Quli), also of the xixth century, was a descendant of a Georgian family that had settled in Persia in the time of the Ṣafawis; he was secretary to Minūcihr Khān Mu'tamad al-Dawla; he wrote a beautiful hand; 4. Wafā' i of Tafrish (Mīrzā 'Abd Allāh Khān), a derwish, was for some time in the service of the princes of the imperial family, Zill al-Sultān and Shaikh 'Alī Mīrzā; he once visited Shirāz.

Bibliography: Ridā Quli Khān, *Madjma'-i Fuṣṣḥā*, ii. 527, 528, 566; Luṭf 'Alī Beg, *Ātesh Kede* (not paged, towards the end, in the chapter on contemporary poets); A. Sprenger, *Catalogue of Oudh*, Calcutta 1854, i. 584; Ethé, *Cat. Pers. MSS. India Office*, i., N^o. 1718; W. Ivanov, *Descriptive Catalogue*, Calcutta 1924, p. 398.

(CL. HUART)

WĀFIR, the name of the fourth metre in Arab prosody. It consists in theory of three

mufā'alatun to the hemistich, but in practice the third foot becomes *mufā'al* (= *fa'ulun*). It has two *arūd* and three *qarb*. The first *arūd* has one *qarb* and the second has two:

- 1 } *mufā'alatun, mufā'alatun, fa'ulun*;
 mufā'alatun, mufā'alatun, fa'ulun
- 2 } *mufā'alatun, mufā'alatun; mufā'alatun,*
 mufā'alatun
 mufā'alatun, mufā'alatun; mufā'alatun,
 mufā'ilun.

The alterations that may be undergone by the feet are as follows: 1. the fairly frequent disappearance of the vowel of the *lām* in *mufā'alatun* (*mufā'altun* = *mufā'ilun*); 2. the rather rare disappearance of the *lām* and its vowel (*mufā'atun* = *mufā'ilun*); 3. the excessively rare disappearance of the vowel of the *lām* and of the *nūn* (*mufā'altu* = *mufā'ilu*). It sometimes also happens that the first foot of the first line of a poem loses its *mīm* and taken with the above changes, we have *fa'alatun, fa'atun* and *fa'altu*.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

WAFĀ, plur. *Awfāq*, magic square, i.e. a square divided up like a chessboard, each square of which is inscribed with numerals, letters or words; it is worn as a talisman against illness and for all sorts of other purposes, or can be used for all kinds of magic.

The simplest form of a magic square is the nine compartmented square with numbers as shown in fig. 1. Under the name *lō-shū*, it is mentioned in Chinese literature: The legendary Emperor Yü (2200 B. C.) is said to have seen it on the back of a turtle which arose out of the Hoang-Ho. In Arabic

4	9	2	15
3	5	7	15
8	1	6	15
15	15	15	

Fig. 1.

literature, the square is first found similarly arranged in the *Kitāb al-Mawāzīn* of Djābir b. Haiyān, whose writings we must now date about 900 A. D. There it is ascribed to Balīnās (Apollonius of Tyana) and is said to facilitate child-bearing if written on two unused pieces of linen and tied below the mother's feet. The same amulet with the same use is also described by al-Ghazālī (1058—1111) in the *Munqidh*: it is still in use to-day as "Ghazālī's seal". The essential point in the arrangement of the numbers is that all lines, vertical, horizontal and diagonal, should yield the total of 15. This is only possible if 5 is put in the middle of the four even numbers in the corners and the remaining (odd) numbers in the middle compartments. Beside that shown in figure 1, seven other arrangements are possible, but they do not differ essentially from the first, as they are easily obtained by revolving or interchanging the lines. In manuscripts of the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, the method of filling up the square is described in terms of moves in chess. In the *Sefer ha-Shem* of Abraham ben 'Ezra (1092—1167) the square is connected with the name of God on account of the sum 15 = \aleph . The corner figures form in the Arabic alphabetic numerals the word *بوده budūh* [q. v.] which is considered a particularly powerful charm.

If we may believe the statements of the Arab bibliographers, *Thābit b. Qurra* (826—901 A. D.) wrote on magic squares. In this case, it is natural to suppose that this mathematician did not confine himself simply to the square with nine compartments, but also showed how to form squares with 16, 25 and 36 and more compartments. It is also not impossible that the connection of the squares with the planets goes back to *Thābit*, i. e. to the Sabaeans.

According to Suter, *Mathematiker und Astronom*. p. 93, Ibn al-Haitham (965—1039) also dealt with the subject of magic squares; but it is mainly the mathematicians or students of secret sciences in the xiiith century whose works on magic squares are recorded. Only the works of al-Būnī (d. 1225), the *Kitāb Shams al-Ma'ārif* and the *Kitāb al-Durr al-manẓūm fī 'Ilm al-Awṣāf wa 'l-Nudjūm*, are known in detail. In these we find the use of magic squares developed in all directions which presupposes a long history behind it. A collection of the ways of using them would fill many pages and cannot be given here. In al-Būnī it is a striking fact that squares with the base four predominate, no doubt because these already show a large number of independent forms, which the author makes available for his purposes. Still very frequent, apart from the base 3, is the base 5; squares with the base 6, which are difficult to prepare, do not seem to exist, and squares with still higher basic figures seem to follow simpler rules.

Among the innovations which appear in al-Būnī the first is the increase in the size of the numbers inscribed in the compartments. It is easy to see that the conditions for magic squares will also be fulfilled if each number is raised by the same amount or if the numbers form arithmetical series (fig. 2 and 3). That in the MSS. and editions of the *Kitāb Shams al-Ma'ārif* many defective squares are found is partly due to the copyists.

How the squares can be put right with as little correction as possible has been shown by W. Ahrens in his works.

As the Arabs use two systems of numerals side by side, the two systems are easily mixed. The

usual form is for a word, usually a name for God, broken up into its consonants, to be put as a clue in the upper row with its numerical value, while the other lines are filled up with ordinary numerals. Al-Būnī gives numerous examples, one of which I reproduce; only I replace the letters of the word

حمان by their numerical values (fig. 4). The sum of all the numbers in one line or vertical series must give 299 as this is the numerical value of the clue word. But we get this sum only in the vertical rows *c* and *e*; all the other sums differ

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	
I	50	1	40	8	200	299
II	38	11	198	38	4	289
III	196	51	2	21	9	279
IV	5	31	7	99	49	191
V	6	29	52	3	37	129
	295	123	299	169	299	

Fig. 4.

more or less. If we put the figures written in the squares in order of magnitude we get the groups

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 11. 21.
29. 31. 37. 38. 38. 40. 49. 50. 51. 52.
99. 196. 198. 200.

The figures 21, 29, 31, 99 cannot be correct, because they do not fit into the five-limbed rows; 38 also occurs twice. If we replace the 38 below 8 by 48, the 21 by 41, we get two new correct lines II and III, and if we write 199 for 99, the vertical row *d* also becomes correct. Now we only

| | <i>a</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>c</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>e</i> | |
|-----|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----|
| I | 50 | 1 | 40 | 8 | 200 | 299 |
| II | 38 | 11 | 198 | 48 | 4 | 299 |
| III | 196 | 51 | 2 | 41 | 9 | 299 |
| IV | 5 | 39 | 7 | 199 | 49 | 299 |
| V | 10 | 197 | 52 | 3 | 37 | 299 |
| | 299 | 299 | 299 | 299 | 299 | |

Fig. 5.

need to replace 31 by 39 in order to get line IV correct also. For the last wrong numbers 6 and 29 we have to put 10 and 197 in order to have 299 everywhere, including the diagonals (fig. 5). The rows of figures are therefore now

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41.
48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200

and fulfil the condition that one of the numbers must be in every horizontal and perpendicular row.

Al-Būnī's elaborate arrangements of squares which are filled with letters and whole words cannot be explained here; the squares which are now usually called "Latin" are of no particular interest. Only the large amulets of 7 × 7 squares which are allotted to the days of the week and therefore to the planets may be mentioned here, because it shows that the idea of allotting the simpler magic squares to the planets and metals was not

yet in general use. What al-Būnī tells us on this subject in the *Shams al-Ma'ārif* is not complete; presumably the second work contains more about it. In any case, the two systems — the one ascending from Saturn to the moon, the other reversed — must have been well-known in the Muslim world by the xiiith or at latest the xivth century. In the west, the first system became widely disseminated through the *Occulta Philosophia* of Agrippa of Nettesheim (1533), the second is taught in the *Practica Arithmeticae* of Cardanus. The period when the making of seals of the planets was especially popular was the xviith or xviiith century. In the coin cabinets we find complete collections of seals of different metals as follows:

The seal of Saturn with the magic square 3×3 of lead.

The seal of Jupiter with the magic square 4×4 of tin.

The seal of Mars with the magic square 5×5 of iron.

The seal of the Sun with the magic square 6×6 of gold.

The seal of Venus with the magic square 7×7 of copper.

The seal of Mercury with the magic square 8×8 of silver plating.

The seal of the Moon with the magic square 9×9 of silver.

In the east a number of empirical rules seem to have been used for the preparation of magic squares. The "rule of the Indians" was first made known by La Loubère about 1691. Long before this, however, the Byzantine Moschopoulos (c. 1400?) dealt with the problem in a general form. From the middle of the xvth century onwards, i. e. after the seals of the planets became known in the west, the mathematical side of the problem has been continually studied down to the present day. For the literature of the subject S. Günther's work should be consulted specially.

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AL-WAFRĀNĪ or AL-IFRĀNĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤADJĪ MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH, called al-Ṣaghīr, a Moroccan biographer and historian, born in Marrākush in 1080 (1669—1670); he belonged to the Berber

tribe of the Ifrān or Ūfrān (Wafṛān) which was settled in the south of Morocco in the valley of the Wādī Dar'a. We know very few details of his life. He studied in his native town, then at Fās and spent his life in one or other of the chief towns of Morocco or at the *sūwiya* of the *Sharkāwa* [q. v.] of Abu 'l-Djād (Bujad). Towards the end of his life he was *imām* and preacher (*khāṭib*) at the Masjid Yūsufī (or Madrasat Ibn Yūsuf) in Marrākush; he died in 1140 (1727) or 1151.

Al-Wafṛānī is best known as the author of the great chronicle of the Sa'dians of Morocco entitled *Nuṣṣat al-ḥādī bi-Akhbār Mulūk al-Karn al-ḥādī*, ed. and transl. by O. Houdas, *Nozhet elhadi, Histoire de la dynastie saadienne au Maroc (1151—1610)*, in *P. E. L. O. V.*, 3rd ser., vol. ii., Paris 1888—1889 and lithographed at Fās in 1307 A. H. It is by far the most important source for the history of the first of the Sharifian dynasties of Morocco, for it makes use not only of contemporary chronicles but also to some extent of state documents which the author studied at first hand. It covers the period 917 (1511—1512) to the end of the xith (xviiith) century and deals, very unequally however, with the reigns of various Sa'dian princes, the longest and most detailed section naturally being that dealing with the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [q. v.]. For a critical study of the matter of the *Nuṣṣat al-ḥādī*, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p. 120 sqq.

Besides his history of the Sa'dians, al-Wafṛānī wrote other historical, biographical and literary works. These are, in chronological order: 1. *al-Maslak al-sahl fi Sharḥ Tawshih Ibn Sahl*, a commentary on a poem by the famous poet of Spain Ibrāhīm b. Sahl, lithographed at Fās in 1324; 2. a monograph on the 'Alawid sulṭān of Morocco Mawḥay Ismā'il, *al-Zill al-warif fi Mafākhir Mawṭanā Ismā'il Ibn al-Sharif*; 3. an unfinished monograph on the "Seven Saints" of Marrākush, *Durar al-hidjāl fi Ma'āthir sab'ati Ridjāl*; 4. a historical summary, presumably in the form of an *urdu'za*, *al-Mu'rib fi Akhbār al-Maghrib*; and lastly 5. a biographical collection on Moroccan saints of the xith cent. A. H., *Ṣafwat man intashar min Akhbār Ṣulahā al-Karn al-ḥādī 'aṣḥar*. The last work, which has been lithographed in Fās, is an indispensable work of reference for the history of the Sharifan and Marabout movement in Morocco from the end of the middle ages.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-WĀḤ (pl. AL-WĀḤĀT), the name of a group of oases to the west of Egypt. There are three of them: the first is opposite the Faiyūm and reaches to the level of Aswān; it is the largest of the oases and contains several villages; its palms give the best dates in Egypt. The second is smaller and less populous. The third is the smallest and contains a village named Santaria. This is the information given by Yāqūt. Maqrīzī makes four oases which he calls outer

and inner; in his time Santaria was a little town of about 600 inhabitants of Berber stock called Siwa who spoke a dialect resembling that of the Zenāta. The soil of the oases produced alum and vitriol; the exportation of 1,000 quintals of alum per annum was imposed on the holders of the fief (*muḳṭa'*) by the Aiyūbids of Cairo; later this contribution was neglected and finally ceased. There are springs of acid flavour, the water of which is used in place of vinegar, and others of astringent and salt taste; there are about twenty springs of fresh water. Certain illnesses are endemic and fevers common. There are groves of palm-trees, olive-trees, fig-trees and vines. There was said to be an extraordinary citron tree there which yielded 4,000 citrons each year; which may be compared with the examples given by botanists of the fertility of the Aurantiaceae. In 339 (950) the oases were ravaged by a Nubian army, which carried off numerous prisoners.

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WAHB B. MUNABBĪH, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH, a South Arabian story-teller (*kāṣṣ akhbārī*: Dhahabī, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 483) of Persian descent who was born in Dhīmār, two days' journey from Ṣan'ā' in 34 A. H. (no credence need be given to statements that he adopted Islām in 10 A. H.). Wahb is celebrated as an authority on the traditions of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* and like his brothers Hammām, Ghailān and Ma'kil is classed among the *ṭabī'ūn*. The earliest sources know nothing of the story that before his conversion to Islām he belonged to the *Ahl al-Kitāb* (*Fihrist*, p. 22) or more precisely was a Jew (Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Quatremère, ii. 179); he was presumably born a Muslim. Tha'labī (p. 191) records a story of his meeting Mu'āwiya, and al-Mas'ūdī says that al-Walid sent him an inscription discovered in Damascus to be deciphered. We also learn that he held the office of *kāḍī* in Ṣan'ā', and it is related how in the emirate of 'Urwa b. Muḥammad he once beat with the emir's stick to the effusion of blood an official (*'amīl*) against whom the people complained. When the saying is attributed to him that by accepting the office of judge, he lost the gift of foreseeing the future in dreams, this is only, as in numerous similar utterances, meant to be a warning against accepting this office (see Wensinck, in *Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, p. 496 sqq.). Many stories are told of his ascetic mode of life: for forty years no word of abuse of any living creature ever crossed his lips; for forty years he never slept on a carpet and for twenty years never performed a *wuḍū'* between the night and morning prayer (i. e. lived a life of continence). In keeping with this ascetic mode of life is the utterance he made after being thrown into prison: *aḥdathā 'Uḥu' lana 'l-habsa fa-aḥdathnā lahu ziyādātā 'ibādātā* (Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, p. 492), an Islāmic counterpart to Job i. 21. Warnings against quarrelsomeness are also attributed to him and the advice not to avoid the society of men but rather to meet them with caution: to be deaf when listening, blind when seeing or dumb when speaking. Wahb is said originally to have professed *ḥadar*, but later rejected this teaching as in contradiction to all revealed scriptures. In what period of his life the already mentioned

imprisonment fell, is not recorded; probably not till his last years for he died as a result of a flogging to which he was sentenced by the governor of the Yaman, Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaḳafī, in 110 or 114 A. H.

Wahb's intimacy with the traditions of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* is attributed to the fact that he had read 70, 72, 73 or even 92 of their holy scriptures, statements which, as the lists of his writings show, are pure inventions; his knowledge apparently came from intercourse with learned Jews and Christians in his native district. His statements which are sometimes in complete agreement with Jewish and Christian sources and sometimes are variants adapted to Muslim tradition cover the field of *Aḥādīth al-Anbiyā' wa'l-'Ubbād wa-Aḥādīth Banī Isrā'īl* (Ibn Sa'd, vii/ji. 97), and were handed down to posterity by his pupils among whom several members of his own family were prominent. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idrīs (d. 229 A. H.), the son of his daughter, in particular, distinguished himself in preserving his grandfather's writings. Wahb's *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, which Tha'labī used in the redaction of 'Abd al-Mun'im, is ascribed in the *Fihrist*, p. 94, to the latter and quoted by al-Mas'ūdī as *Kitāb al-Mubtada' wa'l-Siyar*; *al-Mubtada'* in this title is to be interpreted as *Mubtada' al-Khalq* (cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 4) and *al-Siyar* perhaps means not only the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* but also the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Akhyār* (Ḥādjīdī Khalīfa, N^o. 9436) where the *Akhyār* correspond to the *'Ubbād* of Ibn Sa'd. Ḥādjīdī Khalīfa (N^o. 9826) also ascribed to Wahb a *Kitāb al-Isrā'īliyyāt*, which does not seem to have been known under this name at an earlier date. Yāḳūt, *Udbāṭ*, vii. 232, says of Wahb that he was *kathīrū 'l-naḳli min al-kutub al-ḥadīma al-ma'rūfa bi'l-Isrā'īliyyāt*, i. e. he uses *al-Isrā'īliyyāt* for the writings of "Israelitish" origin, which Wahb used as sources. In later writers we frequently find quotations from Wahb's *Isrā'īliyyāt* but such passages are neither sufficiently reliable nor ample enough to reconstruct Wahb's supposed work, as Chauvin tried to do. It is certain that Wahb took account of Jewish as well as Christian tradition; this is proved by the numerous quotations which survive in Ibn Ḳutaiba, Ṭabarī, Mas'ūdī, etc. Statements attributed to him even in these older sources are frequently contradictory and have apparently undergone all kinds of alterations in the various compilations to which they are to be traced. At a later period, stories of doubtful origin were readily given the authority of his name; in particular, what is credited to him in works like al-Kisā'ī's *Ḳiṣaṣ* clearly bears the stamp of later invention. In a separate work, the *Kitāb al-Mulūk al-matawwaḍja min Ḥimyar wa-Akḥbārihim wa-Ḳiṣaṣihim wa-Ḳubūrihim wa-Aḥ'ārīhim*, Wahb dealt with the early legendary history of his native land. This work has not survived but it was presumably from it that Ibn Hishām borrowed the introduction to his *Kitāb al-Tiḍjān*; Ibn Hishām does not mention the name of the book but takes Wahb's statements from the transmission of his grandson. In the work used by Ibn Hishām, Wahb follows Biblical sources completely in his account of early history and gives in it — in contrast to the plan followed in the *Mubtada'* — the names and figures of the Biblical text exactly; he even regularly gives alongside of the Hebrew forms of names, those of the Syriac translation. — Ibn Ishāḳ took over

Wahb's account of the beginnings of Christianity in South Arabia (Ibn Hishām, p. 20), and Tabarī frequently quotes from Ibn Ishāk the stories he had taken from Wahb. For the biography of Muḥammad, on the other hand, Ibn Ishāk never quotes Wahb as a source nor does Wākidi, Ibn Sa'd or Tabarī. Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, N^o. 12,464 however, says of Wahb that he collected *maghāzī* and among the papyri of the Schott-Reinhardt collection, C. H. Becker discovered a fasciculus of a biography of the Prophet by Wahb which deals with events before the Hidjra, and even includes the expedition against the *Khath'am*. Wahb therefore did deal with *maghāzī* proper. The same grandson of Wahb, 'Abd al-Mun'im, as transmitted the *Mubtada'*, also appears in the *isnād* of the Heidelberg papyrus written in 228 A. H. The latter confirms what was already to be deduced from the quotations in Tabarī and others that Wahb himself did not know of the use of the *isnād*; it also shows that Wahb, like Ibn Ishāk, used to intersperse his stories with inserted poetry. Ibn Sa'd (VII/ii. 97) mentions that Wahb's grandson used to read his *Hikma* as well as his books, and a *Hikmat Wahb* in four parts is quoted by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khair (d. 575 A. H.) in his *Fihrist* (see *Bibl. Ar. Hisp.*, ix. 29) with a complete *isnād* going back to Wahb's nephew. This *Hikma* may be supposed to have been a collection of wise sayings taken, some from Jewish and Christian tradition and some wrongly ascribed to it; according to Ibn Kutaiba, Wahb read over 10,000 chapters in the *Hikmat Luḡmān*. The *Maw'īza* must have been of similar content, which the same Abū Bakr in his *Fihrist* (*op. cit.*, p. 294) ascribes to Wahb and traces back to Abu 'l-Yās, the pupil of Wahb also mentioned in the Heidelberg papyrus. Finally he also attributes to Wahb a translation of the Psalms (*op. cit.*, p. 294): *Kitāb Zabūr Dāwūd Tardjumat Wahb Ibn Munabbih*; it is perhaps identical with the *Kitāb al-Mazāmīr Tardjumat al-Zabūr* which still exists, which however is not attributed to a particular author but is said to be by the 'Ulamā al-Islām in general [cf. ZABŪR]. For the sake of completeness we may also mention the *Kitāb al-Qadar*, which Wahb composed but he later regretted having done so (see Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, p. 232) as well as the *Futūḥ*, which Ḥādjdjī Khalifa (N^o. 8932) quotes but which seem to be otherwise quite unknown.

Much has undoubtedly been attributed to Wahb for which he is not responsible. That he pursued serious studies can hardly be denied in view of the exact reproduction of Biblical material preserved by Ibn Hishām in his *Kitāb al-Tidjān*; when on the other hand even Ibn Kutaiba points out the contradictions between Wahb's statements and the text of Genesis, the only explanation must be that either the information collected by Wahb was very early remodelled by those who transmitted it, in the manner of the popular story-tellers (*kuṣṣās*), or that Wahb himself adapted it to popular taste.

Bibliography: Ibn Kutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 8 sqq., 233, 301; Ibn Sa'd, v. 395 sq.; VII/ii. 97; Tabarī, Index, s. v.; Mas'ūdi, Index, s. v.; *Fihrist*, p. 22, 94; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 232; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, xi. 166 sq.; Dhahabī, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 438 sqq.; Nawawī, p. 619; Ibn Khallikān, N^o. 795; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 65; do., in *B. A. S. S.*, iii. 41; Fischer, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 438, note 1; Lidzbarski, *De legen-*

dis quae dicuntur prophetis, p. 2 sqq., 44 sqq.; Chauvin, *La récénsion égyptienne des Mille et une nuits*, p. 31 sqq., 51 sqq.; Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. der Juden*, § 14; C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 8 sq.; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, Index; Huart, in *J. A.*, ser. x., vol. iv., p. 331 sqq.; Fück, *Muhammad Ibn Ishāk*, p. 4. (J. HOROVITZ)

WAHBİ, a Turkish poet, usually called Saiyid Wahbī to distinguish him from Sünbülzāde Wahbī [q. v.]. He was a contemporary of Nedim and like him a native of Stambul. His father Ḥādjdjī Ahmed, the *kıaya* of Imāmzāde, Kaḍi of Yenışehir, claimed to be descended from the Prophet through a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn. After the latter, his son Ḥusain, our poet, was at first given the *nisba* Ḥusāmī but then, on the suggestion of Ahmed Naili, the man of letters, given instead the *nisba* Wahbī, since it was a gift of God (*wehb*) that he combined in himself descent from the Prophet (*saiyidlik*) with the gift of poetry (*shā'irlik*).

Wahbī chose a judicial career and became mollā in Aleppo. When a son was born to his *nā'ib* there, the latter was also called Wahbī after him; this boy later became the poet Sünbülzāde Wahbī. Saiyid Wahbī was present at the reception of the Persian ambassador Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān in Stambul in 1134 (1721). At the inspection of the Arsenal on this occasion he is said to have jokingly asked the ambassador to crawl into a huge cannon in order to be able to report this in İsfahān as proof of its size, which, to the amusement of those present, the ambassador took seriously. The poet also took part in the reception to the ambassador 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān in 1138 (1726). After Saiyid Wahbī had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and returned again to Stambul he died in 1149 (1736). He is buried in the cemetery of the monastery of the rope-dancers (*Djānbāziye Tekkesi* or *Mesḍjidi*) near the mosque of Djarrāh Pasha. His tombstone bears a *ta'rīkh* by Aiyubī Nedjib Efendi. A son of Saiyid Wahbī was the müdarris Munif Efendi, who had also the reputation of being a poet and died as kaḍi of Munif in 1153.

Saiyid Wahbī is reckoned with Nedim, Beligh and Newres as one of the most important representatives of the romantic group in the reign of Ahmed III. He is, like them, mainly a court poet singing the praises of his Sultān. His works have not yet been printed. There is a manuscript in Vienna of the *Kulliyāt* (Flügel, N^o. 725). A *ḡaṣida* of his is famous in which he celebrates the completion of a well in front of the Bāb-i Humāyūn, and it is still to be read in letters of gold on the building. According to tradition, the Sultān himself had endeavoured to make a chronogram (*ta'rīkh*) for it but could not work in the necessary values. The poet succeeded and then added a whole rhyming *ḡaṣida*. Of other works, Wahbī left a *dīwān*, also a few isolated poems. He also completed a romantic *methnawī* begun by Kaḡzāde Fā'izī (d. 1031 = 1621) entitled *Lailā wa-Ma'djūnūn*. Of importance for social history is his book of festivals (*Sūrnāme*, MS. in Vienna: Flügel, N^o. 1092) in which he describes the ceremonial at the court of Ahmed III in connection with the circumcision of four princes and the marriage of five princesses in 1132 (1720) in vivid and attractive fashion. There is also a *takhmīs* by him on a *ghazel* of Nedim, which endeavours to imitate

the latter; in other works however, in spite of the fact that he is of the school of Nedim, he strikes an individual note.

Ottoman critics are not quite agreed in their estimate of Wahbī. Ziyā Pasha praises his fine language but finds his other work long-winded and faulty so that not twelve of his ghazels are worth picking out. Kemāl and Nādjī esteem him highly and would put him at least among the best poets of the second rank and above (Nādjī: below) Sünbülzāde Wehbi.

Bibliography: Tedhkeres: Faṭīn 443, Sālim 710—714; Rāshid, *Ta'rikh*, v. 404, 421, 425; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadikat al-Djāwāmi'*, i. 79; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, vi. 586, N^o. 14759; p. 623, N^o. 14917; Ziyā Pasha, *Kharābāt*, i., introd., p. 17; ii. 5, 64, 116, 155; Nāmīk Kemāl, *Takhrīb-i Kharābāt*, Stambul 1303; Nādjī, *Esāmī*, p. 177 sq.; Sāmi, *Kūmūs al-ʿAlām*, vi. 4707; Meḥmed Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmāni*, iv. 617 sq.; Bursall M. Tāhir, *ʿOthmanī Mūʿellifleri*, ii. 234 sq.; Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 264, 291, 295, 331; do., *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iv. 339 sqq.; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iv. 107—117. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

WAHHĀBIYA, Islāmic community founded by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1115—1201 = 1703—1787). This name was given to the community by its opponents in the founder's lifetime, and is used by Europeans; it is not used by its members in Arabia, who call themselves *Muwahhidūn* "unitarians" and their system (*ṭarīqa*) "Muḥammadan"; they regard themselves as Sunnis, following the school of Ibn Ḥanbal, as interpreted by Ibn Taimiya, who attacked the cult of saints in many of his writings, especially in a *Risāla* condemning the visitation of tombs (in his *Rasʿil*, Cairo 1323).

§ 1. Life of the Founder. He was of the Banū Sinān, a branch of Tamīm and was born at ʿUyaina (written by travellers *Ayainah*, *el-Ayenah*, *al-Ajjena*, *Ayana*), a place now in ruins, but which (according to L. P. Dame, in *M. W.*, xix. 356) "at one time must have had a population of nearly 25,000". He studied at Medina under Sulaimān al-Kurdī and Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī, both of whom (according to Dahlan) detected in him signs of heresy (*ilhād*). Many years of his life seem to have been spent in travel; according to the *Lam'*, he lived four years in Baṣra, where he was tutor in the house of a ḳāḍī Ḥusain; five years in Baghdād, where he married a wealthy woman, who died leaving him "2,000 dinārs"; a year in Kurdistān, two years in Hamadhān, after which he went to Isfahān at the commencement of Nādir Shāh's reign (1148 = 1736); here he is said to have studied for four years peripatetic philosophy, the *Ishrākiya* and the *Ṣūfi* systems; for a year he attracted students as an exponent of *Ṣūfism*, then went to Ḳumm, after which he became an advocate of Ibn Ḥanbal's school. Returning to ʿUyaina, where he had property, he spent eight months in retirement, and then publicly preached his doctrines, as set forth in his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*. He met with some success, but also with much opposition, and indeed from his own relations, such as his brother Sulaimān, who wrote a tract against him, and his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusain. It appears from his correspondence that his views attracted attention outside ʿUyaina before he left the place. Different reasons are assigned for his expulsion; according to the *Lam'*, his dispute with

his cousin led to bloodshed between the Tamīm clans of Yamāma, in consequence of which Sulaimān b. Shāmis, al-ʿAnazī, prince of Ḥasā, wrote to the governor of the place demanding that he be expelled. He departed with his family and property, said to be considerable, and was received at Darīya (at the time a village of 70 houses) where the chieftain Muḥammad b. Saʿūd accepted his doctrine and undertook its defence and propagation. Possibly later events originated the statement that the two came to an arrangement whereby, should they succeed in enforcing their system on their neighbours, the sovereignty should rest with Ibn Saʿūd, whereas the religious headship should belong to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; this in any case represents the relations between the two. The founder's subsequent history belongs to that of the fortunes of the community.

§ 2. Doctrines of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. His general aim was to do away with all innovations (*bidaʿ*) which were later than the third century of Islām; thus the community are able to acknowledge the authority of the four *sunni* law-schools, and the six books of tradition. His written polemic and that of his followers is almost entirely aimed at the cult of saints, as exhibited in the building of mausoleums, their employment as mosques, and their visitation. The following list which is taken from the *Lam'* seems to agree with what is known of Wahhābī practice.

1. All objects of worship other than Allāh are false, and all who worship such are deserving of death.
2. The bulk of mankind are not monotheists, since they endeavour to win God's favour by visiting the tombs of saints; their practice therefore resembles what is recorded in the *Qurʾān* of the Meccan *mushrikīn*.
3. It is polytheism (*shirk*) to introduce the name of a prophet, saint, or angel, into a prayer.
4. It is *shirk* to seek intercession from any but Allāh.
5. It is *shirk* to make vows to any other being.
6. It involves unbelief (*kufʾ*) to profess knowledge not based on the *Qurʾān*, the *Sunna*, or the necessary inferences of the reason.
7. It involves unbelief and heresy (*ilhād*) to deny *ḳadar* in all acts.
8. It involves unbelief to interpret the *Qurʾān* by a *taʿwīl*.

His system is said to have departed from that of Ibn Ḥanbal in the following matters:

1. Attendance at public *ṣalāt* is obligatory.
2. Smoking of tobacco is forbidden and punished with stripes not exceeding forty; the shaving of the beard and the use of abusive language are to be punished at the ḳāḍī's discretion.
3. Alms (*zakāt*) are to be paid on secret profits, such as those of trading, whereas Ibn Ḥanbal exacted them only from manifest produce.
4. The mere utterance of the Islāmic creed is not sufficient to make a man a believer, so that animals slaughtered by him are fit for food. Further inquiry must be made into his character.

The list given by S. Zwemer in *The Mohammedan World of to-day* (New York 1906, p. 106) does not differ materially from the above, but contains the following item which may be noticed:

They forbid the use of the rosary, and count the names of God and their prayers on the knuckles of the hand instead.

Wahhābī mosques are built with the greatest simplicity, and no minarets nor ornaments are allowed.

The *Rawḍat al-Afkār* devotes a long section to a list of the practices savouring of paganism current in Arabia in Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb's time; besides the visitation of tombs, reverence was paid to sacred trees and gifts of food were placed on graves. It is clear that the two latter were not "innovations", but survivals of pre-Islāmic usage. Charges brought against him of burning theological works on a great scale are treated both by himself and his followers as calumnies; the latter admit the burning of the work *Rawḍa al-Rayāḥin*, but not (apparently) that of the *Dalā'il al-Khairāt*. The charge of rejecting the Sunna altogether (repeated by Nolde) is certainly erroneous. On the other hand, the destruction of tombs on a great scale was practised both by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb and his followers. The former destroyed that of Zaid b. al-Khaṭṭāb at-Djubbaila, and it has recently been carried on on a great scale at al-Bakī' of Medina, as a comparison of the photographs in Rifat Pasha's *Misrāt al-Ḥaramain* (1925) with Eldon Rutter's *Holy Cities of Arabia* (1928) shows.

Various minor points of ritual, in which they claim to have abolished innovations are enumerated in *al-Hadiya al-Sunniya*, p. 47—49; such are: raising the voice in places of *adhān* with matter other than the *adhān*; reciting the Tradition of Abū Huraira before the Friday sermon; special gatherings to hear the *Sirat al-Nabi* recited, etc.

It would appear that under the Banū Rashīd the founder's precepts were followed less rigorously than under the Banū Sa'ūd; yet Philby in confining the name Wahhābī to the followers of the latter differs from the other travellers, who regarded Ḥa'il as for a time the metropolis of the community. As has been seen, the community does not itself recognize the appellation.

§ 3. Early history of the movement. It is asserted that within a year of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb's arrival at Dar'īya he had won the assent of all the inhabitants except four, who left the place; he proceeded to build a mosque with a floor of uncarpeted gravel; there he gave instruction in his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, punishing those who failed to attend. But he also gave instruction in the use of fire-arms. The new sect soon became involved in war with the *shaikh* of Riyāḍ, Dahhām b. Dawwās, which, commencing in 1160 (1747), lasted 28 years. During this period Ibn Sa'ūd and his son 'Abd al-'Azīz, who proved a capable general, were steadily winning ground, with occasional reverses; it became the practice of Ibn Sa'ūd and his son, when they captured a place to build a fort at some distance from the original citadel, with a moat round it, if the soil were suitable. These forts were garrisoned with men called *umanā'*, who were well paid. In the larger places a *kāḍi* and a muftī were installed, in the smaller only a *kāḍi*. The series of raids whereby the power of Ibn Sa'ūd gradually grew is sketched by Philby, and need not be reproduced. In 1178 (1765) Ibn Sa'ūd died, and was succeeded by 'Abd al-'Azīz, who retained Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb as his religious guide. In the following year a deputation was sent to Mecca, which was honourably entertained by the *Sharif*, and satisfied the theologians appointed to discuss matters with it, that the Wahhābī doctrine accorded with the system of Ibn Ḥanbal. In 1187

(1773) the most stubborn opponent of the sect, Dahhām, fled from Riyāḍ, which was occupied by 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was now master of "the whole of Najd from Qaṣim in the north to Kharj in the south" (Philby). The son of 'Abd al-'Azīz, Sa'ūd, also displayed some military capacity, and was employed by his father in various expeditions. Meanwhile relations had become strained with the new *Sharif* of Mecca, Surūr, who forbade the Wahhābīs access to the city as pilgrims: but owing to the difficulties which resulted to pilgrims from 'Irāk and Persia, this prohibition was withdrawn in 1199 (1785).

In 1792 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb died, at the age of 89; in the years that followed (1792—1795) the Wahhābīs advanced eastwards, subduing the Banū Khālid in Ḥasā; but even before 1790 they had made casual raids into the grazing grounds of the Muntafik and other tribes on the borders of 'Irāk; and representations having been made to the Porte of the danger from the new power that was arising in Arabia, the Pasha of Baghdād received instructions to deal with it. In 1797, Thuwaini, chief of the Muntafik, who had for a time been exiled, but was now officially in control of Baṣra, collected a force with the view of crushing the Wahhābīs, but was assassinated by a negro slave at Shībāk on July 1, 1797, in consequence of which the force dispersed. Meanwhile the new *Sharif* of Mecca, Ghālib, after some attempts at compromise, had been attacking the Wahhābī communities from the west, with very little success. In 1798 a fresh expedition was organized from Baghdād on a great scale, but this also proved abortive, and in the following year a treaty between the opponents was ratified in Baghdād. It had little effect, as the Wahhābī tribes continued to raid, and in 1801 invaded and sacked Kerbelā', and massacred the inhabitants. In 1803 Ghālib found it necessary to evacuate Mecca, which was entered by Sa'ūd, who proceeded to purge the city of all that in Wahhābī opinion savoured of idolatry, and to execute persons suspected of favouring such practices. His attempts on Djidda and Medina failed, and in the same year he left the Hijāz, where the garrison which he had established in Mecca was massacred by the inhabitants. On Nov. 4 of this year (1803), the Wahhābī Imām, 'Abd al-'Azīz I, was assassinated at Dar'īya by a *Shī'i* from Kerbelā', who had come to the capital as a pretended convert to Wahhābism; Sa'ūd, who had previously been declared heir-apparent, succeeded him without opposition, and employed his son 'Abd Allāh as commander of the army. A fresh attack on the Wahhābīs was organized from Baghdād, but petered out, as the previous expeditions had done; Sa'ūd was thus left free to renew his invasion of the Hijāz, where Medina capitulated in 1804, Mecca in February 1806, and Djidda somewhat later. In the following years his raiders advanced beyond the bounds of Arabia, attacking Najaf, and Damascus, which successfully resisted. "The Wahhābī empire extended in 1811 from Aleppo in the north to the Indian Ocean (?) and from the Persian Gulf and the Iraq frontier in the east to the Red Sea" (Philby). The alarm felt by the Ottoman government was now so serious that Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, ruler of Egypt, was authorized to deal with it. This he proceeded to do with his usual energy, and although his army, commanded by his son Tūsūn,

suffered an initial defeat, it was after reinforcement able to take Medina in 1812, and recover Mecca in the following year. Muḥammad 'Alī himself took the command in the latter half of 1813, and suffered a serious defeat, but the death of Sa'ūd on May 1, 1814, was a blow to the Wahhābī cause, since 'Abd Allāh, who succeeded him, was far less capable. Tūsūn, whom Muḥammad 'Alī left in command, found it necessary to make a treaty with 'Abd Allāh, who was to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultān, while the Egyptians were to evacuate Najd; but this treaty was denounced by Muḥammad 'Alī, who in 1816 organized a fresh expedition under the command of the able Ibrāhīm Pasha. (Since Philby has repeated the story told by Palgrave about the carpet of vast proportions with an apple set in the midst, which Ibrāhīm succeeded in reaching without treading on the carpet, by rolling the latter up, it may be observed that this story comes from Ibn al-Athīr, who records it in connexion with an event of the year 442). Ibrāhīm fought with varied fortune, but on April 6, 1818 reached Dar'īya, and on Sep. 9 took the capital. 'Abd Allāh himself surrendered and was sent to Constantinople, where he was beheaded. This terminated the first Wahhābī empire.

§ 4. Restoration of the Wahhābī state after Ibrāhīm Pasha's departure. While the Hīdżāz after the conquest was securely garrisoned by Turkish troops, less importance was attached to the security of Najd, where a revolt was organized by Turkī, a cousin of Sa'ūd, who chose Riyāḍ for the capital of the reviving community, and established himself there in 1821. "By 1833 the whole coast of the Persian Gulf acknowledged Wahhabī rule and paid tribute" (Sir A. Wilson), and several of the inland provinces which had formerly been held by Sa'ūd were recovered. During the absence of Turkī's son Faiṣal at the head of his army the former was assassinated in 1834 by a pretender of the royal family, who shortly afterwards met the same fate at the hands of Faiṣal, aided by a Shammar chieftain, 'Abd Allāh b. Rashīd, who was rewarded for his service by the governorship of Hā'il.

§ 5. The Rashīd dynasty of Hā'il. 'Abd Allāh b. Rashīd, a capable ruler, contrived to maintain amicable relations with both the Egyptian overlord and the Wahhābī ruler of Riyāḍ till his death in 1847, when he was succeeded by his son Ṭalāl, known to Europeans from Palgrave's travels, who calls him "a warrior even more energetic than his father, and infinitely his superior in the arts of statesmanship". His military skill was displayed in his conquest of the Djawf, of Khaibar, and of Taimā'; the province of Qaşīm, which belonged to the sovereign of Riyāḍ, voluntarily transferred its allegiance to Ṭalāl; and steps were taken to pacify the Bedouin raiders on all sides. "Henceforth no Bedouin in Jebel Shammar, or throughout the whole kingdom, could dare to molest traveller or peasant" (Palgrave). Ṭalāl further encouraged the presence of traders in Hā'il by offering liberal terms and security to members of different religious communities. In 1868 this ruler took his own life, through fear of losing his reason; he was followed by his brother Miṭ'ab, shortly afterwards murdered by Ṭalāl's sons Badr and Bandar, of whom the latter assumed the sovereignty; he was shortly afterwards slain by another brother of Ṭalāl, Mu-

ḥammad, who inaugurated his rule with a massacre, described by Doughty (ii. 16). Doughty's statistical computation of the populations under the rule of Ibn Rashīd at this time at 30,000 and of his revenue at £ 30,000 and expenditure at 13,000, is criticized by Philby as an understatement. About the same time Faiṣal died at Riyāḍ (Dec. 25, 1869) and was succeeded by his son 'Abd Allāh, who had endeavoured to obtain poison from Palgrave for his brother Sa'ūd. The latter obtained allies who helped him to dethrone his brother in 1870; his reign was marked by the loss of Ḥasā to the Turks, and other losses on the west; and on his death in 1877 'Abd Allāh returned to Riyāḍ as ruler, it is said through the influence of Muḥammad b. Rashīd. Relations between the two soon became strained, and in 1883 a pitched battle took place between the forces of the two, wherein Ibn Rashīd won a complete victory; peace was made but a revolt of Sa'ūd's sons in 1884 gave Ibn Rashīd the opportunity to invade Riyāḍ, despatch 'Abd Allāh to Hā'il, and place a governor of his own in Riyāḍ. "Ultimately in the spring of 1891 events occurred which seemed to settle the fate of Najd for a long time" (E. Nolde, *Reise in Innerarabien*, 1895, p. 69); a great alliance was formed against the too powerful Emir of Hā'il, consisting of 1. 'Unaiza under its warlike chieftain Zamil; 2. the whole royal family of Riyāḍ; 3. the towns Buraida, Ra's and Shaḡra; 4. the united tribes 'Utaiba and Muṭair. According to Nolde, who gives the most detailed account of this campaign, the forces on either side numbered about 30,000; in the struggle, which lasted a whole month, the initial results were in favour of the allies; but at the end of the month (March) Ibn Rashīd succeeded by a mass attack of 20,000 camels in spreading panic among the allies' infantry, and won a complete victory (battle of Mulaida). Riyāḍ had been during this rising governed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān, another son of Faiṣal; after the defeat of the allies he sought refuge in various places and finally received protection in Kuwait. Muḥammad b. Rashīd was ruler of desert Arabia till his death in 1897.

§ 6. Restoration of the Sa'ūd dynasty. Muḥammad was succeeded by his nephew 'Abd al-'Azīz son of Miṭ'ab, and ere long this ruler was involved in a struggle with the Shaikh of Kuwait, who was harbouring 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'ūd and his family. In January of 1901 'Abd al-'Azīz, son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, at the head of a small force succeeded in entering Riyāḍ, and reestablishing the old dynasty there, after an interval of eleven years spent in exile. The succeeding years were spent by him in recovering provinces which had belonged to the old Wahhābī empire, and by 1904 "he was master of all that his grandfather had ruled effectively in Najd" (Philby). The campaigns which he conducted in the following years against Ibn Rashīd, the Turks, disaffected tribes, pretenders of his own family, and finally the rulers of the Hīdżāz, are recorded in detail by Philby, but only a few events of importance need be mentioned here. On Nov. 2, 1921 Ibn Sa'ūd obtained possession of Hā'il, and put an end to the Rashīd dynasty. In October 1924 his forces occupied Mecca; on Dec. 5, 1925 they obtained possession of Medina, and on Dec. 23 of Djidda. Thus the whole of the Hīdżāz was added to Ibn Sa'ūd's realm.

§ 7. Institution of the Ikhwān. In 1912

Ibn Sa'ūd commenced the foundation of agricultural colonies, whose residents were to be devotees, who took the title *ikhwān* "brethren", indicating that the religious tie had superseded that of the tribe. The first of these colonies was Artawiya (so called by Philby, but by Rihani Irtawiya) in the Ḳaṣīm, and its inhabitants were mainly drawn from the Muṭair tribe. The able-bodied were provided with arms to be used in the *djihad*, but they were also told to cultivate the land, which in each case was near a source of water, and the accumulation of wealth was encouraged. Mud huts were built to serve the Bedouin in lieu of their tents, and they were told to sell their camels. "About seventy *hidjras* (the name for these colonies) with a population of from 2,000 to 10,000 each sprang up after the Wāhhābī revival in about ten years" writes Ameen Rihani, who adds that the population of a *hidja* consists of three classes: Bedu who have become farmers, missionaries called *mufawwi*, and the merchant class; but for military purposes the division is into those who are at all times ready to respond to the call to the *djihad*; the reserves, who in time of peace are herdsmen and journeymen; while the third class are those who remain in the colonies to keep up trade and agriculture, though not exempt from military service if necessary. The first two classes can be called out by the sultān; but the *nafir*, or calling out of the civil population requires an announcement by the 'ulamā' that this is necessary. A list of the *hidjar* with their population and the tribes represented is given by him (*Ibn Saoud of Arabia*, 1928, p. 198). Dame (l. c.) declared that the agriculture of these *hidjar* was exceedingly primitive, and that the movement was on the wane.

§ 8. Wāhhābism in India. Wāhhābī doctrine was introduced into India by one Saiyid Aḥmad, a native of the British District of Rai Bareli, born 1786; having already adopted puritan views, during his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1822—1823 he incurred the hostility of the authorities by the similarity of his doctrines to those of the Wāhhābīs, and having been expelled from the holy city, became an adherent of the Wāhhābī system. He had already acquired a large following in India, and established a permanent centre in Patna, where he appointed four *khalīfas*, and an *imām*; visits to Bombay and Calcutta swelled the numbers of his followers, and in 1824 he was at the head of an army at the Peshawar frontier, preaching a *djihad* against the Sikh cities of the Panjāb. Djumādā II, 1242 (Dec. 21, 1826) was fixed as the date for the commencement of the war, which all Muslims were called upon to join, in a proclamation called *targhib al-djihad*; and though the Sikhs put up a fierce resistance, Saiyid Aḥmad's army took Peshawar towards the end of 1830. He proceeded to take the title *Khalīfa* and to strike coins in his own name. His reign was ephemeral, as he was killed by a Sikh army in the following year. His adherents however found a refuge at Sittana in the mountains beyond the Indus, whither those Muslims who were unwilling to live under non-Muslim rule flocked, and two of his *khalīfas* from Patna circulated the doctrine that Saiyid Aḥmad was not dead, but was merely hiding with a view to reappearance at a suitable time. They extended the *djihad* to Hindus and British, and started an insurrection in Lower Bengal, under a disciple of Saiyid Aḥmad, Titu Miyan, who after some successes was defeated and

killed by government forces (Nov. 17, 1831). In spite of these defeats the *khalīfas* continued energetic propaganda among the Muslim population of India, and while maintaining the puritan doctrines of the Wāhhābīs of Arabia concentrated attention on the duty of the *djihad*. The Wāhhābī movement thus became a constant source of trouble to the government of India, since a system was devised whereby funds were collected and men selected and trained to be sent first to the headquarters of the community at Patna, and thence to the frontier camp of Sittana, and thereafter employed in fighting against the non-Muslim rulers of India. After a great deal of trouble, destruction of property, and bloodshed had been caused by their efforts, and a series of trials had revealed the ramifications of the conspiracy, the older Muslim communities of India, both *Shī'a* and *Sunna*, in 1870 and 1871 issued official declarations dissociating themselves from the Wāhhābī doctrine of *djihad*. Since that time, the sect, though it still exists in India, has attracted little attention and indeed one portion of it is said to have abandoned the doctrine of *djihad*. As late, however, as 1890, according to E. A. Oliver (*Across the Border*, p. 29), it had not ceased to be formidable.

§ 9. Wāhhābism in other countries. Schuyler in his *Turkestan* (London 1876, ii. 254) mentions the presence of Wāhhābī preachers in *Khokand*; in 1871 an attack was made on the Russian station Karasu, on the high road between Tashkent and Hodjent, led by Ishan Ish Muḥammad Kul, disciple of a *Khokandian* Wāhhābī preacher, Ṣūfī Badal. Here then, as in India, the aim of the community was to throw off non-Muslim authority, but the forces collected were too exiguous to accomplish anything of consequence. The presence of the community in *Afghānistān* was connected with their aim in India.

§ 10. Wāhhābī Literature. Prior to Ibn Sa'ūd's recent conquest of the *Hidjāz* there appears to have been no printing office in Wāhhābī territory; the works of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāhhāb circulated in MS. Those contained in the British Museum (MS. Or. 4529) are *Mukhtaṣar al-Sira*, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, *Kitāb al-Kabā'ir*; the autographs are said to be preserved in the Landberg collection at Leyden. The *Rawḍat al-Aṣḳār* contains a number of his *Rasā'il* and *Fatāwā*. A collection of Wāhhābī tracts of different dates was published in Cairo by order of the king of the *Hidjāz* and edited by Sulaimān b. Suḥmān (2nd edition, 1344); they are by 'Abd al-'Azīz I, 'Abd Allāh son of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāhhāb, Aḥmad b. Naṣīr b. Mu'ammad, 'Abd al-Laṭīf of the family of the founder, and his son Muḥammad. The title of the collection is *al-Hadiya al-Sunniya wa'l-Tuḥfa al-Wāhhābiya al-Nadjiya*. The content of all these is doctrinal, as is that of an anonymous *Risāla* inserted by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Fakhūrī in his *Tuḥfat al-Anām* (Cairo 1327; reproduced in the *Manār*, xii. 390 and xxi. 236).

Numerous tracts have been written against the Wāhhābīs: three preserved in the Berlin Library belong, according to Ahlwardt, to the commencement of the founder's activities (see his Catalogue, No. 2156, 2157, 2158). Daḥlān mentions one by the founder's brother Sulaimān, one by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Afālik (*Taḥakkum al-Muḥallidīn bi-man idda'a Taḍjīd al-Dīn*), and one by 'Alī b. Abd Allāh al-Baghḍādī (*al-Mishkāt*

al-Muḍī'a). Some belonging to the middle of the sixteenth century are preserved in Cambridge University Library (see Browne's Handlists). Two which have attracted especial attention are *al-Durar al-Sanīya* by Ahmad b. Zai'nī Dahlān (about 1800; printed in Bairūt about 1900), and a tract by Djamil al-Zahāwī of Baghdād (recent).

The biography of the founder which has been excerpted above (*Lam' al-Shihāb fī Sirat Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb*, Brit. Museum MS.) is somewhat, but not excessively hostile. Philby mentions as Wahhābī historians Ḥusain b. Ghannām al-Nadjdī "who died more than a century ago", and 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Biṣhr al-Ḥanbalī of the fifth decade of the sixteenth century. A British Museum MS. (Add. 19, 799) without name of author, called *Rawḍat al-Afḥār wa 'l-Aḥām li-Murtād Ḥāl al-Imām wa-Ta'dād Ghazawāt dhawi 'l-Islām* is in two volumes, of which the second is a chronicle of Wahhābī campaigns ending with the year 1212, whereas the first contains chapters dealing with various aspects of the founder's mission and activities.

Several members of the ruling families are credited with skill in versification; specimens of Wahhābī poetry are given in an appendix to *al-Hadiya al-Sunniya*.

The Wahhābīs of India appear to have employed the printing or lithographic press on a considerable scale. Hunter, p. 66, enumerates 13 works in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu by Wahhābī authors of this country, and adds that "even the briefest epitome of the Wahhābī treatises in prose and verse on the duty to wage war against the English would fill a volume". A work by Muḥammad Ismā'il, nephew of Saiyid Ahmad, *al-Ṣirāt al-mustaḥḥim*, is said to be "the Qur'ān of the Wahhābīs of India".

Bibliography: British Museum MSS. mentioned in § 10; H. St. John Philby, *Arabia* (London 1930: a complete history of the community to date of publication); A. Musil, *Northern Neja* (New York 1928: p. 256–304 furnish a continuous history); Ameen Rihani, *Ibn Saoud of Arabia and his Land* (London 1928); S. B. Mills, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf* (London 1919: treats especially of the dealings of the Wahhābīs with 'Omān); S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (Oxford 1925: treats especially of their dealings with 'Irāk). — For the Indian community: W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Muslims* (London 1871); *Calcutta Review*, vol. 1. and li. (Calcutta 1870); R. W. van Duffelen, *De leer der Wahhabieten*, thesis Leiden University, Leyden 1927.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

WĀḤIDĪ, the name of a dynasty in South Arabia, which rules over three sultānates, those of Bir 'Alī 'Amāḳin, Bāl Ḥāf 'Izzān and Ḥabbān. H. v. Maltzan (p. 222) after investigation divided the whole territory belonging to this ruling house into two groups: Lower Wāḥidī on the coast from 48° to 48° 30' East Long. (Greenwich) in the 14° N. Lat. reaching barely two hours journey into the interior, and Upper Wāḥidī from 47° to 47° 40' East Long. (Greenwich) and from 14° 20' to 14° 58' N. Lat. C. v. Landberg (p. 180) gives Rās al-Ḳusaim in the west and al-Ḥuṣā al-Ḥamrā in the east as the boundaries of the coast territory. The lands of the Wāḥidī dynasty therefore lie between those of the 'Awālīḳ and Ḳu'aiṭī. The most important area in the lower Wāḥidī territory

is the Wādī Maifa', which reaches the sea one hour east of Rās al-Ḳusaim and is the lower course of the Wādī Ḥadjr; its most important place is Djöl el-Shekh. The coast territory is so divided between the sultāns of Bir 'Alī 'Amāḳin and Bāl Ḥāf 'Izzān that the former rules the land between Ḥuṣā al-Ḥamrā and the promontory of Rās al-Raṭl while the latter rules from here to Rās al-Ḳusaim. Wādī Maifa' belongs to the sultān of Bāl Ḥāf, who lives in the summer at 'Izzān, but the sultān of Bir 'Alī also has land there. The two most important harbours are Bir 'Alī which is used in summer and Maḍjdaḥa which is used in winter.

To the Upper Wāḥidī territory belong the Wādī 'Amāḳin with al-Ḥawṭa, which is independent, Wādī There, al-Shu'aib, al-Ḥanaka, Salmūn, Hadā and Ḥabbān, with the most important place which bears the same name. The Beduin tribes of Nu'mān, Sa'd and Namara as well as the Ḥimyar tribes of Bā 'Awḍa, Āl Ahmad, Āl Bā Serda, al-Ḳumūsh and al-Dhiyāb are distributed over the Wāḥidī territory. The wādīs are particularly rich and fertile and produce cereals and dates, as well as tobacco, indigo and cotton. Textiles are manufactured, notably in al-Ḥaṭṭa, while carpentry flourishes in al-Ḥabbān. Ḥuṣn al-Ḡhurāb and Naḳab al-Ḥadjar are important ruins of the Sabaean period.

In 1870 negotiations took place with Sultān Ḥādī regarding the cession of the two ports of Bir 'Alī and Maḍjdaḥa to the Turks who wished to build quarantine stations here. This plan fell through however, owing to English opposition, as did a second attempt by Turkey, then very active in South Arabia, through 'Izzet Paṣha in 1882 to gain over the lords of Bir 'Alī and Bāl Ḥāf for Turkey, on which occasion the sultān of the latter port was given a Turkish flag. The Turkish sultān was mentioned in the *khutba* it is true, but dependence was not expressed in any form indicating submissions. To avert all eventualities, England on April 30, 1888 concluded treaties of protection with the sultāns of Bāl Ḥāf and Bir 'Alī in which the latter in return for an annual payment bound themselves to enter into no relations with foreign powers without English approval. These treaties were renewed on March 15, 1895, and June 1, 1896 and at the present day the whole territory belongs to the British sphere of influence of the 'Aden hinterland.

Bibliography: J. R. Wellsted's *Reisen in Arabien*, ed. E. Rödiger, Halle 1842, i. 283 sqq., 322 sqq.; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii./i., Berlin 1846, p. 663; A. v. Wrede, *Reise in Hadhrāmaut*, ed. H. v. Maltzan, Braunschweig 1873, p. 160 sqq.; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Braunschweig 1873, p. 221 sqq.; C. Landberg, *Arabica*, iv., Leyden 1897, p. 67; v., Leyden 1898, p. 179 sqq.; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England*, in *Hamburgische Forschungen*, i., Braunschweig 1916, p. 144, 37*–41*.

(A. GROHMANN)

WAḤSHĪ BĀFĀKĪ, a Persian poet, born at Bāfḳ, in Kirmān, died in 991 (1583) or 992 (1584) and spent most of his life in Yazd. He wrote panegyrics in honour of Shāh Tahmāsp I and his court, began a poem (*Ferhād u-Shirīn*) which he did not complete; it was finished long afterwards by Wiṣāl in 1265 (1848–1849). He wrote two other poems, *Khuld-i Barīn* and *Nāṣir*

u-Manzūr, ghazal's and *ḳiṭa*'s. *Ferhād u-Shīrin* has been lithographed in Persia and several times in India.

Bibliography: Luṭf 'Alī Beg, *Ātesh Kede*, Bombay 1277, p. 111—120; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣḥā*, ii. 51—54; Rieu, *Pers. Catal.*, p. 663; Edw. G. Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 238; W. Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue*, Calcutta 1924, p. 300. (CL. HUART)

WAḤY (A.), revelation [cf. also ḲOR'ĀN, MUḤAMMAD]. As to the etymology of the word, cf. Jewish-Aramaic מַחַי "to hasten", Aethiopic ወሐረ, "to go round, to recognise", and the non-religious meaning *ilhām bi-sur'a*, given by the *Dictionary of Technical Terms*; on the use of the verb by the poets, cf. *Lisān*, s. v. As a religious technical term it is distinguished from inspiration (*ilhām*, q. v.) of saints, artists and others, from *tanẓīl*, which chiefly denotes the object of revelation and from *inzāl* which denotes the sending down of revelation from heaven and from its heavenly archetype [see UMM AL-ḲIṬĀB], in so far as it denotes revelation as transmitted to the prophets.

Use in the Ḳur'ān. *a.* In the early passage sūra xcix. 5 the earth is the object of divine revelation: On that day shall she (the earth) tell out her tidings, because thy Lord hath inspired her. In sūra xxviii. 6 the object of revelation is the mother of Moses; here al-Baidāwī explains the term by inspiration or vision, in order to distinguish it from waḥy proper. Likewise in sūra xix. 12 the subject of *awḥā* is Zakariyā and its object his people; here it is explained by *awma'a*. In a peculiar way the term is used in sūra vi. 112: Even thus have We given an enemy to every prophet, Satans among men and among djinn: tinsel discourses do they suggest (*yūḥī*) the one to the other, in order to deceive.

The technical term for daemoniac inspiration is *wiswās*. The means of communication between God and man is waḥy, either directly, or indirectly through the intermediary of the angels: It is not for man that God should speak with him but by revelation, or from behind a veil, or He sendeth a messenger to reveal by Him, or he sendeth a messenger to reveal by His permission, what He will (sūra xlii. 50 sq.). — Allāh's communications to the angels are also called waḥy, sūra viii. 12: When the Lord revealed unto the angels: I will be with you etc.

b. In many passages waḥy and the verb *awḥā* refer to the prophets before Muḥammad: Nūḥ (sūra xxiii. 27), Musā (sūra xx. 13 etc.; xxi. 7; vii. 160), Yūsuf (sūra xii. 15) etc. — All those who were sent before Muḥammad, were men to whom We granted revelations (sūra xxi. 7).

c. The chief object of revelation in the Ḳur'ān is Muḥammad. Sūra xiii. 29: Thus have We sent thee to a people whom other peoples have preceded, that thou mightest rehearse to them our revelations to thee. — Sūra xxxiv. 49: But I have guidance, it is of my Lord's revealing. Muḥammad's contemporaries are astonished at his receiving revelations: A matter of astonishment to the men (of Mecca) that to a man among themselves We revealed etc. (sūra x. 2). But he says: I say not to you, "In my possession are the treasures of God"; nor "I know things secret"; neither do I say to you, "Verily, I am an angel": only what

is revealed to me do I follow (sūra vi. 50). — The words of Allāh thus revealed to him may not be changed: And publish what hath been revealed to thee of the book of the Lord, none may change his words (sūra xviii. 26).

The divine character of Muḥammad's revelations is emphasized in sūra liii. 4: Verily, it is no other than a revelation revealed; his honesty in sūra vi. 93: But is any more wicked than he who deviseth a lie of God, or saith, "I have had a revelation", when nothing was revealed to him. — Muḥammad therefore is ordered to follow nothing but what was revealed to him by his Lord (sūra xxx. 2; xliii. 42). He does not forbid any food, because he does not find such a prohibition among his revelations (sūra vi. 146).

d. The contents and the aim of revelation are described in various ways [see also MUḤAMMAD]. The story of the Āl 'Imrān is interrupted by the verse (sūra iii. 39): This is one of the announcement of things by thee unseen: To thee do we reveal it. — The story of Yūsuf is introduced to him with the verse: In revealing to thee this Ḳur'ān, one of the most beautiful narratives will We relate to thee, of which thou hast verily aforetime been regardless (sūra xii. 3). — Muḥammad's following "the religion of Ibrāhīm" is ascribed to divine inspiration (sūra xvi. 124); likewise his knowledge about the djinn listening to the recitation of the Ḳur'ān (sūra lxxii. 1), as well as about the disputations of the angels at the creation of man is due to waḥy (sūra xxxviii. 69 sqq.).

The aim of the revelation of the Ḳur'ān is mentioned in sūra vi. 19: And this Ḳur'ān hath been revealed to me, that I should warn you by it and all whom it shall reach.

Various terms are used in the Ḳur'ān in order to denote the contents of revelation. Sūra v. 52: And to thee We have sent down the book with truth (cf. sūra xxxix. 2, 42; xxxii. 2; xxxiii. 72; xvii. 106, etc.), confirmatory of previous scripture and its safe-guard (cf. vi. 92). — Sūra xxxi. 1 sq.: These are the signs of the wise book, a guidance and a mercy to the righteous. — Sūra xxvii. 2: These are the signs of the Ḳur'ān and of the lucid book; guidance and glad tidings to the believers. — Sūra vii. 50: And now We have brought them the book: with knowledge have we explained it: a guidance and mercy to them that believe. — Sūra xlii. 52: And thus we have sent the spirit to thee with a revelation by our command. Thou knewest not, ere this, what the book was, or what the faith. But we have ordained it for a light. — Further the contents of revelation are called knowledge (*'ilm*: sūra iii. 54; ii. 114, 140), wisdom (sūra xvii. 41), guidance (sūra xlv. 10; vii. 50 etc.), healing (sūra xli. 44), light (sūra iv. 174; xlii. 52).

Regarding the forms of revelation recorded in the biographies of Muḥammad the following may be said. The beginning of revelation consisted in dreams anticipating real events (Ibn Hishām, p. 151; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 138; Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 129). Also afterwards such dream visions are said to have occurred. When 'Ā'isha was under suspicion, she hoped that Allāh would reveal her innocence to Muḥammad in a dream vision (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, vi. 197; Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 24, bāb 6).

The first revelation in which Djibrīl appeared to Muḥammad took place on mount Ḥirā', when

the angel said to him: I am Djibril. Thereupon Muḥammad hastened to *Khadidja*, crying: Wrap me up (*sūra* lxxiii. 1 or lxxiv. 1).

The first portion of the *Qurʾān* revealed was *sūra* xcvi., when the angel, in the month of Ramaḍān, during his retreat, showed him a piece of cloth, on which this *sūra* was written, saying: recite! When Muḥammad protested that he could not write, the angel pressed him so strongly that he was nearly suffocated. At the third repetition the angel pronounced the verses which Muḥammad retained.

After this there came a pause (*fatra*) in revelation. During this time Muḥammad was in such depression that the thought of suicide came upon him (Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1150; Ibn Hishām, p. 156, 166; Ibn Saʿd, i/f. 131). The pause ended with the revelation of *sūra* lxxiv or xciii.

The angel who transmitted revelation was visible to Muḥammad and to others (Bukhārī, *Faḍʾil al-Ḳurʾān*, bāb 1; Ibn Hishām, p. 154, cf. 156; Abū Nuʿaim, p. 69). To some extent the ascension [cf. *MIʾRĀDĪ*] and the night journey may also be reckoned as revelations. Visions are also mentioned in the *Qurʾān*. *Sūra* liii. 3 *sqq.*: Verily, it is no other than a revelation revealed: one terrible in power taught it him, endued with understanding. With even balance stood he. And he was in the highest point of the horizon. Then came he nearer and approached closely, and was at the distance of two bows and even closer. And he revealed to his servant what he revealed, his heart falsified not what he saw. Will ye then dispute with him what he saw? And he saw him once again, near the *sidra*-tree, which marks the boundary... His gaze turned not aside, nor did it wander, for he saw the greatest of the signs of the Lord.

Sūra lxxxi. 19 *sqq.*: Verily this is the word of an illustrious messenger, powerful with the Lord of the throne, of established rank... faithful also to his trust. And your compatriot is not one possessed by *djinn*; for he saw him in a clear horizon.

In other *sūras*, however, revelation is said to have taken place by audition. *Sūra* lxxv. 18: Move not thy tongue that thou mayest hurry over the revelation; we verily will see to the collecting and the recital of it; when therefore we recite, then follow thou the recital. Afterwards, verily it shall be Ours to make it clear. — Moreover the whole form of the *Qurʾān* with its often repeated *kul* "say" on the part of Allāh, supposes revelation by the way of audition.

Particulars regarding Muḥammad's auditive revelations are to be found in the *sira* and chiefly in *ḥadīth*.

a. How they were perceived by Muḥammad. 1. "Sometimes it comes as the ringing of a bell; this kind is the most painful. When it ceases I retain what was said. Sometimes it is an angel who speaks to me as a man, and I retain what he says" (Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-Waḥy*, bāb 2; *Badʾ al-Khalq*, b. 6; Muslim, *Faḍʾil*, trad. 87; Tirmidhī, *Manāḳib*, b. 7; Nasāʾī, *Iftitāḥ*, b. 37; Mālik, *Muwattaʾ*, chap. *al-Wuḍʿ li-man mass al-Ḳurʾān*, trad. 7; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 222; vi. 158, 163, 256 *sq.*).

2. In a different form of this tradition Muḥammad says: Sometimes it approaches me in the form of a young man (*al-fatā*) who hands it down to me (Nasāʾī, *Iftitāḥ*, bāb 37).

3. The Apostle of Allāh heard a sound like the humming of bees near his face; thereupon *sūra* xxiii. 1 *sqq.* was revealed to him (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, *sūra* 23, trad. 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 34).

4. The Apostle of Allāh used to move his lips from pain, as soon as revelation began. After the revelation of *sūra* lxxv. 16, however, he listened till Djibril had withdrawn; thereupon he recited what he had heard (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, b. 43; al-Nasāʾī, *Iftitāḥ*, b. 37; Ṭayālīsī, No. 2628).

5. "... on the authority of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar: I asked the Prophet: Do you perceive the revelation? He answered: Yes, I hear sounds like metal being beaten (cf. above, under 1). Then I listen, and often I think to die (from pain) (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 222).

b. How they were perceived by others.

1. Even on cold days sweat appeared on his forehead (Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-Waḥy*, b. 2; *Tafsīr*, *sūra* 24, b. 6; Muslim, *Faḍʾil*, trad. 86; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 58, 103, 197, 202, 256 *sq.*; cf. iii. 21; cf. further above under a. 1.).

2. Muḥammad covers his head, his colour grows red, he snores as one asleep, or rattles like a young camel; after some time he recovers (*surriya ʿanhu*) (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīdī*, b. 17; ʿUmar, b. 10; *Faḍʾil al-Ḳurʾān*, b. 2; Muslim, *Ḥadīdī*, trad. 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 222, 224).

3. Muḥammad's colour grows livid (*tarabbada lahu waḍḥuhu*: Muslim, *Hudūd*, trad. 13, 14; *Faḍʾil*, trad. 88; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 317, 318, 320 *sq.*, 327; *mutarabbidan*: Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xviii. 4; *tarabbadu ʿajildihi*: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 238 *sq.*; *tarabbada li-dhālīka ʿajasaduhu wa-waḍḥuhu*: Ṭayālīsī, No. 2667).

4. He falls into a lethargy or a trance (*subaḥ*: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 103).

5. "Thereupon the Apostle of Allāh sat down, turning towards him (ʿUṭmān b. Maẓʿūn). When they talked, the Apostle of Allāh let his gaze swerve towards heaven; after a while he looked down to his right side and turned away from his companion, following his gaze and began to shake his head as if he tried to understand what was said to him, while ʿUṭmān sat looking on. When Muḥammad had reached his aim, his gaze turned anew towards heaven, etc." (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 318).

6. "When Muḥammad received a revelation... this caused him much pain, so that we perceived it. That time he separated himself from his companions and remained behind. Thereupon he began to cover his head with his shirt, suffering intensely, etc." (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 464).

"When the Apostle of Allāh received a revelation, he began to cover his face with his shirt. When he had swooned, we took it away, while etc." (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 34; cf. above b. 2.).

7. Zaid b. Ṭhābit said: "I was at Muḥammad's side, when the *sakīna* [q. v.] came upon him. His thigh fell upon mine so heavily, that I feared it would break. When he recovered, he said to me: Write down, and I wrote down *sūra* iv. 97" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 184, 190 *sq.*; Abū Dāwūd, *Djihad*, b. 19).

8. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr said: "The *sūra* al-Māʾida was revealed to the Apostle of Allāh, while he was riding on his camel. The beast could not bear him any longer, so that he had to descend from it" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 176). A similar tradition on the authority of Asmaʾ bint Yazīd:

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 455, 458; another tradition of the same type: Ibn Sa'd, i/i., 131.

c. The circumstances under which revelation came upon Muḥammad. i. Muḥammad is directly or indirectly asked for his opinion or decision, when the answer is revealed to him, e.g. concerning the use of perfumes during the *umra* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīdī*, b. 17; see above b. 2.); concerning excuses for staying at home during an expedition (Abū Dāwūd, *Ḍiḥād*, b. 19; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 184); concerning the question whether evil may proceed from good (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 21; Ṭayālīsī, No. 2180); concerning the question whether his wives were allowed to relieve a want near town (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 56); concerning 'Ā'isha's being or not being guilty (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 24, b. 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 103, 197); concerning divorce in case of adultery witnessed by one witness (Ṭayālīsī, No. 2667); concerning *ḡihār* (Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, xviii. 2).

2. Revelation comes upon Muḥammad while he is riding (above, b. 8.; Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, xxvi. 39), while his head is being washed (Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, xviii. 2), while he is at table, holding a bone in his hand (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 56), while he is on the pulpit (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 21).

d. The contents of these revelations are not always communicated, and, if so, they are not always parts of the *Qur'ān* (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, i. 256—261), e.g. Muḥammad's answer to the question whether evil may proceed from good (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 21; Ṭayālīsī, No. 2180); the permission granted to his wives to leave the town (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 56), the punishment of fornication (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 317, 318, 320 sq., 327, not the *āyat al-radīm*), the permission of *li'ān* (Ṭayālīsī, No. 2667).

As far as I can see, the idea of revelation has not called forth discussions of importance. Al-Idjī and his commentator al-Djurdjānī combat the views of philosophers according to whom it is a charisma peculiar to the prophets that "they see the angels in their corporeal forms and hear their speech by revelation; it is not to be rejected that they being awake see what common people see when asleep, i. e. that they see persons who speak to them poetical words, which point to ideas corresponding to what really happens, since their soul is free from bodily occupations and can easily come into contact with the divine world (*alam al-kuds*). Often this peculiarity becomes in them a settled faculty which is easily set working". This theory of revelation is, according to al-Idjī, misleading, not being in harmony with the views of the philosophers themselves, according to whom the angels cannot be seen, being merely psychic beings, who do not produce audible speech, which belongs especially to corporeal beings. So the theory of philosophers explains revelation as the imagining of what has no basis in reality, as little as what comes from the lips of ailing and lunatic people. Yet if any of us should command and prohibit on his own authority what is salutary and sensible, he would not on account thereof be a prophet. How much the less then would be a prophetic utterance what is based upon imaginations which have no foundation and often are contrary to reason (*Mawāḡif*, p. 172 sq.).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 150 sqq. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḡāt*, ed.

Mittwoch, p. 126 sqq.; Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1146 sqq.; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, i. 21 sq.; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 67 sq.; for the collections of Tradition, cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, p. 162b, 163a; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad*, i. Berlin 1861, p. 207 sqq.; iii. 1865, p. xviii. sqq.; W. Muir, *The Life of Muḥammad*, Edinburgh 1912; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, p. 134 sqq.; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, Upsala 1917, p. 311; G. Hölscher, *Die Propheten*, Leipzig 1914; O. Pautz, *Muhammads Lehre von der Offenbarung*, Leipzig 1898; T. Andrae, *Mohammed*, Göttingen 1932, p. 77 sqq.; Abu Nu'aim Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*, Haidarābād 1320, p. 68 sqq.; al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Mufradāt fi ḡharīb al-Kur'ān*, Cairo 1324, p. 536 sq.; 'Aḡud al-Din al-Idjī, *Kitāb al-Mawāḡif*, ed. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, p. 172 sqq.; Muḥammad 'Alā' b. 'Ali al-Taḡānawī, *Kitāb Kashshāf Isṭī-lahāt al-Funūn*, Calcutta 1862, p. 1523.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

WAISI, properly UWAIṢ B. MEḤMED, known under his *makhlaṣ* of Waisi, a famous Ottoman scholar and poet. Born in 969 (1561—62) in Mashehir, the son of a *qādī* named Meḥmed Efendi, he also adopted a legal career. After completing his training in Constantinople with the *'ulemā* Ṣāliḡ Efendi and Aḥmad Efendi, he filled a series of important posts in all parts of the Ottoman empire (in Rosetta, Cairo, Aḡ Ḥiṣār, Tire, Alashehir, Seres, Rodosto, Üsküb, Gümül-djina) and died in 1037 (1628) in Üsküb, where he filled the office of *qādī* seven times, after his dismissal at the age of 68. Waisi who was on his mother's side a nephew of the poet Maḡālī was likewise a successful poet. He was also one of the finest prose writers of his time and wrote in a particularly fine persianising style. After the death of Bāḡī, he was regarded as the greatest master of his time in prose and verse. His language is laden with a foreign vocabulary and not easy to understand; his diction nevertheless is clever, intellectual and attractive. 'Aṭā'i says of him (*Shakā'ik-i nu'māniye*, i. 715) that his poetry is better than his learning, his prose-style more distinguished than his poetry, his gift of entertaining finer than his prose and the beauty of his face and figure more striking than his gift of entertaining.

Waisi left a considerable number of writings in all fields. Some of his works still have their admirers, particularly his two chief works: *Sirat al-Nabī* and *Khāb-nāme*. The former, the *Siyar-i Waisi* or to give it its full title: *Durrat al-Tādī fī Sirat Ṣāḡib al-Mir'ādī*, is best known although he did not quite finish it. It only comes down to the battle of Badr. The holograph is in the Serai library. The book was continued by Nabī and after his death by Nazmī-zāde-i Baghdādī. Waisi's text with Nabī's continuation was printed in 1245 in Bülāḡ and in 1286 in Stambul in his collected works. No less celebrated is his *Khāb-nāme*, a vision. It is a conversation between Aḥmad I and Alexander the Great in a dream written in simple, clear Turkish.

According to 'Abd al-Haḡḡ Ḥāmid, the modern school was founded by Shināsī under the influence of poems in the style of this vision. This *Khāb-nāme*, which is also called *Waḡ'a-nāme* (Meḥmed

Ṭāhīr wrongly thinks there are two different works) and which contains a criticism of his times, has often been reprinted (Bülāk 1252, Istanbul 1263, 1293, and in the collected works in 1286).

His *Shahādāt-nāme* or *Dustūr al-'Amal* (Istanbul 1283 and 1286) which is of a religious nature has often been printed as has his *Münshā'āt* (collection of letters; collected works 1286).

His other works, of which Mehmed Ṭāhīr gives the fullest list, are still unprinted, e.g. his complete *Diwān* of which only a few copies exist; a *Tawbā-nāme* which deals with a saying of Zain al-Din Khāfī, Pir of the Zainiye order; the incomplete history of the conquest of Egypt: *Futūḥ al-Miṣr*; a reply to the attacks of the *Kāmūs* on the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of Djawhārī (holograph in the Rāghib Paṣha library); lastly two essays: *Ghurraṭ al-'Asr fī Taṣīr Sūrat al-Naṣr* and *Hadiyat al-Mukhlīṣin wa-Tadhkirat al-Muṣninin*.

Bibliography: 'Atā'i, *Shakā'ik-i nu'māniye*, Dhail, p. 713—16; Kātib Čelebi (Ḥadjdī Kha-lifa), *Fezleke*, ii. 107; Rizā, *Teskere*, p. 101; Brusali M. Ṭāhīr, *'Oṭhmānī Mū'ellifleri*, ii. 477; Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i 'oṭhmānī*, iv. 619—20; Sāmi, *Kāmūs al-'Alām*, vi. 4713; Aḥmad Rifāt, *Lughāt-i ta'riḥiyye wa-djoghrafiyye*, vii. 1300, 132; Hammer-Purgstall, *G. O. D.*, iii. 203 and *G. O. R.*, v. 100, 663; ix. 206; Gibb, *Hist. Ott. Poetry*, iii. 208—18; Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 152—54. H. F. v. Diez, published a translation, Berlin 1811: *Ermahnung an Isambol oder Strafgericht des türkischen Dichters Uweissi über die Ausartung der Osmanen*. (TH. MRNZEL)

WAK'Ā NUWIS, WAKĀ'ī NUWIS.

Wakā'ī nuwis is the officially appointed Ottoman historian while *wak'ā nuwis* means keeper of records; the distinction between the two terms was already pointed out by von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 465. The first official historian of the Ottomans is usually said to have been 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abdī Paṣha (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 227 sq.). The list of official Ottoman historians is not yet complete and accurate. There are gaps and errors in the list given by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 591 sq. (cf. thereon P. Wittek in *M. O. G.*, i. 152 and 243 sq. and also F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 227, note 3 and p. 285, note 1). It seems that a keeper of records (*wak'ā nuwis*) is occasionally given as official historian (*wakā'ī nuwis*), for example the poet Nerkesi (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 173) while the case of Muṣṭafā Raḥmī (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 285) who is said to have been given the title of an official historian still wants elucidation. The office of Ottoman official historian is in any case a continuation of that of *shāhnāmedji* who was appointed and paid by the court. The last *wakā'ī nuwis* of the Ottoman empire was Wāṣif Efendi [q.v.].

Bibliography: Cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 227, note 3 and p. 285, note 1 and the works there quoted. (FRANZ BABINGER)

WAKĀLA (also WIKĀLA), mandate, authorisation, is a contract (*'aḥd*) by which one contracting party, the *muwakkil*, commissions the other, the mandatory (*wakīl*), to perform some service for him.

I. In the *Qur'ān* we find forms derived from *wakāla* in the meaning of "to rely upon, to trust in Allāh" (fifth form) or associated with the idea that Allāh, is the *wakīl*, one of the 99 names of Allāh, which according to the commentators

has the meaning of *ḥafīz* (*Sūra* xii. 66; ix. 52; lxxiii. 9; xxviii. 28). The word is therefore not found as a technical term. Nevertheless at the basis of *Sūra* xxxii. 11 we have the idea which belongs rather to the field of law, that the angel of death is regarded as the authorised agent of Allāh. But this passage is not quoted as evidence that the conception of *wakāla* is found in the *Qur'ān*. The *fukahā'* quote as authority for *wakāla* *Sūra* xviii. 18: "Send one of your number with this your money to the city". This was an authorisation and therefore according to them *Qur'ānic* authority for *wakāla*. *Sūra* iv. 39 is also quoted: — "then send an arbitrator (= negotiator) from your family and an arbitrator from his family".

II. *Ḥadīths* are numerous about mandates and the mandatory, some of which may be quoted here. The Prophet authorised Ḥakīm b. Ḥazām to purchase a sacrificial lamb (al-Sarakhsī, xix. 2) and on another occasion he appointed 'Amr b. Umayya al-Damrī as his *wakīl* at his marriage with Umm Ḥabība. According to Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 3, a shepherd may kill an animal that is near to death and the mandatory may repair the thing that is deteriorating. There are also *ḥadīths* regarding the mandate in criminal cases. The Prophet for example gave authority for a woman to be stoned and a drunkard to be beaten (Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 13). Other *ḥadīths* mention the agent who demands debts in names of a third person (Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 4). From this it is evident that the debtor satisfied the creditor by paying his agent. Here the representation had further effects, for legal relations arose through the act of his agent between the principal and a third person.

III. Idjma' finally sanctioned the legality of representation (*mashrū'iyat al-wakāla*). The Muḥammadans have from the earliest times to the present day used *wakāla*, without the slightest disapproval being shown, in the settlement of their affairs with one another. For *wakāla* is an urgent necessity for man, since a man is sometimes not in a position to administer his own property when on a journey or on the pilgrimage, or to manage his estate on account of his lack of ability, or pressure of business or his great wealth. By *wakāla* he can appoint a deputy. The verse v. 3: "Help one another to good deeds and to the fear of God" particularly urges this mutual help. — More particularly people of high rank or office usually do not attend to their affairs personally but through authorised agents.

IV. According to the teaching of the jurists, the *wakāla* is a contract and a revocable one (*'aḥd dī'ariz*).

1. For the validity (*ṣiḥḥa*) of the mandate we have the following four requirements (*arkān*):

a. the *muwakkil*.

b. the *wakīl*. Both persons must be able to dispose of their property (*iḥlāk al-taṣarruf*). A minor (*ṣabī*), a lunatic (*madjūn*), a slave (*'abd*) or any one who is *maḥdjūr* [q.v.] cannot be either principal or agent. For validity are also required the conditions demanded for other contracts. In particular we should add that in marriage and divorce only a person of irreproachable character in the eyes of the law (*'ādil*) can be a *wakīl*, while in all other cases this is not demanded. If then a woman chooses a man who is not of blameless character for her *wakīl* at a marriage, the marriage is invalid. According to the Mālikis, a Muslim and a *dhimmi* cannot be *wakīl* for one

another; but the ḥadīth in Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 2 is not so strict.

c. The object (*muwakkal fihī*) must be the property of the principal, definite, legal and capable of representation. Representation under a condition to come into operation in the future is not permissible. The principal therefore cannot for example appoint a *wakīl* in order to divorce a wife whom he is only going to marry at a later date or to sell a slave whom he is going to buy in the future.

Views differ on the question whether representation by a deputy is possible in the case of acquiring *mubāḥāt*, e.g. water, wood, or game.

In general one can appoint a mandatory for all actions which one can carry out oneself. Thus we have proxies in all contracts, marriage and divorce, law-suits, payment of blood-money etc. According to Abū Ḥanīfa's teaching however, a representative in a law-suit could only be appointed with the approval of the other side; his successors however did not think this necessary. According to the unanimous teaching of all the madhāhib, an oath cannot be transferred to a proxy. A list of the commonest cases is given by al-Sarakhsī, xix. 190.

As regards one's personal duties towards Allāh and actions belonging to the sphere of the *ʿibādāt*, one cannot of course appoint a deputy because they are obligations of a purely personal nature, with the exception of the *ḥadīdī* and the distribution of *zakāt* (*tafrīkāt* [or *adāʾ*] *al-zakāt*). A proxy cannot be appointed to commit crimes like murder or theft on account of the illegality of the action.

d. The form (*ṣigha*) is that of offer and acceptance (*idjāb wa-kaḅūl*). Both parties must be willing for this legal transaction to take place and give their approval to it. This is done by offer and acceptance. Acceptance may be given in silence or by an act which clearly shows the approval of the mandatory. Representation is purely a matter of mutual agreement.

2. The authorisation may be definite or general according as the proxy has to carry out a particular piece of business or all the business of his principal in the way he thinks fit. The first kind of proxy is called *wakīl muʿaiyan*, the latter *wakīl muṭlaq*. The Shāfiʿīs reject the general authorisation as they demand that the mandate must define accurately the nature of the business.

3. The proxy does his work without a fee; but some recompense may be made by arrangement. The proxy has in any case the right to be compensated for all expenses or losses that he has incurred. This does not affect the mandate as such. There is a difference of opinion among the jurists on the question where and when an agreement of this kind passes into hired service (*idjāra*).

4. As to the liability (*ḡaman*) it has to be remembered that the *wakīl* is a person of trust. His statement on oath is therefore valid without proof but only as far as the loss, deterioration and return of the *res mandata* is concerned. His statement regarding the return of the thing to another person than his principal is only to be accepted with proof.

The proxy must adhere to the orders given him and is responsible for all mistakes in the transaction; he is thus responsible, a. in *tafrīṭ*, i.e. *culpa in omittendo*, if he does less than he ought strictly to do, and b. in *taʿaddī*, if he does more than he ought, i.e. exceeds his commission.

5. Termination. As the mandate is an *ʿaḳd dīʿī*, both parties can dissolve the contract when they please. The contract is dissolved like other contracts through death, insanity or the legal incompetence of one of the parties, since the mandatory like the depositary [cf. *WADʿA*] is regarded as *amīn*.

V. Here we cannot go into the later development. The *Code Civil Ottoman*, Art. 1449—1530 contains, broadly speaking, the doctrines of the Ḥanafīs. In the *Ḳāwānīn al-Miṣriya*, *wakāla* is dealt with in §§ 512—531 and in the *Sharḥ al-Ḳānūn*, p. 292—300.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p. 13; Bukhārī, *Wakāla*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1322, iv. 242; al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ*, xix. 2; Aḥmad Abū l-Faṭḥ, *Muʿāmalāt*, Cairo 1330, ii. 567; v. Tornauw, *Musl. Recht*, p. 130. — In addition to the Fīḫ works: Sachau, *Musl. Recht*, Berlin 1897, p. 421 sqq.; van den Berg, *Principes du droit musulman*, Algiers 1896, p. 103 sqq.; Ḥalil, *Muḥtaṣar o sommario del diritto malechita*, transl. Dav. Santillana, Milan 1919, p. 381 sqq.; R. Grasshoff, *Die allgemeinen Lehren des Obligationenrechts*, Göttingen 1895, p. 82 sqq., 132 sqq.; Query, *Droit Musulman*, Paris 1871, i. 557 sqq.; Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford 1906, vi. 375 sqq. (OTTO SPIES).

WAḲĀR, MIRZĀ AHMAD SHĪRĀZĪ with the *takhalluṣ* Waḳār (Brown vocalises it Wiḳār), a Persian poet, the eldest of the six sons of the poet Wiṣāl. His five brothers also attained fame as poets. Specimens of the poetry of the father Wiṣāl are given in the *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ* of Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ii. 528 sqq. and in Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 318; in the last named work on p. 301, 319 sqq. and 323 sqq. are also specimens of the work of Dāwārī and Farhang, two brothers of Waḳār. In the *Madjmaʿ*, ii. 103 sqq. are two further poems of Wiṣāl's second son Maḥmūd Ḥakīm and in ii. 384, poems by Farhang. Six *ḡasidas* on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh composed by Waḳār and his five brothers are given in the British Museum manuscript, N^o. 370 of Rieu's *Supplement*. Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *op. cit.*, ii. 82 sqq., gives a few poems by Tawḥīd (Mirzā Ismāʿīl Shīrāzī), another of Wiṣāl's sons.

Waḳār must have been born about 1232 (1817) (cf. Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 230; Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 300). A few years after his father's death (in 1262 = 1846), Waḳār travelled to India along with his brother Maḥmūd. He stayed there from about 1266 (1849) to 1268 (1851) in Bombay until a letter from the *nawwāb* Nuṣrat al-Dawla Firūz Mirzā induced him to return to Shīrāz. Riḍā Ḳulī Khān says that Waḳār was very highly honoured in Bombay, but the poet seems to have suffered from home-sickness there. The verses in *Madjmaʿ*, ii. 552 refer to his sojourn in India.

In 1274 (1857—58) Waḳār was in Ṭeherān where he was presented to the Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn and honoured by him with a *khilʿa* and a pension. The date of the poet's death does not seem to be exactly recorded. He was not only a good Arabic scholar but also a fine calligrapher. Riḍā Ḳulī Khān mentions a copy of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, which he had copied in India.

Works: *Bahrām u-Bihrūs*, a *mathnawī*. On this work and its contents cf. Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 229

sq.; *Andjuman-i Dānīsh*, a collection of anecdotes and short stories in the style of Sa'di's *Gulistān*. According to Rieu (*op. cit.*, p. 230), a lithographed edition appeared in 1289 in Teherān, and it was completed by the poet in 1281 (1864—1865).

More accessible are the extracts from Waḳār's lyric poetry, which are printed in the *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣṭāḥ*, ii. 548 sqq. The poems are composed on the old traditional models of the pre-Mongol period, as is to be expected with a poet of the first half of the Ḳādjar epoch (cf. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 299). In Waḳār we find *ḡaṣīdas*, *ḡiṣās* etc., also *muṣammas*, a kind of poem, which was revived in the Ḳādjar period after having dropped out of fashion even before the beginning of the Mongol period (Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 163).

In addition to panegyrics on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Waḳār also wrote them on Ṭahmāsp Mirzā Mu'ayyid al-Dawla and on Nuṣrat al-Dawla Firūz among others. It is particularly in the panegyrics that we frequently find passages which quite recall the mediæval court poets (e.g. *Madjma'*, ii. 550).

An example of a very elaborate simile quite in the classical vein is to be found in one of his *ḡaṣīdas*; a snowcloud is compared to a camel with foam at its mouth and a broken headstall (*mahār*). It is laden with pearls from 'Aden, but the packing has burst and the pearls are being scattered in all directions (*Madjma'*, ii. 552). Pictures familiar to Persian panegyrics but which strike the western as peculiar are also found e.g. in the *ḡaṣīda* on Nuṣrat al-Dawla Firūz (*Madjma'*, ii. 553).

The artifices of the classical period are of course also found; we may mention for example the *tadji-nis* between the words *shāikh-i sālekward* and *shānkh-i khūrdsāl* (*Madjma'*, ii. 550). Waḳār sometimes uses internal rhyme, e.g. *Madjma'*, ii. 551, 555. The *tashbīḥs* are descriptive of nature in the old style or they have an erotic subject. Among the latter is a piece (*Madjma'*, ii. 549) which shows some similarity with the pretty *muṣammaṭ* by Waḳār's brother Dāwārī printed in Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 319 sqq.

The matter of Waḳār's lyrics is for the rest of little interest. He moves mainly in the circle of ideas of the mediæval poetry. In addition to regular panegyrics we also have poems of religious and moral content (these are not his best), a letter in poetry to his father Wiṣāl, verses on an earthquake in Shīrāz; indeed he even wrote a poem on an attack of fever.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted cf. also: *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, ii. 314. (C. F. BÜCHNER)

WAḲF or **HABS** (A.) is properly an Arabic *maṣdar* meaning "to prevent, restrain". In Muslim legal terminology it means primarily "to protect a thing, to prevent it from becoming the property of a third person (*tamlīk*)" (Sarakhṣi, *Mabṣūṭ*, xii. 27). By it is meant 1. state land, which on being conquered passed to the Muslim community either by force or by treaty and remained in possession of the previous owners on payment of the *ḡharāḍ* and could neither be sold nor pledged by them (cf. e.g. Mawardi, *Aḡḡām*, ed. Enger, p. 237 sq.) and 2. commonly a pious endowment, which is defined in various ways in the Shari'a according to the school. Following up these definitions we may say that by *waḳf* (plur. *awḡāf*) is meant a thing which while retaining its sub-

stance yields a usufruct and of which the owner has surrendered his power of disposal with the stipulation that the yield is used for permitted good purposes. Waḳf really means however the legal process by which one creates such an endowment (synonymous with *tahbīs*, *tasbīl* or *tahrīm*) and in popular speech became transferred to the endowment itself, which is properly called *mawḡūf*, *maḡbūs*, *muḡabbas* or *ḡabīs*. Among the Mālikīs and therefore in Morocco, Algiers and Tunis the name *ḡubus* (plur. of *ḡabīs*) or the syncopated form *ḡubs* (pl. *aḡḡās*) predominates (hence in French legal language: *habous*).

I. The main principles of Fiḡh

1. The founder (*wāḡif*) must have full right of disposal over his property; he must therefore be in full possession of his physical and mental faculties, be of age and a free man (*'aḡīl*, *baligh*, *ḡurr*). He must further have unrestricted ownership in the subject of the endowment. Endowments by non-Muslims are therefore only valid if they are intended for a purpose not incompatible with Islām (e.g. they must not be intended for Christian churches or monasteries).

2. The object of the endowment (*mawḡūf*) must be of a permanent nature and yield a usufruct (*manṣa'a*), so that it is primarily real estate. There is a difference of opinion about movables. One section of the Ḥanafīs regards the granting of movables in an endowment as inadmissible but the majority, like the Shāfi'īs and Mālikīs, grant the principle, when it is a case of things which can be the subject of an agreement legal in the Shari'a, e.g. animals for their milk and wool, trees for their fruits, slaves for their labour, books for study. There are however here also differences of opinion on points of detail (thus Shīrāzi does not permit a slave to be made a waḳf). Provisions, money (prohibition of usury!) etc. are in general not admitted as their substance is consumed; they can only be the object of a *ṣadaḡa*. Among the Mālikīs a *manṣa'a* can also be made a waḳf, e.g. the yield of a piece of ground which is let for the period of the lease (*Ḳhalīl*, ii. 553).

3. The purpose of the endowment must be a work pleasing to God (*ḡurba*) although this is not always apparent on the surface. Two kinds are distinguished: *waḳf ḡhairī*, endowments of a definitely religious or public nature (mosques, madrasas, hospitals, bridges, waterworks), and *waḳf aḡlī* or *aḡhurī*, family endowments, for example for children or grand-children or other relations, or for other persons; the ultimate purpose of such a foundation must however always be *ḡurba*, for the poor for example.

An endowment for oneself is however invalid (except in Abū Yūsuf). The Shāfi'īs give a subterfuge (*ḡila*) to evade this condition: the thing which is to be the subject of the endowment is to be presented or sold at a low price to a third person; the latter can then create an endowment in favour of the original owner. Ibn Ḥadjar mentions a further subterfuge which is rejected by others: a waḳf is created in favour of the children of the benefactor's father and in the deed he himself is exactly described (Ardabīlī, *Anwār*, i. 433). On two other subterfuges see Ḳazwīnī, *Kitāb al-Ḥiyāl*, ed. Schacht, iv. 45.

4. The form need not be a written one, al-

though this is usually the case. The founder must clearly express his wishes either by *waḳaftu*, *habbastu*, *sabbaltu* or if he uses other formulae by an addition that "it must neither be sold nor given away nor bequeathed" (a phrase always occurring in waḳf documents, cf. the tradition quoted below and the waḳf document of Shāfiʿi, *Umm*, iii. 281—83; otherwise it would only be a *ṣadaqa*). The founder must further describe the object accurately and state exactly for what purpose and in whose favour the endowment is made. The fiḥ works deal very fully with the interpretation of the separate expressions describing those for whom the foundation is intended.

5. The following conditions are further necessary for the completion of a valid waḳf:

a. It must be made in perpetuity (*muʿabbaʿ*), which in the case of foundations for definite individuals is managed by allotting the proceeds after their death to the poor. It is therefore also inalienable.

b. It must come into force at once and there must be no provision for postponing it (*munadjjaz*), except the death of the founder; but in this case as in the case of a will the founder can only make one third of his property waḳf.

c. It is an irrevocable legal transaction (*ʿaḳd lāzim*); but according to Abū Ḥanīfa (not however his pupils and the later Ḥanafīs), the foundation may be revoked except when it is connected with the death of the founder (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xii. 27). The Ḥanafī founder therefore always brings a formal suit against the administrator for the restoration of his property; the judge, who then has the choice between the teaching of Abū Ḥanīfa and that of Abū Yūsuf, decides according to Abū Yūsuf, since the latter teaches irrevocability, and confirms the waḳf by rejecting the petition.

d. Among the Ḥanafīs (also in Ibn Abī Lailā; Sarakhsī, xii. 35) and the Imāmīs there is further required the conveyance (*taslim*) of the endowment to those for whom it is intended or rather to the administrator; on the other hand not in Abū Yūsuf, since according to him, as in the other schools, the endowment is already complete by the declaration of the founder's wishes (*ḳawf*). In the case of a foundation for the common good (mosque or cemetery) the conveyance is completed by its being used, even if only by one person.

Among the Mālikīs on the other hand, the points mentioned here are not essential, e.g. it can be revoked not only by the founder but also by his heirs (Khalīl, transl. Santillana, ii. 560—61).

6. As Muslim law does not know the conception of the legal person, opinions differed regarding the position of the waḳf in the law of property. According to one view (Shāibānī, Abū Yūsuf and the later Ḥanafīs; Shāfiʿi and his school), the founder's right of ownership ceases; it is usually said that it passes to Allāh; this however only denies the right of ownership of the founder and that of all other mortals. According to a second view (Abū Ḥanīfa [cf. thereon also Shāfiʿi, *Umm*, iii. 275 sq.] and the Mālikīs) the founder and his heirs retain the right of ownership; he is however prevented from exercising it. According to the followers of this school, in the case of a mosque, the right of ownership of the founder ceases as soon as a single person has performed his ṣalāt in it. According to a third view (some Shāfiʿīs, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal), the ownership passes to the beneficiaries (*mawḳūf ʿalaihi*)

(cf. e.g. Shīrāzī, *Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll, p. 164, 7). The ownership in the yield (*manfaʿa*) belongs however, according to all jurists, to the *mawḳūf ʿalaihi*.

7. The administration of the waḳf is in the hands of a *nāzir*, *ḳaiyim* or *mutawallī* who receives a salary for his services. The first administrator is usually appointed by the founder; frequently he is the founder himself (among the Mālikīs this invalidates the foundation). The *ḳaḍī* has a right of supervision; he appoints the administrators and if necessary dismisses them (e.g. for neglect of duty). The form of the administration and the use to which the revenues are put depend on the conditions laid down by the founder. The revenues must however be used primarily for the maintenance of the buildings etc.; only the surplus goes to the beneficiaries. Agreements to lease the lands and buildings can only be made for three years as a maximum.

8. Extinction of the waḳf. If the founder secedes from Islām, the foundation becomes invalid and passes to his heirs. Endowments which have lost their object fall, according to the view held of the position with regard to the law of property, to the legitimate heirs (among the Mālikīs only if they are poor) or they must be used for the poor or for the common good; in no case may they be confiscated by the temporal authorities.

II. Origin, history and significance

According to the general opinion of the Muslims there were no waḳfs in Arabia before Islām, neither in houses or lands (cf. Shāfiʿi, *Umm*, iii. 275, 280). The fuḳahāʾ trace the institution to the Prophet although there is no evidence of this in the Qurʾān. In comparison with other things the support for this institution in tradition is very slight although it is always said by the legists that the companions of the Prophet and the first caliphs used to make waḳfs. In a tradition of Anas b. Mālik it is said that the Prophet wished to purchase gardens from the Banu ʿl-Nadīdjār in order to build a mosque; they refused to take the purchase money however and gave the land for the sake of God (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 28, 31, 35). According to a tradition of Ibn ʿOmar, on which the legists lay chief stress, ʿOmar, later caliph, at the partition of Khaibar acquired lands (*arḍ*) which were very valuable to him and asked the Prophet whether he should give them away as *ṣadaqa*. The Prophet replied: "Retain the thing itself and devote its fruits to pious purposes" (*ḥabbis aṣlahā wa-sabbil ṭamaratakā*). ʿOmar did this with the provision that the land should neither be sold nor bequeathed; he gave it as *ṣadaqa* for the poor, (needy) relatives, slaves, wanderers, guests and for the propagation of the faith (*fī sabil Allāh*); it is not to be a sin for the administrator to eat of it in moderation or feed a friend if he does not enrich himself from it (Bukhārī, *Shurūṭ*, bāb 19; *Waṣāyā*, bāb 29, cf. 33; Muslim, *Waṣīya*, tr. 15, 16; Ibn Mādjā, *Ṣadaḳāt*, bāb 4; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 12, 55; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii/i. 260; cf. Nasāʿī, *Iḥbās*, bāb 2, 3). In another version the reference is to a palm-garden called *Ṭamgh* (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 23; Nasāʿī, *Iḥbās*, bāb 3; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 114) which he acquired from the Jews of the Banū Ḥāritha (Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 125). In both cases however, the reference is to one and the same piece of ground in Khaibar which was called *Ṭamgh* (cf. Nawawī,

Sharh Muslim; Sarakhṣī, *Mabsūt*, xii. 31; Muṭar-rizī, *Mughrib*, s. v.; according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Nihāya*, s. v., however, *Thamgh* was a quite well known estate of 'Omar's in Medīna. A third tradition of Anas b. Mālik concerns a family endowment. In keeping with the pronouncement in *Sūra* iii. 86, Abū Ṭalḥa gave the Prophet his favourite piece of ground, the Bairuḥā' garden (in Medīna, where Mu'āwīya afterwards built the Kaṣr Banī Hudaila; cf. Yāqūt, i. 783) where the Prophet used to go to to enjoy the shade and drink the water. The Prophet however gave it back to him with the observation that he should make it an endowment for his relatives. Abū Ṭalḥa thereupon gave the garden as a *ṣadaqa* for Ubaiy and Ḥassān (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 17; cf. Nasā'ī, *Iḥbās*, bāb 2). In other traditions quoted by Bukhārī (*Waṣāyā*, bāb 12: about a sacrificial animal; *Waṣāyā*, bāb 32: a riding camel) and others regarding the making waḳf of movables it is only a case of simple *ṣadaqa*. The case of the palm-garden (*ḥā'iṭ*) in Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 20 is similar.

The legists seek to trace the institution of waḳf back to the Prophet through these traditions. It is remarkable however that the oldest legists are not agreed on essential points of the waḳf. In this connection Shāfi'ī's polemics against unnamed opponents, certainly including Abū Ḥanīfa, are interesting (*Umm*, iii. 275 sqq., 280). There the view of Shuraiḥ (d. 82 = 701) is refuted, which challenges the admissibility of waḳf at all by quoting a saying of the Prophet not found in the canonical collections: "No withholding from the quotas ordained by God" (*lā ḥabṣa 'an farā'id Allāh*). Shāfi'ī attacks the view that the waḳf remains the property of the founder and his heirs. The inalienability of the waḳf was disputed by Shuraiḥ as the Prophet was said to have sold things which had been made waḳf (*ḥabīs*) (Kāṣanī, *Badā'ī al-Ṣanā'ī*, vi. 219). An illustration of this is given in a note to the above quoted third tradition in Bukhārī; according to this, Ḥassān sold his share to Mu'āwīya. Ḥassān however was attacked for this. Shāfi'ī seems to have contributed to the success of the views on waḳf, which later became predominant. Abū Yūsuf is said to have first declared for the irrevocability of the waḳf, when on a pilgrimage he saw in Medīna the numerous waḳfs of the Muslims (Sarakhṣī, *Mabsūt*, xii. 28). All this suggests that the institution of the waḳf arose only after the death of the Prophet in the course of the first century A.H. and only assumed rigid legal forms in the second century. Its origin is to be sought in the strongly marked impulse to charitable deeds which is characteristic of Islām; thus we find it associated in a tradition (see above) with an appropriate verse of the Qur'ān, and Shāfi'ī (*Umm*, iii. 275) calls it a *ṣadaqa muḥarrama*. In addition there was the fact that the Arabs found in the conquered lands foundations for the public benefit for churches, monasteries, orphanages and poorhouses (*piae causae*) and may have adopted this form for the practice of the charity recommended by their religion. These endowments of the Byzantine period were inalienable, and managed by *administratores* and were under the supervision of the bishops (cf. especially Justinian, *Novelle* 131; Saleilles, *Les Piae Causae dans le droit de Justinien*, in *Mélanges Gérardin*, Paris 1907, p. 513 sqq.). C. H. Becker (*Isl.*, ii. 404) had already come to the same conclusion when

he showed that in Egypt the custom of making sites in the towns (*ribā'*) waḳf and not agricultural land (*arāḍi*) which existed down to the Tūlūnid period, goes back to a Greek original. But already in this early period agricultural land must elsewhere have been made waḳf; Shāfi'ī already speaks of this and Bukhārī (*Waṣāyā*, bāb 27) has a chapter: "If anyone makes agricultural land (*arḍ*) waḳf and does not give the boundaries". This was not unknown to the Byzantines also; Justinian (*Novelle* 65) exceptionally allows the Mysian church to sell lands and vineyards, which had been given as endowments for the ransom of prisoners and to be used for the poor and brought in no yield worth mentioning.

On the further history of the waḳfs in Egypt Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 295 sq.) gives interesting notes. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Maḍharā'ī (this is the right reading, d. 345 = 956) was the first to make agricultural land waḳf for the holy cities and other purposes. The Fāṭimids however at once forbade the making waḳf of country estates and entrusted the Qāḍī 'l-Quḍāt with the supervision, assisted by a *diwān al-aḥbās*. In 363 (974) al-Mu'izz ordered the property of the endowments and the waḳf documents (*sharā'iṭ*) to be handed over to the state treasury (*bait al-māl*); the revenues from the waḳfs were then farmed out for 1,500,000 dirhams annually; out of this sum the beneficiaries were paid while the rest went to the treasury. As a result of this system of farming them out, the waḳf possessions had so sunk in value by the time of al-Ḥākim that the revenues in the case of many mosques no longer sufficed for their maintenance. In 405 (1014) he therefore created a large new foundation and had the condition of the mosques regularly examined.

In the Mamlūk period the foundations were divided into three groups: 1. *Aḥbās*. These were under the supervision of the *dawādār al-sulṭān* and were administered by a *nāṣir* with a special *diwān*; they comprised extensive estates (in 740 [1339]: 130,000 *faddān*) in the provinces of Egypt and were used to keep up mosques and *zāwiyas*. Maḳrīzī (d. 845 = 1442) complains bitterly about the abuse and neglect of these endowments; they had come through corrupt practices into the hands of the emirs; the beneficiaries, who were called *faḳīh* or *khaṭīb* but knew nothing of *fiḥ* or of preaching, were registered in the name of some ruined mosque. 2. *Awḳāf ḥukmīya*. These consisted of town lands in Miṣr and Qāhira; their revenues were earmarked for the two holy cities as well as for charities of all kinds. They were under the control of the Qāḍī 'l-Quḍāt and were administered by a *nāṣir* (sometimes by two, one for each part of the city); there was a special *diwān* for each part of the town. In this connection Maḳrīzī again makes a touching complaint about the conditions which were becoming worse and worse; from the time of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Farāj (801—815 = 1398—1412) the waḳf estates had become poorer and poorer as a result of maladministration. The qāḍīs in return for bribes allowed sales, without another piece of ground being purchased in place of that sold; it was only necessary to produce witnesses who alleged that this or that building was dangerous to the neighbours and the passers-by. 3. *Awḳāf ahliya*, family endowments, each of which had their own administrator. These were monasteries (*khanṣāḥ*)

madrasas, mosques, türbas, which owned extensive estates in Egypt and Syria, some of which were originally state lands, which had been acquired and made wakf. The emir Barkūk (784—801 = 1382—1398) had already tried to confiscate these estates but his scheme failed against the protest of the fuḳahā'. They were however confiscated under his successors.

Conditions in other lands must have been similar to those in Egypt. A hundred years before Makrizī we find the Ḥanafī Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-Thānī (d. 747 = 1346) in Transoxania complaining that the ḳādis made the wakfs void by a *hila* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii. 163).

The wakf inscriptions (usually only extracts from the wakf documents [*wakfiya*] which were placed on mosques, madrasas etc. the better to prevent the endowment falling into oblivion) afford many valuable details. According to numbers, business premises were most frequently made wakf, usually small shops (*ḥānūt*) which often belonged in scores to a wakf, but also warehouses (*khān*, *funduk*) and stables (*ruwā'* in Fās of the year 756 [1355]: *J. A.*, ser. 11, xii. 363); then there were tenements (*dār*) or even smaller dwellings. Alongside of these we have various industrial premises: baths, mills, bakeries, oil and sugar presses, soap works, paper works (*warāka*: *C. I. A.*, Jerusalem, N^o. 70 of 695 = 1295), looms (*ṭirāz* in Fās of the year 725 [1325]: *J. A.*, loc. cit., p. 195), post-houses (*yam*, in Baghdād of 760 [1359]: Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäol. Reise*, ii. 188). In the third place are agricultural establishments, most frequently gardens, but also farms and even whole villages (*karya*, in Morocco *madshar*; first found in 666 [1267] in Ḥomṣ of Sultān Baibars: Oppenheim, *Inscripfen aus Syrien*, N^o. 3 and 721 [1321] in Fās of the Marinid Abū Sa'īd: *J. A.*, ser. 11, x. 158).

The use to which the produce, sometimes in money and sometimes in kind, was to be put was minutely prescribed in the foundation document. In addition to benefiting the poor the revenues were primarily used to pay the staffs of mosques, madrasas, Ḳur'ān schools, hospitals or to be used for the benefit of the inmates of a monastery etc. (cf. for details C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i. 264 sq. [from which the statements here without a reference are taken], for mosques and madrasas cf. vol. iii, p. 368—369, for libraries etc. cf. KITABKHĀNA). The income was also used in some way for the two holy cities. Ḳā'itbāy in 885 (1480) for example ordered that from the revenues corn should be bought to provide *dashiṣha* for the inhabitants of and visitors to Medina (*C. I. A.*, Egypt, N^o. 324), or the revenues, as in Tripolis in the case of the *wakf al-sūr* which dates from the middle ages, were earmarked for the maintenance of the city walls (Califano, p. 127; now used for other pious purposes). Very frequently we find the provision that only what is left over, after paying wages etc. is to be used for the maintenance of the building (*C. I. A.*, Jerusalem, N^o. 39 of 595 [1198]; Egypt, N^o. 538 of 710 [1310]; Bel, *Inscr. arabes à Fes*, in *J. A.*, ser. 11, x. 119 of 810 = 1408).

The inscriptions are also eloquent about abuses, embezzlements, and exploitation of the wakfs. Thus we frequently find edicts which free the wakfs from unjust burdens and taxes (cf. e.g. Sobernheim, in *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen u. Untersuchungen*, iii. [1922], N^o. 36 and 38). The

founders themselves endeavoured to prevent embezzlement etc. by dividing the lands among a number of endowments in small portions so that the several administrators could keep a check on one another, or the supervision is put by the founder in the hands of an administrative commission, to which the ḳādi, the *khāṭib* and the prominent citizens of the town belong (e.g. in Mostaganem of the year 742 [1340] in *J. A.*, ser. 11, xiii. 81). We have very early evidence of a central wakf administration like that of Egypt, e.g. under the Umayyads in Cordova there was a central treasury for the wakf (*bait al-māl* in contrast to the state treasury: *khizānat al-māl*) under the supervision of the Ḳādi 'l-Kuḏāt (Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane*, Paris 1932, p. 71, 85) and in Fās in the time of the Marinids there was an official who had to administer all the wakfs of the town (*J. A.*, ser. 11, xii. 370). But all this could not permanently prevent embezzlement and frittering away of the wakf estates.

The wakf system in the east was very beneficial in ameliorating poverty and misery and in furthering learning, but it had its shady side morally as well as economically. On the one hand, considerable sections of the populace were taken from industry by the continual creation of new sinecures and supported at the expense of the country; on the other hand, the capital for these great endowments had to be supplied by the wealthy and this was acquired not by productive labour but by extortion and unprecedented exploitation of the people (cf. C. H. Becker, *op. cit.*). The immense accumulation of landed property in the possession of the Dead Hand further was economically injurious, although from time to time confiscations by the state and illegal disposal by the administrators had a regulating effect. One consequence of this accumulation very frequently was that the soil was not used to the best advantage; these great *latifundia* are even often an impediment to the introduction of modern agricultural methods. They often deteriorated so much that the yields were not even sufficient for the necessary upkeep and improvements. To avert this evil and to arouse the personal interest of the tenants perpetual leases have been granted, apparently since the xvth century, which differ somewhat in the different countries but are the same in their main lines. Originally only used in case of lands that had gone out of cultivation, they gradually came into use for other wakf estates also.

The most widely distributed type of agreement of this kind (throughout the whole of the former Turkish empire including Egypt and Tripolis) is the *idjāratain* (in contrast to this the short term lease is called *idjāra wāḥida*) so called from the two sums in it: the tenant pays a lump sum down according to the value of the land on the conclusion of the agreement (*idjāra mu'adidjāla*) and an annual fixed rent (*idjāra mu'adidjāla*) so that the right of ownership in the endowment may not lapse. He is bound to keep the land in order and make it productive. He can bequeath it (originally only to his children, since 1867 however, to other heirs named by statute) and sell his rights in the land with the approval of the administrator of the endowment. If the tenant dies or the tenant following him without leaving heirs the land as *mahlūl* goes back to the endowment. New buildings are regarded as increment.

Another kind of agreement usual in Syria and Egypt is the *ḥikr* which corresponds to the *kirdār* in Tripolis and Tunis but has a rent which rises or falls with alterations in the value of the piece of ground. The tenant can only bequeath it, but has unrestricted rights in his new buildings and new plantations. The agreement only becomes void on non-payment of rent. In Turkey the *mukāṭaʿa* is similar and in Tunis the *ensel* (*innāl*) agreement, but with a fixed annual rent and in Algiers down to the French occupation the *ana* (*ʿanā*) agreement and in Morocco the *guelza* (*djalsa*: in the case of business houses and factories) and *gza* (*djaza*: in case of agricultural lands) (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, in *R.M.M.*, xiii. [1911], 197–248), as well as throughout the Maghrib the *khalw* [or *khuṭū*] *al-intifāʿ*. In all these agreements it is a question of the usufruct (*ḥukūḥ al-manāfiʿ*). The thing itself (*raḳaba*) remains the property of the endowment, which is recognised by the payment of rent; while the *manfaʿa* became the property of the lessee. As a result the legists, who at first regarded these agreements in accordance with the customary law as an unpermitted innovation, in the end came to tolerate them since the inalienability of the waḳf remained secure.

These varieties of agreement were not however created specially for the letting of waḳf estates but were rather older forms of lease adapted to the waḳf. They probably originated in cases in which a piece of land had been made waḳf with similar formulae. Thus the *djaza* is already found in the Marinid period in a waḳf document for the medrese al-Sahrīdj in Fās of the year 723 (1323) in which such *djaza* plots of ground are made waḳf (*J. A.*, ser. II, x. 222); similarly in Egyptian waḳf documents of the year 691 (1292) *ḥikr* lands are made waḳf (Moberg, in *M. O.*, xii. [1918], 10, No. 8). According to Makrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii. 114), it is a question of “lands the development of which undertaken by a third person is prevented”. They were originally state lands, which however on payment of ground rent (*adīr*) could be built upon or used for planting gardens. Later however, they became completely waḳf (Makrīzī, ed. Wiet, ii. 107). According to a *fatwā* of al-Farūḳī (d. 1061 = 1670), the *ḥikr* agreement is a form of lease by which land is given in perpetuity when built upon or cultivated. Similarly the *kirdār*, a word which must be of Persian origin, is found as early as a *fatwā* of al-Bazzāzī (d. 877 = 1424). In both cases we have the question whether such a piece of ground can be made waḳf (in Ibn ʿAbidīn, *Radd al-Mukhtār*, Miṣr 1327, iii. 428). These agreements probably deal with forms of lease which were originally used in the state domains and are ultimately a survival of the ancient emphyteusis, which was already usual in the Byzantine period for churches and monasteries and their lands (Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrest. der Papyrus-Kunde*, I/i., p. 313).

Family endowments are almost as old as those for the public good. The earliest example is the waḳf document in which Shāfiʿī makes his house in Fustāt with everything belonging to it waḳf for his descendants (*Umm.*, iii. 281–283). Such foundations while being a charitable object in keeping with religion, primarily secure the descendants an income for all emergencies and in particular protect the property in times of inse-

curity from unscrupulous rulers, although in practice they did not always have the desired result (cf. above). In addition it was a legal means of evading the Qurʾānic law of inheritance, whether in order to exclude particular heirs or to include those not entitled to inherit or in order to keep the estate intact, when it would be broken up by the application of the law of inheritance. The institution of the family endowment was also abused for other purposes: a man would make his property waḳf for his descendants in order to put it out of reach of his creditors, which however is forbidden in a *fatwā* of Abu ʿl-Suʿūd (d. 928 = 1474; cf. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. No. 7,834, fol. 131b). Family endowments in the east are very numerous and economically harmful from their great extent. In Egypt for example, the income from these endowments in 1928–1929 was higher than that from all the other waḳfs together (over £ 1,000,000, cf. *R. E. Isl.*, iii. 295).

III. Modern Conditions

The estates of the Dead Hand in the former Turkish empire were estimated at three quarters of the whole arable land and in modern Turkey they have recently been calculated at T£ 50,000,000 in value (*O. M.*, v. [1925], 8; in the Budget for 1928 the revenues are entered as T£ 3,489,000). Towards the middle of the xixth century, they comprised in Algiers the half, in 1883 in Tunis $\frac{1}{3}$ and in 1927 in Egypt $\frac{1}{8}$ of the cultivated soil. The accumulation of such extensive possessions in the Dead Hand meant a serious injury to the economic life of the country; but apart from anything else a piece of ground that is waḳf cannot be burdened by a mortgage. In addition there were everywhere abuses in the management of these estates and frequently there was an uncertainty in law regarding the question of ownership. The waḳf system thus everywhere became a problem in the course of the last century. The European Powers (France) were the first to see in it an impediment to the economic development of their Muslim colonies but Muslims themselves (Turkey, Egypt) are now no longer blind to this point of view.

France was the first to try to tackle the problem in Algiers and in not very skilful fashion. As early as 1830 it was laid down that all public *habous* should pass into the possession of and be administered by the French government which aroused particular indignation among the Muslims on account of the endowments for the holy cities. The inalienability of the *habous* was then overcome indirectly: in 1844 the permanent rent was declared redeemable and in 1858 the *ana*-contract became a simple contract of sale, in which the rent was regarded as the interest on the purchase price. It was further ordained that the argument of inalienability should not be used as a ground of a charge against either French or natives. The sale of the *habous* was thus protected. Finally by the law of July 26, 1873, the legal position of land was brought completely under French law and all conditions contradictory to it were abolished. The sale of the *habous* was thus recognised in practice, but in order not to interfere further with the religious sentiments of the Muslims or with their family life, the institution was left in existence as a means to circumvent the Muslim law of inheritance, although in this mutilated form. Since 1873 the French courts have adopted this standpoint, which does not follow

with absolute certainty from the ordinance. The tenants of the wakf are now no longer guaranteed the peaceful enjoyment of the endowment, since one of the partners can sell the *habous* and the others in such a case have to make their claims against him. The Muslim population however avoided a sale as far as possible or again invested the proceeds in another piece of ground to take the place of the first.

France went to work more cautiously in Tunis and Morocco. Khair al-Din had already in 1874 created a central office for the administration (*djam'iya*) of the public *habous* in Tunis and in 1885 the *ensel*-agreement was legalised in the sense of the customs previously in vogue. In 1898 it was then arranged that the *habous* could either be exchanged in kind or for money (in the latter case another piece of ground must be purchased to replace it, in keeping with the *Shari'a*) and that it could be let out on a simple lease for a period of years (as long as ten with the possibility of extension). Here again however, they went a step further to break up the estates of the Dead Hand. By the decree of Jan. 22, 1905 the *ensel*-rent was declared redeemable in 20 annuities. Later however another plan was adopted, less offensive to religious sentiment, to create small holdings on a state assisted basis. By the decree of April 12, 1913, natives could get their lands as *ensel* without public competition, if they had for a long period passed from father to son. These endeavours were concluded for the present by the decree of July 17, 1926; by this in the case of landed estate the Tunisian Muslim who lives on the piece of ground in question and tills it himself, or his ancestors have for at least 33 years, becomes the permanent possessor on payment of a yearly rent; the plot of land can however only be inherited in the male line. This measure met with opposition from occupiers of family foundations (cf. the party's item in the programme for the elections in the native section of the Grand Council in 1928: "to protect private wakfs"; *O. M.*, viii. [1928], 322). For the administration there has been since 1908 alongside of the *djam'iya* also a *Conseil Supérieur des Habous*. The *habous* of the *Zāwiyas*, which are administered by *Wakils* (usually identical with the *Shāikh*s), are also under state control; in the case of the family endowments which are under the supervision of the *kādi*, the government interferes only under certain conditions e.g. if the ownership of the endowment is threatened.

In Morocco in 1912 a *Direction des Habous* was created which also has to supervise family endowments and by a *dahir* of July 21, 1913 the leasing of the *habous* was regulated anew; in the first place the long lease of untilled lands was restricted to ten years and an exchange for money made possible with the obligation to buy another piece of ground instead. It was further ordained by *dahir* of Feb. 27, 1914, that the rents, hitherto very small, should be raised in keeping with the value of the estates. A *dahir* of July 8, 1916 then gave permission for the redemption of *manfa'a* privileges (*gza*, *guelza* etc.) so that the wakf land became the property of the occupier. In these cases, however, the sums received had to be invested in another piece of ground. France thus sought to avoid a conflict with the *Shari'a* and to use the legal possibilities of the *Shari'a* to improve the economic situation.

In Tripoli and Cyrenaica the central administration of the awkāf which existed under the Turks was taken over by the Italians and reformed. The institution itself was not disturbed in the slightest. But under Italian jurisdiction disputes are settled, not by the *Shari'a* courts but by the ordinary courts of law as the wakf is regarded as coming under the land laws. Another regulation introduced in Cyrenaica by the decree of Aug. 23, 1923 was soon afterwards repealed. By the decree of July 3, 1921 (No. 1207) new land registers were introduced, including a special register for the awkāf and for the awkāf disposed of by *idjāratain* agreements. The first interference with private wakfs originated on political grounds and resulted in the confiscation of all the property of the *Senūsī* by the state; only the mosques and cemeteries retained their wakf character and passed under the administration of the public wakfs (decree of Dec. 22, 1930; cf. *O. M.*, xi. 224).

For Palestine, Syria and the 'Irāk, it is provided in the mandate of 1921 that the wakfs should be administered by the mandatory power in keeping with the *Shari'a* and the conditions laid down by the founder. In Palestine, England was content with a theoretical right of control by decree of Dec. 20, 1921; she created a *Supreme Muslim Sharia Council* (altered regarding the method of election and several other points in 1926 and 1929), of 5 members indirectly elected, which controlled the affairs of the wakfs along with other matters (*O. M.*, i. [1921], 594—596; ix. [1929], 311—313). — France on the other hand in her mandated areas in Syria placed the wakfs under direct supervision of the mandatory power. By an edict of the High Commissioner of March 2, 1921, three bodies for the administration of the Muslim wakfs in the whole Syrian mandated territory were created: a *Conseil Supérieur des Waqfs*, a *Commission général des Waqfs musulmans* and a *Contrôleur général des Waqfs musulmans*, who is the official directing the two other offices and at the same time the general controller. The controller is appointed by the commissioner and is responsible to him (Rabbath, *L'Évolution politique de la Syrie sous mandat*, Paris 1928, p. 207 sqq.). In 1926 *mukāṭa'a* and *hikr* agreements were forbidden by the High Commissioner and replaced by *mubādala*. — In the 'Irāk by the constitution of July 10, 1924, the wakfs were put under a Wakf Ministry, the duties and powers of which are to be regulated by a special law (not yet formulated); disputes on points of law are dealt with by the *Shari'a* tribunal, which decides according to the *madhhab* to which the foundation belongs (*O. M.*, x. [1930], 540 sq.).

In Turkey as early as the beginning of the xixth century, a central administration of the *ewkāf* was created and made a Ministry in 1840. A distinction is made between regular *Ewkāf* (*wakf-i şahiḥ*) in *mulk* lands and irregular *Ewkāf* (*wakf-i ghairi şahiḥ*) in *miriye* or state lands, or according to the method of administration, between *ewkāf-i mazbūta*, which are in the possession of and administered by the *Ewkāf* Ministry, *ewkāf-i mülhaka*, which are only under the supervision of the Ministry, and *ewkāf-i müstetihā*, which are completely independent (e.g. Christian foundations). While the complete abolition of the wakfs had already been considered in the *Tanzimāt* period (1867), it was the Turkish Republic which took

the final step, the first Muslim state to do so. By one of the secularising laws of March 3, 1924 (N^o. 429), the Ewḳāf Ministry was abolished and waḳf affairs transferred to a general directory (*müdüriyet-i 'umûmiye*) subordinate to the Premier in order "to solve the problem in a manner really advantageous to the nation" (Art. 7). [The more rigorous formulation given by Pritsch, in *M. S. O. S. As.*, xxvi. 196, from the previously published scheme, did not become law]. The tendency then was towards nationalising the waḳfs but the question is so far not quite settled. According to the law of Feb. 22, 1926 (N^o. 748), waḳf estates (*waḳf-i masbûf*) must be sold to the communes and other undertakings for the public good (e. g. factories). By the law of 1930 relating to communes, numerous buildings like mosques, cemeteries, waterworks have passed to the communes so that only one third of its work is left to the waḳf administration. It is now intended to replace it by an *evkaf bankası* (*O. M.*, x. [1930], 551). The endeavour is therefore being made to break up the estates of the Dead Hand and to put them to more useful purposes but no one has yet dared to abolish the waḳf system altogether. It was permitted by the Budget of the Ewḳāf Directory for 1926 (N^o. 850, 1276, Art. 6, which was prolonged from year to year) to exchange or sell certain pieces of waḳf ground, but the money received could only be used for the purchase of land or the erection of buildings.

In Egypt, the attempts at reform go back to Muḥammad 'Alī who confiscated all waḳf agricultural land (*rişka*) and compensated the beneficiaries; he only left in existence waḳfs which consisted of houses and gardens (Clot-Bey, *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1840, ii. 195; cf. also Lane, *Manners and Customs*, chap. iv., at the end). In 1851 a central administration was created which after various transformations was raised to a Ministry in 1913. The decree of July 13, 1895 regulated the administration of the waḳfs anew and put under the central administration all waḳfs for the common good, as well as those family endowments the administration of which for any reason became transferred to the central authority by legal decision or arrangement. Since 1924 the Waḳf Ministry has been under the control of Parliament, with the result that the condition and revenues of the waḳfs have been considerably improved. Stimulated by what had been done in Turkey the indefensible conditions of the family foundations provoked on the consideration of the budget of the ministry for 1926/1927 a discussion of the question whether family foundations should be retained at all. Two bills were laid before Parliament by deputies in this connection. The one only considered reform; the family endowments were to exist for at most 30 years after the death of the founder and then become the property of the beneficiaries; the existing foundations were not to be dissolved but treated in this spirit. The second proposal was for the immediate abolition of family endowments and their transfer to the private ownership of the beneficiaries. Both proposals were referred to a committee, but the decision was deferred by the dissolution of Parliament in July 1928. These proposals naturally aroused the opposition of the orthodox; the Egyptian modernists, it is interesting to note, are careful not to propose to abolish waḳfs simply on economic and moral grounds but

endeavour to support their proposals, like their opponents, by traditional views and to show that the family endowment is not a religious institution.

Czarist Russia had already administered the waḳfs in the Crimea through Russian officials for its own advantage and had confiscated numerous waḳf lands in Turkistan and given them to Russian emigrants, and under Bolshevik rule in the war against all that is connected with religion the waḳf buildings and mosques were also declared state property and let out. Cf. on this the statements by 'Iyād Ishāḳī at the Islāmic Congress in Jerusalem in Dec. 1931 (*O. M.*, xii. [1932], 133—134).

Various Islāmic congresses have dealt with the problem of waḳfs but always on traditional lines. Thus the second pilgrimage congress at Mecca (1924) protested against governments dealing with awḳāf in any way not in keeping with the stipulations made by the founders and demanded that they should be administered by the standards of the Shari'a (*O. M.*, iv. 602). The Islāmic Congress at Mecca in 1926 as well as the National Congress of the Hīdjāz in 1931 demanded of the government that care should be taken to see that revenues from waḳfs in favour of the holy cities outside of the Hīdjāz were collected (*O. M.*, vi. 314; xi. 454). Similarly the Muslim Congress at Jerusalem in 1931 demanded the return of the Hīdjāz railway with all its rolling stock, because, before it was built, it had been declared a waḳf by the Ottoman Sultān.

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WAKHĀN (in Arabic *Wakhkhān*), a district to the south of the Pāmīr [q. v.]. *Wakhān* is a long and narrow valley which runs from east to west and is watered by the upper course of the Oxus (Pandja) and by the river *Wakhān-daryā*, which is the most southern source of the Oxus [cf. *AMŪ-DARYĀ*]. The length of *Wakhān* along the Oxus is 67 miles and of the *Wakhān-daryā* (from Langar-kish to the *Wakhājir* pass) 113 miles. Afghan sources put the distance from *Ishkashim* to Sarhadd at 66 *kurūh* = 22 farsakhs.

To the south of *Wakhān* rises the wall of the *Hindū-Kush* through which several passes lead to the lands of the upper Indus. The main pass (12,460 feet) of Baroghil leads into Cītrāl. The northern wall of *Wakhān* is the *Wakhān* (Nicolas II) range the peaks of which reach a height of 23,000 feet. In the west *Wakhān* stretches to the bend of the Oxus, where the river entering the boundaries of *Shughnān* [q. v.] turns northwards. In the east *Wakhān* (through the high valley of *Wakhājir*) is adjoined by Chinese possessions and lake Čakmak-ting.

Wakhān lies as a barrier between Russian lands in the north and British in the south so that nowhere are they in direct contact. By the Russo-Afghan agreement of March 4, 1895 defining the frontier, it runs *a.* in the lower part of *Wakhān* up the course of the Oxus as far as Langar-kish where the two sources of the Oxus meet: the river *Wakhān* from S. E. (from the Little Pāmīr) and the river Pāmīr from the N. E. (from the Great Pāmīr); *b.* from Langar-kish the frontier follows the course of the Pāmīr river to its source (lake Zor-kul or Victoria); *c.* more to the east again, the frontier runs by a zigzag line towards the south to China (near the Beyik pass). Afghan territory therefore comprises the left bank of the Oxus, all the valley of the *Wakhān-daryā*, the land on the left bank of the Pāmīr river and a small part of the upper course of the Aḡ-su (including lake Čakmak-kul).

The Afghan part of *Wakhān* contains seven districts, namely from west to east: Warg, Ūrgand, *Khandūd*, Kal'a-yi Pandja, Bābā-Tangī, Nirs-wa-Shalak and Sarhadd (this last named village is at the foot of the Baroghil pass at a height of 11,350 feet), as well as the thinly populated territory of the Little Pāmīr (watered by the *Wakhān-daryā*).

On the Afghan side there are in *Wakhān* 64 villages with 3,500 inhabitants and on the Russian

27 with 2,000 inhabitants. The population (*Wakhis*) belongs to the race of Iranian mountaineers (*Ghalča*) very often with blue eyes, a feature which had struck the Chinese as early as the sixth century. The *Wakhī* language is an unusual variety of an Iranian dialect (*Ghalča*). At the present day the *Wakhis* on the Russian side form part of the autonomous republic of Tadjikistan.

In his monumental works Sir Aurel Stein supports the thesis according to which the *Wakhān* corridor ("the most direct thoroughfare") has been used from very early times for communication between the settled areas of northern Afghanistan (*Balkh*) and those of the modern Chinese Turkestan.

From the seventh century, *Wakhān* is continually mentioned in the early Chinese sources under the names of Hu-mi, Po-ho etc. (cf. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 243, and Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, Index). Hiuen Tsang mentions the greenish eyes of the people of Ta-mo-si-t'ie-ti (a form not yet satisfactorily explained) and its capital Hun-t'o-to (= *Khandūd*) with its great Buddhist *vihāra*. In 747 *Wakhān* had become the theatre of the operations of the famous Chinese general Kao-sien-če against the Tibetans (cf. Chavannes, p. 152—153). Among Arab authors, *Iṣṭakhri* (< *Balkhī*) several times mentions *Wakhān* as a land of infidels, as the place from which musk comes and where the Oxus rises (cf. *Iṣṭakhri*, p. 279, 280, 296; Ibn Rusta, p. 91). Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, i. 213; *Tanbih*, p. 64, applies the term "Türk" to all the inhabitants of the upper Oxus: the *Awkhān* (اوخان, read: وخان).

Tubbat (Tibetans) and Ayghān (?). As to the Iranian *Wakhis* the term "Türk" can only refer to their dynasty (cf. Marquart, *Wehrōt und Arang* [still unpublished], p. 101—102). More detailed information is supplied by the Persian geographical work *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (372 = 982, ed. Barthold, 1930, fol. 25^b) which calls *Wakhān* the residence of the king and capital of the land (*shahr*) of *Sikāshim* (it ought probably to be emended to **Ishkashim*, the capital of *Wakhān*!). At *Kh-mdādh* (**Khundād*) are the temples (*but-khāna*) of the *Wakhis* and "to its left" was a fortress occupied by the Tibetans. Samarkandāḡ is regarded as the remotest frontier of the dependencies of Transoxiana; it had Hindu, Tibetan and *Wakhī* inhabitants (probably the Sarhadd of the present day).

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AL-WĀQĪ'A (A.), the name of Sūra lvi. The title "the befalling, suddenly happening" which is the subject of the first verse is generally taken to refer to the *ḳiyāma* (q. v. where the word is translated "the event") or *sa'a*, both periphrases for the Day of Judgment. The content of the Sūra is in keeping with this. Opinions differ as to the date of its origin. Nöldeke and Schwally put it in the first Meccan period but add that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī regards it as Medinese. That some verses are Medinese seems to be generally acknowledged in tradition while Nöldeke-Schwally think the Sūra was composed at one time. In contrast to the verses there quoted as traditional Medinese, the *Tafsīr al-Djālālain* for example allots verses 80 and 13 (equal 38 in Flügel's notation) to the Medina period, while the official Egyptian Qur'ān (cf. Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xx. 2 sqq.) allots verses 81 and 82 (Flügel 80 and 81) to Medina. The same Qur'ān describes the Sūra as revealed after Sūra xx. which according to Nöldeke and Schwally belongs to the second Meccan period.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-WĀQĪDĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'UMAR, an Arab historian born in 130 in Medina; according to *Aghānī*, vii. 189, his mother was a great-grand-daughter of Ṣā'ib who introduced music into Medina. Al-Wāqīdī was so called after his grandfather al-Wākid, al-Aslamī as a mawlā of 'Abd Allāh b. Buraida who belonged to the Medinese family of Aslam. On the occasion of Hārūn's pilgrimage in 170 (see Ṭabarī, iii. 605) he was recommended to him as the best authority on the holy places of his native town and acted as guide to the caliph and his vizier Yahyā when they visited the sacred places. He used the connections he had then formed with the court in 180 (see Ibn Sa'd, vii/ii. 77) when he met with financial difficulties and went to Baghdād and thence to Raḳḳa where Hārūn was then holding his court (see Ṭabarī, iii. 645). He was kindly received by Yahyā and presented to the caliph who recalled with pleasure his visit to Medina and gave him rich gifts. He himself left a full account of his journey to Hārūn's court and the reception he found there, which is given in Ibn Sa'd, v. 314 sqq. The older sources make no reference to his receiving from Hārūn the office of *ḳāḍī* of the eastern quarter of Baghdād; the story first appears in Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 56, without a source being given. On the other hand it is certain that Ma'mūn after entering Baghdād in the beginning of 204 (see Ṭabarī, iii. 1037) appointed him *ḳāḍī* of 'Askar al-Mahdī in Ruṣāfa (Ibn Khallikān, Cairo, i. 641, wrongly ascribes to Ibn Kūtaiba the statement that Wāqīdī was *ḳāḍī* of the western side of Baghdād; Ibn Kūtaiba only says in agreement with Ibn Sa'd that the *ḳāḍī* of the western side conducted Wāqīdī's funeral service). Wāqīdī was on intimate terms with al-Ma'mūn and appointed the caliph his executor, and al-Ma'mūn carried out the duties in person (see Ibn Sa'd, v. 321) when Wāqīdī died at the end of 207 (see Ibn Sa'd, v. 321, vii/ii. 77; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 258; Sam'ānī, fol. 577b; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 56). Wāqīdī made no secret of his gratitude to Yahyā even after the fall of the Barmecides; the vizier had several times relieved him of the financial difficulties in which Wāqīdī was constantly involving himself. Wāqīdī himself (Ibn Sa'd, v. 319 sqq.) gives an

example which has become celebrated of the vizier's generosity, which occurs again in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūjī* (Cairo), ii. 237 sqq.; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 57; Ibn Khallikān, i. 641 in a slightly different form. — A list of Wāqīdī's writings is given in the *Fihrist*, p. 98 sq. and Yāqūt has one that is almost exactly the same (*Udabā'*, vii. 58). The great majority of these works are of an historical nature, some relate to the Qur'ān, Fiqh and Ḥadīth. To the first group belong: 1. *al-Ta'rīkh wa'l-Maghāzī wa'l-Mab'āth*, 2. *Akhbār Makka*, 3. *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, 4. *Futūḥ al-Sha'm*, 5. *Futūḥ al-'Irāq*, 6. *al-Djamat*, 7. *Maḳṭal al-Ḥusain*, 8. *al-Sira*, 9. *Azwādī al-Nabī*, 10. *al-Ridda wa'l-Dār*, 11. *Ḥarb al-Aws wa'l-Khawrazmī*, 12. *Ṣifīn*, 13. *Wafāt al-Nabī*, 14. *Amr al-Habasha wa'l-Fil*, 15. *al-Sakīfa wa-Ba'at Abī Bakr*, 16. *Sirat Abī Bakr wa-Wafātuhu*, 17. *Marā'ī Kuraish wa'l-Anṣār fi'l-Katā'if wa-Waḳ'*, 18. *Umar al-Dawwān wa-Taṣrīf al-Ḳabā'il wa-Marātibihā wa-Anṣābihā*, 19. *Mawlid al-Ḥasan wa'l-Husain*, 20. *Ḍarb al-Danānīr wa'l-Darāhim*, 21. *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*.

Wāqīdī's historical interest covered the early history of Mecca and Medina as well as the Muslim period. Only the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* has survived as an independent work out of all his writings; the *Ṭabaḳāt*, which comes down to events of the year 186, is the foundation of the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Sa'd (q. v., v. 314, 17) who also made considerable use of the *Sira* (cf. also *Bibl. Arab. Hisp.*, ix. 231), *Mab'āth* and *Azwādī*; in all parts of his work that cover the same field, Wāqīdī is his main authority and also in the *Maghāzī*. Ṭabarī frequently quotes the *Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, which must have come down to the year 179 (see Ṭabarī, iii. 639) and Ibn Ḥubāish (d. 584) has preserved numerous fragments of the *Kitāb al-Ridda wa'l-Dār* [*al-Dār* (*Yawm al-Dār*) i. e. the assassination of 'Uthmān (see Caetani, *Annali*, ii., index, s. v. Waqidi; cf. also *Bibl. Arab. Hisp.*, ix. 237)]. The *Futūḥ al-Sha'm* and *al-'Irāq* are not preserved; the books which go under these names belong to a later date and have been credited to Wāqīdī. Wāqīdī prefixes a list of his most important authorities to his *Maghāzī*, a third of which was published by H. von Kremer (*History of Mohammad's Campaigns*, in *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta 1856) and of which Wellhausen has given a synopsis in German (*Mohammad in Medina*, Berlin 1882); the list is repeated in Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 1, 3-10 and iii/i. 1 (cf. also vii/ii. 77) and has been fully discussed by Sachau in *M. S. O. S. As.*, vii. 11 sqq., 21 sqq. The list consists entirely of the names of learned men, either born or settled in Medina, who had given information to Wāqīdī, and went back to authorities like al-Zuhri, 'Aṣim b. 'Umar, Yazid b. Rūmān etc. Many of the authorities quoted by Wāqīdī, like Abū Ma'shar, Ma'mar b. Rāshid, Mūsā b. 'Uḳba had themselves written books on the *Maghāzī*; on the other hand, Wāqīdī never mentions by name his most celebrated predecessor in the field of the biography of the Prophet, Muḥammad b. Ishāq. This is all the more remarkable as he not only (in Ṭabarī, iii. 2512) passes a very favourable verdict on him but undoubtedly made very great use of his book and obviously follows him in the arrangement of the material (see Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 11 sqq.; J. Horowitz, *De Waqidii libro*, p. 9 sqq.); he possibly wished to conceal his indebtedness by not mentioning the name of Ibn Ishāq. In the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*

Wāqīdī's strong interest in Ḥadīth and Fikḥ which is shown by his own writings on them finds expression in the fact that a very considerable portion of the new material contributed by him deals not with history proper but with theology and law. In Wāqīdī also the traditions either separately or digested into one record follow one another without being linked up just as in works on Ḥadīth, but quite contrary to the method of Ibn Ishāq who gives them greater cohesion by adding a connecting text. Wāqīdī's merit lies mainly in his transmission of a very large amount of material and in fixing its chronology. Muslim scholars also recognise him as an authority in the field of history (and also of Fikḥ, cf. Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ* vii. 55) while they reject him for Ḥadīth proper (see the verdicts in Ibn Ḥadjār, *Tahdhīb*, ix. 363 sqq.; Dhahabī, in Fischer, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 421 sqq.; J. Fück, *Muhammad Ibn Ishag*, p. 14). In the *Fihrist*, Wāqīdī is described as a *Shiʿī* of the moderate school (*kūna yataṣhayyau ḥasana 'l-madhhabī*) and it is added that he transmitted the statement that 'Alī was one of the miraculous signs of the Prophet, like the rod of Mūsā and the revival of the dead by 'Isā. When we are further told in the *Fihrist* that Wāqīdī also studied *taḳīya* (*yataṣamu 'l-taḳīya*) this is in keeping with his point of view in the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*; for there 'Alī's name is not mentioned in several accounts of events in which Ibn Ishāq expressly mentions his participation and Wāqīdī did not suppress traditions hostile to 'Alī (see J. Horowitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 43 sq.; do., in Ibn Saʿd ii/i., 127, 22; Nöldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lii. 31; W. Sarasin, *Das Bild Alis*, p. 21 sqq.). On the other hand, the very title of the monograph *Mawlid al-Ḥasan wa 'l-Ḥusain* (see above) reveals a *Shiʿī* attitude — a non-*Shiʿī* would hardly have dealt with this subject — and the zeal for 'Alī is also seen in the fact that Wāqīdī collects a great deal of evidence of Muḥammad's having died in 'Alī's bosom (see Ibn Saʿd, ii/ii. 50; cf. also p. 51, 21, 61, 19, 63, 22, 76, 19 sqq., 86, 18 sqq.). The story in the *Fihrist* seems however to be isolated and the *Shiʿī* *riḍjāl* books do not quote Wāqīdī. In view of his close connection with the 'Abbāsids, it is not surprising that he puts the part played by 'Abbās in the most favourable light possible. If he does not mention 'Abbās in the *Maghāzī* among the prisoners of Badr (see Horowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 44 sq.; Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 21 sqq.; Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 89, note, where however the fact is overlooked that, as Ṭabarī, p. 1341 shows, Ibn Ishāq records his capture), it is clear from Ibn Saʿd, iv/ji. 6, 18 sqq. that Wāqīdī admitted the fact of his capture but represented it as the act of an angel. In Ibn Saʿd, iv. 20, Wāqīdī is also given as authority for the statement that 'Abbās adopted Islām before the Hīdjra and on p. 21, 8 sqq., for the story that 'Umar entered his claims in the first place in his *Dirwān* (cf. also Caetani, *Annali*, under year 10, § 264, 266, 341).

Bibliography: given in the article; cf. also Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 135 sq. and Supplements; Fischer, in *Z. D. M. G.*, liv. 421, note 4.

(J. HOROVITZ)

WAKĪL (A.), mandatary, solicitor, agent, vicegerent, see WAKĀLA; also one of the names of Allāh, "the Guardian", see ALLĀH, ii.

WAKT. [See ZAMĀN.]

WĀḲWĀḲ or **WĀḲWĀḲ**, in Arabic orthography واقواق, واق واق or واقواق. The pagination which follows the names of Arab authors or titles of Oriental works refers, unless otherwise stated, to G. Ferrand's *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks* (cf. the *Bibliography*).

I. WĀḲWĀḲ OF THE SOUTH OR WĀḲWĀḲ OF AFRICA

The islands of Wāḳwāḳ are situated in the Lārwi sea which washes the western coast of India and the lands inhabited by the Zandj (Ya'kūbī, p. 49). The Wāḳwāḳ of the south is different from that of China (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 55). The lands of Sofāla and of Wāḳwāḳ are situated at the extremity of the sea of the Zandj (Mas'ūdī, p. 108). The land of Wāḳwāḳ is contiguous to that of Sofāla; there are two towns in it, Darū and Nabhana, miserable and sparsely populated (Idrisī, p. 183). The town of Daghdagha, inhabited by hideous and deformed negroes, is next to the land and island of Wāḳwāḳ (Idrisī, p. 184). Wāḳwāḳ is situated in the land of the Zandj (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425), to the east [= south] of Sofāla, on the same southern [= western] shore of the Indian ocean which extends without interruption to the end of the tenth section of the first clime, at the place where the Indian ocean flows out of the Surrounding Sea (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 460). The islands of Wāḳwāḳ are near the last of the islands of Dibaḍjāt al-Dum [= Laccadives and Maldives] (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 586).

The Wāḳwāḳ of the land of the Zandj is vast, fertile and prosperous (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425).

The gold of Wāḳwāḳ of the south is of inferior quality compared with that of the Wāḳwāḳ of China (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 55). There is much gold in the Wāḳwāḳ of the land of the Zandj (Mas'ūdī, p. 108; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425).

The natives of the Wāḳwāḳ of the land of the Zandj have no ships, but the merchants of 'Omān come to trade with them and get slaves in exchange for dates (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425; cf. also Idrisī, p. 183). They know neither cold nor rain (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425).

II. WĀḲWĀḲ OF THE EAST OR WĀḲWĀḲ OF CHINA

Wāḳwāḳ lies to the east of China (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 30), behind China (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 55), to the south of the 'Irāk (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 140). The Wāḳwāḳ of China differs from the Wāḳwāḳ of the south in the superior quality of its gold (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 55). Kankdiz is the remotest town in the east; it is situated at the extremity of China and of Wāḳwāḳ (*Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, p. 217). The island of Wāḳwāḳ is situated to the north-east of the Greater Sea (al-Birūnī, *Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, p. 598). The island of Wāḳwāḳ forms part of the group of islands of Khmer (al-Birūnī, p. 163). The islands of Wāḳwāḳ are situated in the southern part of the Sea of Darkness (Idrisī, p. 190); they adjoin the islands of Mūḍja and those of the Clouds and of places consisting of islets and inaccessible mountains (Idrisī, p. 192—193). It is a land situated above [i. e. south] of China (Yāqūt, p. 231—232). The islands of Wāḳwāḳ situated in the Chinese

Sea, are close to the islands of Zābag [= Sumatra] (Kāzwīnī, p. 300, 303, 311); they are situated in the extreme east (Ibn Saʿīd, p. 334); beyond the Uṣṭīkūn range, quite close to the coast; they are reached by the Chinese Sea (Dimashkī, p. 375), beyond the ocean of Darkness (*ibid.*, p. 391). They are the most famous islands of the China Sea and number over a hundred (*Nuṣṣat al-Kulūb*, transl. G. Le Strange, p. 222). The islands of Wāk-wāk are situated to the south of the island of Kōmr and to the west of the islands of Silā [= Corea] (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 461); in the China Sea and near the islands of Zābag, they are said to number 1,600 (Bākuwī, p. 463); to the south of the islands of Timor, Banda and the Moluccas (Sīdī ʿAlī, p. 513); opposite China, a year's journey from the east coast of Africa (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 588). Wāk-wāk is 4,500 parasangs from Suez (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 32).

The island of Nias on the west coast of Sumatra, which adjoins Zābag, forms part of the archipelago of Wāk-wāk (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 414—415). An island situated 50 *zām* [= 150 hours' sailing] from Sribuza [= Palembang, S. E. of Sumatra] on the way from Sribuza to China, and 15 *zām* [= 45 hours' sailing] from Campa [= modern Annam], forms part of Wāk-wāk (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 589).

The route to Wāk-wāk is from the Coromandel coast (Dimashkī, p. 391); one comes there by steering by the stars (Kāzwīnī, p. 300 and 311; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415; Bākuwī, p. 463).

It is a large island (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415). The islands of Wāk-wāk number 1,700 (Kāzwīnī, p. 300; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415); 1,600 (Kāzwīnī, p. 311; Bākuwī, p. 463). They are inhabited and cultivated (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 145); they contain large towns (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 387).

The ruler of the islands of Wāk-wāk is a woman. She sits nude on a throne, a crown of gold on her head, surrounded by four thousand young slaves also nude (Kāzwīnī, p. 300; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415). This queen is called Damhara, wears a robe woven of gold and shoes of gold (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415; cf. Idrīsī, p. 177).

Some inhabitants of Wāk-wāk are black (al-Bīrūnī, p. 164). They resemble the Turks; they are numerous, very industrious, active and intelligent, but treacherous, lying and cunning (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 587). They weave tunics with sleeves in a single piece; they build large ships and floating houses (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415).

In 334 (945) of our era, a fleet of 1,000 ships from Wāk-wāk came to plunder some islands of East Africa and certain towns of Sofāla of the Zandj. The Wāk-wāk used to come there to get the merchandise necessary for their country and China, like ivory, tortoise shell, panther-skins, amber and Zandj slaves. The voyage lasted a year (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 587—588). The men there are finer than the women (al-Bīrūnī, p. 164).

The Chinese sometimes land there (Idrīsī, p. 193); merchants go with them to look for gold (*ibid.*, p. 194). One cannot land there (Ibn Saʿīd, p. 335).

Gold is abundant (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31; Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 55; Idrīsī, p. 194; Kāzwīnī, p. 300; Ibn Saʿīd, p. 334; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415; Bākuwī, p. 463). The chains and collars of dogs, monkeys and other tame animals are of gold (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31; Kāzwīnī, p. 300; Dimashkī, p. 391; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 414; Bākuwī, p. 463). The chiefs have bricks made of gold with which they

build fortresses and houses (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 414; cf. Abū Zaid Ḥasan, p. 84). Tunics woven in gold are sold there (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31 and 674; Kāzwīnī, p. 300—301). The gold is exported in ingots and as dust (Idrīsī, p. 194). The gold mines of the islands of Wāk-wāk is of such productivity that official ordinances are engraved on plates of gold (*Nuṣṣat al-Kulūb*, transl. G. Le Strange, p. 192).

There is no iron so that it is valued as gold is in other countries (Dimashkī, p. 391).

Flora: ebony of excellent quality (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31; Idrīsī, p. 194); ebony (al-Bīrūnī, p. 164; Kāzwīnī, p. 301).

Fauna: elephants, many birds (Idrīsī, p. 193); elephants of great size (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 416); many monkeys which are trained to sweep the houses, and to look for wood in the forests and to do other work (*Burhān ḥaṭṭī*, p. 563).

Fabulous Fauna: fish 200 cubits long, tortoises 20 cubits round (Kāzwīnī, p. 303); flying scorpions (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 580); the *samandal* bird which enters fire without injury; a kind of hare which changes its sex (*ibid.*, p. 587).

III. WAK OR WAK

In Arabic orthography الواق, الوف.

The island of Wāk lies to the south of the ʿIrāk (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 140), in the neighbourhood of the island of Kōmr, behind the mountain of Uṣṭīkūn, in the centre of the Southern Sea (Abshīhī, p. 470). One goes from the sea of Čampa to the land of Wāk (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 144). The sea of Čampa, which comes before the China Sea, adjoins Wāk (*ibid.*, p. 145). The land of Wāk with its islands lies to the east of China (*ibid.*, p. 153). The land of Wāk lies south of the equator between China and Sofāla of the Zandj, on the south coast of the Indian Sea (Nuwairī, p. 394).

Wāk is 4,500 parasangs from Suez (*Mille et une nuits*, p. 506).

The mahārājā, king of the islands, lives in the land of Wāk (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 153; Abshīhī, p. 144). Marvellous statues are made there (*ibid.*, p. 153).

Much gold is found there (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 153; Abshīhī, p. 471). The bits for horses, chains and collars of dogs are of gold (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 153; Abshīhī, p. 471). The people make shirts woven of gold (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 153 and 678).

The queen sits on a throne with a crown of gold on her head, surrounded by 400 young virgins (Abshīhī, p. 470).

The exports are aloes, musk, ebony, cinnamon and all kinds of merchandise (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 153).

IV. THE WONDERFUL TREE OF WAKWAK AND OF WAK

The earliest mention of the story of the fruits in the shape of human beings is given us by a Chinese text: the 通典 *T'ong Tien* of Tou Yeou, a book which was written between 766 and 801 of our era. Tou Yeou frequently quotes his relative Tou Houan, who in all probability was taken prisoner at the battle of Talas in 751, was in Arab lands from 751 to 762 and put what he

had learned in foreign lands into a book, the
經行紀 *King hing ki*, which is now lost.

It was therefore apparently Tou Houan, who, during his forced sojourn among the Arabs, picked up the legend which Tou Yeou relates as follows (*T'oung Tien*, ch. CXIII, p. 23a):

"The king of the *Ta-she* (Arabs) had despatched men who boarded a ship, taking with them clothes and food and went to sea. They sailed for eight years without coming to the far shore of the Ocean. In the middle of the sea, they saw a square rock; on this rock was a tree with red branches and green leaves. On the tree had grown a large number of little children; they were six or seven thumbs' length. When they saw the men, they did not speak, but they could all laugh and move. Their hands, feet and heads were fixed to the branches of the trees. When the men detached them and held them, as soon as they were in their hands, they dried up and became black. The messengers returned with a branch of this tree which is still in the palace of the king of the *Ta-she* (Arabs)" (*T'oung-Pao*, Oct. 1904, transl. by E. Chavannes, p. 484—487).

This text was reproduced in the encyclopædia of Ma Twan-lin (Ch. cccxxxix) who wrote in 1319. Schlegel, who translated it for de Goeje and did not trouble to find out whence Ma Twan-lin had taken it, inserts before the penultimate phrase the words: "The name of this tree was *ie-mie*". "I do not know, says Chavannes, where he got this note which is not in the text of Tou Yeou nor in that of Ma Touan-lin". On Tou Yeou cf. also Paul Pelliot, *Des artisans chinois à la capitale abbasside en 751-762* in *T'oung-Pao*, 1928 (xxvi), p. 110—112.

Trees called *wāk-wāk* are also found in India, the fruit of which looks like human beings (Mutaḥhar, p. 117) or like women (Ibn Ṭufail, p. 200).

This island of *Wāk-wāk* is not so called after a tree the fruit of which is said to be in the shape of human heads crying: *wāk, wāk* (al-Bīrūnī, p. 163). The island or land of *Wāk-wāk* is on the contrary called after this wonderful tree (Kazwīnī, p. 300; Ibn Sa'īd, p. 334; Dimashki, p. 375; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 416; Bākuwī, p. 463; Ibn Iyās, p. 483; Sidi 'Alī, p. 513; *Burhān kāfī*, p. 563; *Mille et une nuits*, p. 568—569; *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 580; *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, transl. G. Le Strange, p. 222).

There is in *Wāk* a tree like the nut-tree and cassia tree the fruit of which looks like a man. When the fruit is ripe, it utters distinctly the words: *wāk wāk*, then falls (Dimashki, p. 375; Abshihī, p. 470—471).

The *Kitāb al-Diḡhrafīya* of the anonymous geographer of Almeria (xiith cent. A. D.) contains the following interesting description: "In the part of the land of China which is in the sea, there are many islands; among them, those which are famous and well known number eight. The largest and most important is the island of *Wāk-wāk*. It is so called because there are great, tall trees there, the numerous leaves of which are like those of the fig-tree, except that they are larger than the leaves of the fig-tree. This tree bears fruit in the month of *Adūr*, i.e. the month of March, and they are fruits like the fruits of the palm-tree. These fruits end in the feet of young girls which project from them; on the second

day of the month the two legs protrude, and on the third day the two legs and thighs. This continues so that a little more protrudes each day until they have completely emerged on the last day of the month of *Nisān*, i.e. April. In the month of May their head comes out and the whole figure is complete. They are suspended by their hair. Their form and stature are most beautiful and admirable. At the beginning of the month of June, they begin to fall from these trees and by the middle of the month there is not one left on the trees. At the moment of falling to the ground, they utter two cries: *wāk, wāk*. It is also said that they utter three cries. When they have fallen to the ground, flesh without bones is found. They are more beautiful than words can describe but are without life or soul. They are buried in the earth. If they were not buried but left lying no one would be able to approach them on account of the stench. This is a wonder of the land of China. The island is at the end of the inhabited world in this sea. It is in the east of the section of the coast where it touches the Greater Sea" (MS. 770 of the Bibliothèque du Protectorat Français au Maroc, in Rabat, fol. 5^b, supplemented by a manuscript of the same work in the René Basset library).

V. THE ANIMAL-VEGETABLE WĀKWĀK

The *Wāk-wāk* are according to the *Kitāb al-Haiyawān* of al-Djāhīz (d. in 255 = 869) the product of plants and animals (in *Hayāt al-Haiyawān al-kubrā* of al-Damiri, Cairo 1330, ii. 177 and 38). The *Wāk-wāk* are beings closely resembling the human species. They are the fruit of great trees from which they hang by the hair. They have breasts and sexual organs like those of women. They are coloured and never cease crying *wāk, wāk*. When one of these creatures is captured, it becomes silent and falls dead (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 138 and 677—678). The *Wāk-wāk* are like palm and cocoanut trees, intermediate between the animal and vegetable kingdoms (Dimashki, p. 367).

VI. THE KING OF THE ISLANDS OF WĀKWĀK

The king of the islands of *Wāk-wāk* is known as *Kashmīr* (var. *Qashmīr*, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, Pers. text, p. 239; Engl. transl. by G. Le Strange, p. 222). Mr. Jadunath Sarkar has kindly examined the MSS. of the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, accessible to him. In that of the Oriental Public Library (Khuda Bakhsh Library) of Patna, the name of the king is blank. The Imperial Library of Calcutta (Bohar Collection) has two MSS. of the text: N^o. 99 has كشمير and N^o. 98 كشمر. These readings unfortunately do not recall any possible known name.

VII. PROPOSED IDENTIFICATIONS

In an appendix to the *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde* (p. 295—307) de Goeje published a French translation, reviewed and corrected, of his *Arabische berichten over Japan* under the title *Le Japon connu des Arabes*. He naturally knew and quoted most of the Arabic texts above mentioned. In the course of his researches, he found that the Chinese name for Japan in the Canton dialect is *Wo-kuok*, of which *Wāk-wāk* is a perfect Arabic transcription and the identification of *Wāk-wāk* therefore seemed certain to him.

The old Chinese name for Japan is 倭國 *Wa-kwo*, once pronounced **Wa-kwak*, "land or kingdom of Wa", in Japanese *Wa-koku*, with a barely perceptible final *u*. *Wa-kwak* would be rendered in Arabic by *واقواق* or *واقواق* which corresponds exactly to the forms given by the Arab and Persian geographers. This reasoning is then by no means worthless but it does not supply decisive proof. It remains to be seen if other evidence can be found to support this agreement.

De Goeje's thesis calls for several observations. In the first place, according to certain geographers, there are two Wāḳwāḳ: Wāḳwāḳ of China and Wāḳwāḳ of the south. Ibn al-Fāḳih expressly says so (cf. above, i.). Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī, Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Wardī locate the African Wāḳwāḳ beside Sofāla of the Zandj on the east coast of Africa; Ya'qūbī in the Lārwi sea, west of India. Now according to certain modern works of Africanists like G. MacTheal and R. N. Hall, *wakwak* is a name given to the Bushmen by the Bantus of the country, who regard them as a kind of baboon. This explains the statements made by Mas'ūdī and the Arab geographers who follow him.

On the other hand, Wāḳwāḳ is represented in Malgasy by *wakwāk* + vowel which corresponds phonetically to an old **wakwak* and means "the people, the subjects, a nation, tribe or clan as a whole". Madagascar might therefore be the island Wāḳwāḳ of Ya'qūbī. This identification is made certain by the following fact: in the great African island a *pandanus* called *wakwā* grows in great profusion; its fruit is a voluminous syncarp. It is known to the French as *vaquois*. Its shape and characteristics might well have given rise to the story of trees producing human beings (cf. above, iv.). Madagascar thus corresponds as exactly as possible with the description of Wāḳwāḳ of the south. The *o'shar* of which the *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde* speaks cannot in any case take the place of this wonderful tree, as de Goeje thought.

The other information supplied by the Oriental geographers is as a rule of little use on account of its fantastic nature or its inaccuracy. One note in the *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Hind* may be mentioned: a famous sailor of the lands of gold, Ibn Lāḳīs, reports that in 334 (945) the Wāḳwāḳ came with 1,000 ships to the east coast of Africa to procure merchandise and Zandj slaves. The voyage lasted a year. De Goeje, who identifies these Wāḳwāḳ with the Japanese, acknowledges that the history of Japan makes no mention of this remarkable fact and concludes that it must have been a private enterprise of Japanese merchants and daimyos. E. Chavannes says that such an expedition could not have taken place (*T'oung-Pao*, Oct. 1904, p. 485). M. Maurice Courant, whom I have consulted, is also of this opinion and Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the eminent master of Japanese studies, has written to me to the same effect. It was impossible for the Japanese of the tenth century to undertake an expedition by sea to the islands and coast of East Africa. The Wāḳwāḳ of China or eastern Wāḳwāḳ are therefore not the Japanese.

The Arabic and Persian documents which seemed to de Goeje decisive in favour of his thesis, are far from being as conclusive as the illustrious Leyden orientalist believed. Indeed some are definitely against the Japanese theory of Wāḳwāḳ,

which is really untenable. The existence of two Wāḳwāḳ is indisputable. The identification of Wāḳwāḳ of the south with Madagascar and East Africa south of Sofāla is equally certain. It only remains to locate Wāḳwāḳ of China. The most valuable hint for its identification is the statement that the Mahārādja, king of the islands, lives in it. Now we know from other sources that this is the title of the ruler of Zābag, i.e. Sumatra, the land of gold. The Sumatrans were acquainted with the islands and coasts of the western Indian ocean. They peopled Madagascar at an early period and Malgasy is a descendant of a Malay dialect. Idrīsī gives valuable information on this point: "The people of Ḳomr (= Madagascar) and the merchants of the land of the Mahārādja (= Sumatra) visit them (the natives of the west coast of Africa) and are well received and trade with them" (MS. 2221 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 37^a, l. 7-8). A few pages earlier he says: "The people of the islands of Zābag come to the land of the Zandj (here: Madagascar) in large and small ships and they export merchandise from it *since they understand one another's language*" (*ibid.*, fol. 29^a, l. 15).

The name of the port of Baros on the west coast of Sumatra, the *Bālūs* of the Arab geographers, the *P'o-lou-she* of the Chinese, is mentioned for the first time by Ptolemy ("Βαπούσαι: πέγνρε, the five Baros islands, inhabited, it is said, by the anthropophagi", in L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée*, vii. 1-4, p. 59); then, by the *Leang Shu* or *History of the Leang* (502-556) in the form *P'o-lu* and at the end of the viith century by Yi-Tsing who has *P'o-lou-che*. The Arabs call it sometimes Bālūs and sometimes Fanṣūr < Malay Panṣur. One or other form is found in the oldest texts and recurs in the later ones. It is the famous port of Pakpakland or land of the Pakpak from which used to come the most esteemed camphor.

The tribal name *Pakpak* goes into Arabic as *Fakfak*, which is phonetically so close to Wāḳwāḳ, that one need not hesitate to identify the two. In Sumatra, as in Madagascar, the *pandanus* flourishes in a wild state and its Batak name *bakkuwaḥ* = Malgasy *wakwa*. There are remarkable agreements in the tribal names and in the flora of the two islands: in Sumatra a Batak tribe called *Pakpak* > Arabic form *Fakfak* and the *pandanus*: *bakkuwaḥ*, in Madagascar the *Wakwāk* < older **Wakwak* and the *pandanus*: *wakwā*. It is an historical fact that the Sumatrans only have on several occasions come into the western Indian ocean. The Japanese theory of Wāḳwāḳ is therefore to be abandoned.

This article is only a synopsis of a memoir now being printed, which will appear in the *Journal Asiatique* under the title: *Le Wāḳwāḳ est-il le Japon?* In the limited space available here, the main arguments in favour of this new identification have been given.

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dasī, middle of the tenth century; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, 966; Ibrāhīm b. Wāṣif-Shāh, ca. 1000; *Kitāb Maḳāṭib al-ʿUlūm*, end of the tenth century; Birūnī, 973—1048: *Chronologie des peuples anciens*, 1000; *Histoire de l'Inde*, ca. 1030; *Kānūn al-Maṣʿūdī*, 1030; Idrīsī, 1154; Ibn Ṭufail, d. in 1185; Yāqūt, 1179—1229; Ḳazwīnī, 1203—1283; Ibn Saʿīd, 1208 or 1214—1274 or 1286; Shīrāzī, d. in 1311; Dimashḳī, ca. 1325; Nuwairī, d. in 1332; Abu 'l-Fidā', 1273—1331; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *The geographical part of the Nuzhat al-qulūb composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340)*, Persian text, London 1915; English transl., London 1919, by Guy Le Strange; Ibn al-Wardī, ca. 1340; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ca. 1355; Ibn Ḳhalḍūn, ca. 1375; Bākuwī, beginning of the xvth century; Maḳrīzī, 1365—1442; Abshīhī, 1388—1446; Ibn Iyās, 1516; the Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī, 1516; the Persian dictionary *Burhān ḳāṭī*; *Mille et une nuits, Livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, etc.); do., *Madagascar et les îles Uâq-Uâq*, in *J.A.*, 1904, p. 489—509; do., *Les îles Rāmny, Lāmery, Wāḳwāḳ, Komor des géographes arabes et Madagascar*, in *J.A.*, 1907, p. 450—506; M. T. de Goeje, *Le Japon connu des Arabes*, excursus F. in the *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, 1883—1886, p. 295—307. (GABRIEL FERRAND)

WALĪ (A.) 1. From the Arabic root *wala*, to be near, and *waliya*, to govern, to rule, to protect someone. In ordinary use this word means protector, benefactor, companion, friend and is applied also to near relatives, especially in Turkish [cf. the art. 'AṢABAN WILĀYA].

When used in a religious connection walī corresponds very much to our title "saint"; but the idea behind it has given rise to a regular theory and in practice has attained sufficient importance for it to be necessary to explain the use of the term. In the Ḳurʾān this theory does not yet exist; the term *walī* is found there with several meanings: that of near relative, whose murder demands vengeance (xvii. 59), that of friend of God (x. 63) or ally of God; it is also applied to God himself: ii. 258: "God is the friend of those who believe": The same title was given to the Prophet and it is one of the names of God in the Muslim rosary.

2. According to Djurdjāni, *Taʿrīfāt*, the term walī is equivalent to that of 'arif bi'llāh "he who possesses mystic knowledge", "he who knows God". The Muslim saint who is important enough to merit this title is believed to possess several privileges. Not only is he delivered from the 'yoke of the passions' as Ḥudjwīrī says, not only has he influence with God, he can 'bind and loosen' but he also has the gift of miracles (*karāmāt*): he is a miracle-worker. He can transform himself, transport himself to a distance, speak diverse tongues, revive the dead; he can produce various phenomena, often mentioned to-day in psychic studies: thought-reading, telepathy, prophecy; he can raise himself from the ground (levitation) or summon objects from a distance. He can make a dry stick put forth leaves, check a flood, control rains and springs etc. Ḥudjwīrī goes even farther and attributes to the saints 'the government of the universe'. It is by their blessing, he says (their *baraka*) that the rain falls and by their purity that plants come up again in the spring. Their spiritual influence makes battles won.

This conception resembles that of Indian poems telling of the great ascetics of Brahmanism who by power of penance succeeded in gaining complete power over nature; but in Islām, this power is rather the result of a gift from God than the result of the personal merit or ascetic practices of the saints. Popular belief has however not extended the power of the saints in this way: it has rather inclined to specialise it, each of them having in the eyes of the multitude the power of performing a special miracle, like curing a particular disease, bringing success in a particular kind of business, guiding travellers, discovering secrets etc. These miracles of saints (*karāmāt*) are distinguished from the miracles of the prophet, which are called *muʿdjiẓāt* and are besides few in number, and the theologians discuss in an interesting fashion their evidential value. It is not absolute, whereas the miracles of the prophet count as proofs of religion. — The Muʿtazilīs denied that there were men like this having special gifts; they reject the privileges and miracles of the saints and teach that every faithful Muslim who obeys God is a 'friend of God, walī'.

3. The saints have been classed in a hierarchy according to a system which is found in much the same form in different authors. There are always saints on the earth; but their sanctity is not always apparent; they are not all not always visible. It is sufficient that their hierarchy goes on and that they are replaced on their death so that their number is always complete. 4,000 live hidden in the world and are themselves unconscious of their state. Others know one another and act together. These are in ascending order of merit: the *akhīyār* to the number of 300; the *abdāl*, 40; the *abrār*, 7; the *awṭād*, 4; the *nuḳabāʾ*, 3 and the Pole who is unique, *ḳuṭb* or *ghawṭh*. A number of mystics have actually been given the title of Pole. Djunaīd for example was the Pole of his time; Ibn Masrūk was one of the 'pillars' (*awṭād*). Every night the *awṭād* traverse the universe in thought and inform the Pole of any defects in order that he may remedy them.

Another variant of this theory is given by Doughty from Algeria. The hierarchy consists of 7 degrees. In the lowest there are the *nuḳabāʾ* to the number of 300, each of whom is at the head of a group of saints without special titles. Next come the *nuḳabāʾ*; then the *abdāl*, from 40 to 70 in number; the *khīyār*, the chosen, 7, who continually move about and spread the Muslim faith in the world; the *awṭād*, pillars, 4, living at the four cardinal points of the compass with reference to Mecca; the *ḳuṭb*, the Pole, the greatest saint of his time, and quite at the top the *ghawṭh*, here distinct from the Pole, capable of taking upon his shoulders a portion of the sins of the believers.

D'Ohsson gives the following theory for Turkey; here also there are 7 degrees. There are always 356 saints living on the earth. The first is the *ghawṭh aʿzam* or 'great refuge'; the second, his vizier, the Pole, *ḳuṭb*. Then come the 4 *awṭād*, the pillars. The rest are known by their numbers: *uṭler*, the 3; *yediler*, the 7; *kirkler*, the 40 and *uṭyediler*, the 300.

These seven classes correspond to the 7 degrees of beatitude in Paradise. The saints of the first three classes are present invisibly in Mecca at the hours of prayer. When the *ghawṭh* dies, the *ḳuṭb* replaces him and there is a moving up all through

the series, the purest soul of each class rising to the next degree.

This classification of the walīs was made according to *Hudjwiri* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī, who lived shortly before him (vth = xth century). This individual, also called Muḥammad Ḥakīm, wrote a work entitled *Khātma al-Wilāya*, the "seal of sanctity", and founded a sect called the Ḥakīmī. One of his disciples, Abū Bakr Warraq, was surnamed the "instructor of the saints", *mu'addib al-awliyā'*.

Some difficulty may be found in reconciling this system with the pure spirit of orthodox Islām; it was admitted by the theologians only with the express reservation that however great the saints, the walīs, may be, they are always inferior in rank to Muḥammad and the prophets.

4. The worship of saints is not Qur'anic. Without being expressly prohibited by the Qur'ān it is sufficiently contrary to its spirit, Muḥammad having forbidden the worship of standing stones, tombs and every kind of superstition. But Islām had to yield on this point to the pressure of popular sentiment, which by its traditions, its tendency to the marvellous and other psychological factors, is strongly inclined to this way of expressing its religious feelings. Numerous saints, differing in different areas, are held in honour in Muslim lands, Sunni and Shī'ī. These saints are of different origins. Some are great mystics, often founders of orders or of religious brotherhoods; others are ancestors or chiefs of tribes, princes and founders of dynasties. Some are of humbler origin, *illuminati*, half-deranged persons, *madjdhub*, whose peculiar or incoherent utterances are often regarded as inspired, or even the simple-minded, *bahūl*. Other saints are transformations or survivals of ancient cults, heroes of old days, gods of woods and springs; we find such among the Beduins. As in the Roman Catholic worship, saints are patrons of towns, villages, trades and corporations.

In the Turkey of the sultāns, each province had its saint. The most venerated were: *Shaiḫ* 'Ubaid Allāh in Samarqand; Mawlānā Djāmī, the great poet, in Bukhārā; Khōdja Aḥmad Yesewi in Turkestan; Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the famous author of the *Methnewi* and founder of the Mawlawī order (dancing dervishes) in Konya; *Shaiḫ* Ṣadr al-Dīn Kōnawī in the same town; Pīr Nakshabandī, founder of an order, in Kaṣr 'Arifan in Persia, also venerated in Egypt and Turkey; *Shaiḫ* Aḥmad Rifā'ī, founder of the order of "howling" dervishes, in Asia Minor; Aḳ Shams al-Dīn, Aḳ Biyik Dede, *Shaiḫ* Abū 'l-Wafā', Saiyid Aḥmad Bukhārī, Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh, founder of the Bektāshīs, Ḥādjdjī Bairām Walī in Aḳ Serāi in Anatolia.

Baghdād has been called the "city of saints" on account of the great number of saints who have lived in the town or whose tombs are there. The most famous is Sidi 'Abd al-Qādir Djlānī, whose prestige is very great throughout the whole Muslim world. Djunaid is also an illustrious saint of Baghdād, as is Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī who has a magnificent mausoleum in the centre of the town. Near Damascus is the tomb of Ibn 'Arabī, the famous mystic and prolific writer, who is honoured in Syria and elsewhere. The greatest saint of Constantinople and its patron is Abū Aiyūb al-Anṣārī, the standard-bearer of the Prophet, who fell as a "martyr" (*shahid*) at the fort of the Golden Horn and was buried on the spot where the famous

mosque that bears his name stands. A son-in-law of Bāyazīd I, Emīr Sultān, was regarded as a saint. Several Ottoman sultāns are also venerated but the title of wali has actually only been given to Bāyazīd II, on account of his piety. Other princes of the Imperial house have been regarded as saints and miracles attributed to them. Among the Arabs the only caliph who is reputed a saint — excepting of course the first four who occupy a special position — is the Umayyad 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, a very pious ruler.

In Egypt the most popular saints are Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and *Shaiḫ* Aḥmad al-Badawī whose tombs are at Tanṭā. To these we may add Sidi Shādhilī who died at Ḥumaithira in the mountains of Upper Egypt; his tomb is much visited. The festival of Saiyid Masrūḳ al-Aḥmadī in Cairo is the cause of one of the most picturesque processions. A very popular saint in Egypt is Sitt Nafisa.

In Arabia various individuals are honoured in the holy cities and their tombs visited, in addition to the usual rites of the pilgrimage. At Medīna in the cemetery of Baḳī' are the tombs of several imāms, that of the caliph 'Uthmān and that of the amir Ḥamza, uncle of the Prophet. The "tomb of Eve" recently destroyed by the Wahhābīs, as well as many others, was a few minutes from Djidda and much visited. The tomb had the peculiarity of being in several parts: the head, the navel and the feet were separated by a short distance from each other. In Mecca, in the cemetery of al-Mu'allā, the pilgrims used to visit the tombs of Āmina and Khadīdja, the mother and wife of the Prophet.

In North Africa the worship of saints and marabouts is highly developed. The road to Tripoli along the sea and the vicinity of the town are fringed with numerous tombs of marabouts, elegant in style, shaded by palm-trees, decorated with gaily coloured cloths and ex-votos placed there by the devout. In the desert at Djerbūb is the tomb of *Shaiḫ* Sanūsī, founder of a well known order.

The patron saint of Tunis is Sidi Makhlās and its other saints are Sidi Ben 'Arūs, Sidi Ben Qāsim, Sidi Bū Sa'īd. The Tunisians hold in reverence the caves to which these pious men retired. This region includes the sacred city of Qairawān which has many tombs and the famous mosque of Sidi 'Oḳba and that called "of the Barber" in which the barber of the Prophet is said to be buried. — In Algeria in the first rank we have Sidi Abū Madyān, a great miracle-worker whose mausoleum near Tlemcen is still much visited. No less important is Sidi 'Abd al-Qādir Djlānī, the saint of Baghdād to whom are dedicated a vast number of mosques, chapels, and cemeteries in Algeria. Over 200 *kubba*'s are dedicated to him in the province of Oran alone. Next come Sidi Ben Mashīsh, successor to Sidi Abū Madyān of the tribe of the Beni 'Arūs, assassinated in 625 A.H. whose tomb is in the Djebel 'Alem near Tetwān; Mawlāy al-'Arbī al-Darkāwī of Fās, a modern saint who died not long after 1822, and was buried in his *sāwiya* near Fās; *Shaiḫ* Tiḡānī, founder of the order, died in 1230 (1815) and also buried in his *sāwiya* near Fās. In Morocco the principal patron saints are Mawlāy Idrīs, the founder of the dynasty, venerated at Volubilis, and the sharīfs of Wezzān, even during their lifetime,

on account of the blessing they bring (their *barakāt*) which is much esteemed by the people; even their women are believed to possess this virtue. Several women in Morocco like Lalla Marnia, and Umm 'Abd Allāh have been given, like Sitt Nafisa, the title of saint (*waliya*). Marrākush has seven patron saints called "the 7 men", *ṣaḇ'at al-riḍjāl*; among them are Sidi bel 'Abbās and Sidi Slimān al-Djāzūlī, author of a wide-spread book on prayers. In Tangiers there is Sidi Bū al-Rakya, a miracle-worker of the xviiith century whose festival (*mousssem*) is celebrated on the seventh day of the Prophet's *mawlid*; at Meknes, Muḥammad b. 'Isā, founder of the 'Isāwa. In this town a strange story is recorded of a living saint who kept standing leaning against a wall; pious people had, a pent-house built above him, then a *ḥubba* without disturbing him. — In Timbuktu Sidi Yahyā, a miracle-worker of the xvth century, and Sidi Ben Sāssī are held in honour.

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Western works: M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1788, i. 306 sqq.; Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*; Trumelet, *Les Saints de l'Islam*, Paris 1881; L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1884; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle 1888, ii. 275—378; Bargès, *Vie du célèbre Marabout Cidi Abou-Médien*, Paris 1884; Doutté, *L'Islam Algérien en l'an 1900*, Algiers 1900; do., *Les Marabouts*, Paris 1900; Asin Palacios, *El Místico Murciano Abenarabi*, ii., Madrid 1926; P. Ricard, *Le Maroc*, in the collection of the *Guides bleus*, Paris 1930; and various books by travellers.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

AL-WALĪD B. 'ABD AL-MALIK, Umayyad Caliph (88—98=705—715). On the death of his father, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (Oct. 705), al-Walid, his successor, was over 30. A prince of only average culture, he brought to the throne an aristocratic outlook and a display of religious fervour unknown among his predecessors. In the history of the Umayyads he ranks as the great builder of the dynasty. One of his first cares was to give his capital Damascus a magnificent mosque. Walid cast his eyes on the basilica of St. John the Baptist, once a temple of Jupiter Damascenus. Of this edifice, tradition says that it was divided in two between its old owners and the Muslims after the Arab conquest. Against this we have the explicit testimony of the pilgrim Arculf who visited Damascus in the reign of Mu'awiya I. He says "*in honorem sancti Johannis baptistae grandis fundata ecclesia est. Quaedam etiam Saracenorum ecclesia incredulorum et ipsa in eadem civitate, quam ipsi frequentant, fabricata est*". If this may be believed, then under Mu'awiya, the Arabs in

Damascus were content with a single mosque, a modest (*quaedam*) erection built for them and not obtained at the expense of the basilica which was still in Christian ownership in the time of the Sufyānid caliphs. The upholders of the Muslim tradition say that Arculf made a mistake. He did not notice that mosque and church formed a single building.

The caliphs Mu'awiya and 'Abd al-Malik had vainly negotiated with the Christians for the cession of the whole basilica. The autocratic Walid decided to confiscate it without any more ado. He did not take down the building; he only abolished the eastern apse; he built the *Kubbat al-Nasr*, the "Dome of the Eagle", above the transept and to the north of the mosque pavement the "Minaret of the Fiancée"; the two other minarets were built upon older towers. Walid's activity was fully displayed in remodelling the interior of the basilica in which he gave rein to all his taste for magnificence and to the suggestions of Syrian decorators. He mobilised a regular army of marble workers. The capitals were covered with gold and the walls with mosaics. An inscription "in letters of gold on a ground of lapis-lazuli" (Mas'ūdi) bore the name of Walid with the date (Nov. 706) marking the beginning of the work, a year after the accession of the Caliph. Along with this great undertaking, Walid directed the building of the great mosques of Medina and Mecca, which he also entrusted to Christian architects.

The arabicisation of the administration is another striking feature of his reign. The great government offices were taken from the Christians, the control of the finances from a Damascus family, the descendants of Ibn Sarḡjūn. Finally we may mention the progress of foreign conquests. By a process of expansion which was almost automatic, the Arab empire in this reign attained its greatest extent from Transoxania to Spain, where the Arabs now succeeded in gaining a footing. Walid was a continually fortunate sovereign. Everything succeeded with him, even his autocratic manner, which found expression in a diminution in the tolerance shown to the *dhimmīs*. In Syria he enjoyed undisputed popularity. People admired his great buildings, his charitable undertakings and public works and the great conquests of his reign. In keeping with the will of 'Abd al-Malik, his brother Sulaimān was to succeed him. Walid was thinking of substituting his son 'Abd al-'Aziz in his place when death overtook him at Dair Murrān, near Damascus on Feb. 23, 715 at the age of about 45.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1177—1269; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (ed. de Goeje), p. 123—126; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj* (ed. de Paris), v. 360—395; *Itinera hierosolymitana* (ed. Geyer), p. 276; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 157—166; Lammens, *Un gouverneur omayyade d'Égypte*. Qorra ibn Sarīk d'après les papyrus arabes (in *B. I. E.*, 5th series, vol. ii.), p. 99—115; the remainder of the bibliography printed or in MS. is given in Lammens, *Le calife Walid et le prétendu partage de la mosquée des Omayyade à Damas* (in *B. I. F. A. O.*, xxvi.), p. 21—48. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-WALĪD B. AL-MUGHĪRA B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'OMAR B. MAḤZŪM, an opponent of Muḥammad. Little is known of his life but it is certain that he was one of the most powerful men in Mecca and one of the most ardent opponents of

he Prophet. As head of the numerous and prominent family of the Makhzūm he naturally represented the aristocratic interests in the city of Muḥammad's birth and that he was himself very prosperous is evident from the fact that, according to traditionists, he owned a garden in Ṭā'if which he planted for pleasure only and never pulled the fruit in it (Sprenger, I, 359). According to the commentators, there are references to him in several passages in the Kur'ān, e.g. Sūra vi. 10; xliii. 30; lxxiv. 11 sqq.; lxxx. 1 sqq., although his name is never expressly mentioned. One cannot of course place implicit confidence on such statements, which are sometimes based on later deductions. Muslim historians frequently mention al-Walid among those Kuraish who vigorously persecuted Muḥammad and endeavoured to silence him. Thus he is said to have been a member of a deputation which went to Abū Ṭālib [q. v.] and protested to him but without success at the Prophet's conduct. It is also related that Muḥammad's enemies had on one occasion, on the approach of the pilgrimage discussed the best means to set strange visitors against Muḥammad and proposed in turn the epithets *kāhin* 'sooth-sayer', *maḍjūn* 'possessed' and *shā'ir* 'poet' but al-Walid rejected them all until those present finally agreed to his proposal to call Muḥammad a *sāhir* 'magician', who would separate a man from his father, brother, wife and whole family, and to warn the pilgrims seriously against the alleged magician. When 'Othmān b. Ma'zūn, a relative of al-Walid, who had adopted Islām and taken part in the emigration to Abyssinia, but was still under al-Walid's protection, wished to break off this relationship, the latter endeavoured to dissuade him, but in vain. After al-Walid had therefore released himself from all obligations to his relative 'Othmān was severely wounded in a squabble, whereupon al-Walid again offered him his protection but 'Othmān rejected this kindly meant offer. Al-Walid died in Mecca in the year 1 and three of his seven sons adopted Islām. In keeping with his aristocratic descent and social position, his actions were frequently characterised by a certain magnanimity and dignity, and Sprenger (ii. 111) describes him as follows, probably with justice: "He was one of the earliest and most decided enemies of Islām, but at the same time chivalrous and not without culture. He therefore laid more emphasis on dissuading his fellow citizens from the new religion than on nipping it in the bud by attacking the personal rights of the Muslims. Instead of using physical force, he gathered round him men of talent, knowledge and experience like Umayya b. Abi 'l-Salt and Naḍr b. Hārith and endeavoured to expose Muḥammad's contradictions and deceptions and to make him ludicrous and despicable in the eyes of intelligent people, while he silenced the common people by his prestige and material advantages".

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 123, 167, 171, 187, 236, 238, 240, 243 sq., 262, 272 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i., see index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), ii. 32, 47, 53 sq., 58 sq., 85; Ya'qūbī, *Historiae* (ed. Houtsma), i. 300; ii. 6, 18, 24; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*², i. 90, 361; ii. 19, 21, 36, 40, 46, 48, 56 sq., 70, 75, 80, 89, 109, 111 sq., 161, 320, 345, 393, 405; Krehl, *Das Leben des Mohammed*, p. 41 sq., 74—76, 78;

Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, p. 168, 179; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i., see Index with further literature in the text.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-WALĪD B. YAZĪD, Umayyad Caliph. He was about 35 (Feb. 743) when he succeeded his uncle, the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. "If only for his personal courage, liberality, love of letters and patronage and practice of poetry, Walid was bound to shine in the first rank among the Umayyads". Such is the judgment of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (vi. 101) the author of which could not be suspected of partiality for the Umayyads. An artistic and remarkably cultivated young man, which none of his predecessors had been, the son of the hysterical caliph Yazid II, he was certainly also the most libertine. After a brief appearance in Damascus for the enthronement (*ba'ra*) the new caliph hastened to resume in the desert the free life, void of all constraint, that he had led as a prince without worrying about affairs of state or the interdictions of the Kur'ān. We need not however believe all the stories of his eccentricities given in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. He spent his time in merry company surrounded by poets, parasites, musicians of both sexes, he himself being justly esteemed as a musician.

His cruelty towards the faithful Khālīd al-Qasrī [q. v.] whom he put to death soon raised against him the Yemenis in Syria. Fond of field sports, the caliph had in the lifetime of his uncle built in the middle of the desert a hunting lodge, Ḳuṣair 'Amra [cf. 'AMRA]. When he became caliph he proposed to build in the solitude a grand palace and transfer there all the refinements of civilization. Such was the origin of the fantastic castle of Mshattā [q. v.]. A virtuoso in music and poetry, this bizarre and blasé character dreamed of eclipsing the architectural glories of 'Abd al-Malik [q. v.] and of Walid I [q. v.].

With its unusual proportions, its façade, carved with delicate tracery like lacework, the building of al-Mshattā "has fascinated the whole world and caused more ink to flow than any other in Syria" (van Berchem). Archæologists have attributed it successively to the Romans, Byzantines, Ghassānids and Persians. They have neglected the Umayyads, who were great builders from 'Abd al-Malik onwards, and all fond of a *bādīya* or a holiday in the desert. For the builder of Mshattā, we had hesitated at first between Yazid II and his son, both of whom lived in the region of Moab (Lammens, *La Bâdia et la Hira sous les Omayyades*, p. 110 sq.). A passage in Severus Ibn Mukaffā' (p. 163—164) settles the question in favour of our Walid.

Rebellion was stirring in the provinces and soon spread to Syria. For the first time since Mu'āwiya, the harmony between this country and the Umayyads which had given them strength to face the most violent storms, was broken. The discontented Yemenis — they formed the great majority of the Arabs in Syria — were joined by the Qadaris, who also had been ill-treated by Walid II. The numbers of the Qadaris had grown and they were led by a Marwānid, Yazid, son of Walid I. The majority of the Marwānids whom he had alienated by his caprices joined the conspiracy. The rebels left Damascus to surprise the caliph who was hunting. In his flight northwards he was overtaken and killed in the little fort of Bakhrā south of Palmyra (April 17, 744).

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (ed. Būlak), vi. 101—141; Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1728—1803; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* (ed. de Paris), vi. 1—17; Severus Ibn al-Mukaffā', ed. Seybold, Hamburg 1912, p. 163—164; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 218—228; Lammens, *La Bādi'a et la Hīra sous les Omayyades* (in *M. F. O. B.*, iv.), p. 108—111.

(H. LAMMENS)

WĀLĪDE SULTĀN (A.) Turkish pronunciation *vālide* or *valde sultān*; the two words are in apposition, according to Turkish syntax, "the sultān Valide" or "sultāna mother", a title borne in the old Ottoman empire by the mother of the reigning sultān and only for the duration of her son's reign.

The political history of the Wālide Sultān is fairly well known from the Turkish historians, at least as far as those are concerned who took part openly in the government of the country, for example Nūr Bānū, Şafiye, Māh-Peiker Kösem and Turkhan Khadije.

We are by no means so well informed about the conditions of their life in the sultān's harem. The organisation of the harem only began to be unveiled at the period when the institution itself was beginning to disappear. Influenced no doubt by a feeling of discretion or of modesty, the Turkish historians do not touch on the subject. Western writers, in spite of a lively curiosity, never succeeded in piercing the mystery and frequently give rein to their imagination to complete their notes. The oldest travellers passed over the subject in silence. It is however in western sources that we find valuable information if it is used with care. It is only in modern times however that criticism has dealt with certain fables long believed, such as, for example, the story of the handkerchief thrown by the sultān to his favourites (cf. v. Hammer, xiv. 71—72).

As Na'imā says (iv. 250, 5 sq.) the Ottoman sultāns "according to the sultānian *kānūn* did not live in a state of marriage but of concubinage (*teserri*)". The word *kānūn* is to be taken here in the sense of "traditional usage" and not of written law. The chief of the customs (*gümruk nāzirī*) and later the official slave dealers (*yesirādjī bashī*) and private individuals by gifts supplied the sultān's harem with slaves of the most varied origins: Europe, Asia and Africa.

The custom of concubinage — which we also find in Persia (Chardin, vi. 235) down to the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh (1907—1909) — must have become established in Turkey gradually. In the early period the Ottoman sultāns chose their wives from the daughters of the Turkish rulers of Anatolia or Byzantine princesses. It is difficult to say what was the social status of these wives or to know in what way they differed from the concubines of these princes. We see clearly from 'Āshīk-pasha-zāde's history (ed. Giese, p. 109—110) that Murād I regarded the Serbian princess whom he married simply as a *djāriye* or "slave" but the preparations for certain other unions were made with a solemnity which suggests that great importance was attributed to them.

After the taking of Constantinople, official marriages of the sultāns became quite the exception. We may mention Sulaimān the Magnificent and 'Othmān II and lastly Ibrāhīm who was the last to conclude a matrimonial alliance with one

of his harem Telli-Khāşşekī or Shāh-Sultān in 1647 (d'Ohssoon, vii. 62; Na'imā, *loc. cit.*). The sultān was however represented in this ceremony by the Grand Vizier.

The principles of Ottoman policy were themselves against these marriages. The relatives of a slave seemed less to be feared and indeed were officially put into seclusion. It is hardly necessary to add that this prohibition only partially palliated the evil it was intended to avoid. As is seen from the bloody story of the Jewess Kera, a contemporary of the Wālide Sultān Şafiye (Baffa), harem intrigues played a great part under some sultāns. In Turkey as in Persia (Chardin, vi. 228), the sultān's mother had to be reckoned with. It was therefore natural for a politician to endeavour to get into the serāy as a gift to the sultān a woman devoted to his interests. The Circassians in particular were very skilful in deriving advantage from the secret influence of such connections. It may also be noted that some sultāns such for example as Muşafā III and 'Abd al-Ḥamid I married slaves formally or rather from conscientious scruples. "Religious law", says d'Ohssoon, "not permitting a person born free and a Muslim to be reduced to slavery, the intercourse of a master with a female slave can only be legitimate when it is certain that she was not born a Muslim and free. If he has not proof of this, and wishes nevertheless to live with her, he ought for the peace of his conscience to free her and marry her. The sultān then marries his manumitted slave without the slightest display in the presence of the Mouphti".

From all this then it is clear that the Wālide Sultāns were always former slaves. Von Hammer (viii. 288) is therefore right when he says that the sultān was bound to be the "son of a slave". Ubicini (*La Turquie actuelle*, Paris 1855, p. 122) also adds that the people never mention him except by this name, but we do not know to what Turkish term he refers.

From her former position there survived to the Wālide Sultān a picturesque name which was popularly believed to be taken from the Persian and to which was sometimes added an ordinary Muslim name (cf. the list of Wālide Sultāns, below). The mere fact that she had given birth to a prince had early earned her the title of *ḥādīm* or *khāseki* (*khāşşekī*) but nothing could equal the prestige which the accession of her son brought her and which, unlike dowager queens of other countries, she had not to share, officially at least, with a queen consort. Under the name of Wālide Sultān she became henceforth the first woman in Turkey, simply as a result of the respect due to her quality of mother. This respect is so deeply rooted among the Turks that the influence of Islām (cf. the *ḥadīth*: "Paradise is at the feet of the mothers") is not sufficient to explain it. The sultāns used to set an example of filial piety and the Wālide Sultān sometimes exercised a very considerable influence over her son whom she called in Turkish fashion *aslanım* 'my lion' or *kaplanım* 'my tiger' (we know that 'Alī's mother called her son Asad, 'lion', but this had been her own father's name).

The installation of the Wālide Sultān was a solemn ceremony, especially if she had been relegated to the old serāy (*eski serāy* or *serāy-i 'atīk*), a building erected by Mehmed II, later the Seraserkerat and now the University. This relegation

took place regularly when, after the death of the sultān, her husband, the throne passed to an heir who was not her son. A week or two after the accession of her son, the new sultān's mother was brought in procession (*wālide alayī*) to the new serāy (*top-kapı* or *top-kapı sarayı* wrongly called the "old serāy" by western writers) where the sultān lived (cf. the examples of *wālide alayī* in Wāṣif, i. 28; Djewdet, iv. 1275, 243; Muṣṭafā Nedjib, p. 112). The chief black eunuch (*dār üs-sa'adet üşh-sherife aghası*), the *wālide kehyaşı* (cf. below) and the officers of the imperial harem figured in this procession. The Wālide Sultān was borne on a litter (*takhtırewān*), later in an open carriage, surrounded by *peik* and *solağ* [q. v.]. According to Andréossy, the Wālide Sultān, as a remarkable privilege, showed herself to the people without a veil (*yashmak*). The sultān went to meet his mother at the Bāb-i Sa'ade gate of the serāy. She was settled in her suite (*wālide sultān yeri*) which can still be seen to-day, although in comparatively modern form, for it was destroyed by fire on 10th Muḥarram 1076 (July 23, 1665) (*Silaktar Tarihi*, i. 384; Halil Ethem [Khalil Edhem], *Le Palais de Top-kapou* [in French] Istanbul 1931, p. 58 and picture on p. 50; cf. also a description of this suite in Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople* etc., Paris 1805, ii. 256—257). Her removal to her new abode was announced next day to the Sublime Porte in an official document called *hüküm-nâme* (Ahmed Rāsim, *‘Osmānî Tarihî*, p. 1082).

The new Wālide Sultān sent to the Grand Vizier a dagger (*khanter*) studded with jewels. The Grand Vizier and the Shaikh al-Islām also each received a cloak of sable (*samur*).

The Wālide was supreme mistress of the female personnel of the imperial harem, the discipline of which she supervised. Every favour or permit to go out had to be submitted to her. The deference shown to her found expression in a special etiquette. She could not be approached unless a formal request for an audience had been made. It was forbidden to address her without being invited to speak or to sit down in her presence. One stood in front of her in the respectful attitude called *dīwān durmak* or *el pençe durmak*. Ladies, even the greatest favourites, never appeared before her except in the *entari*, the name in the language of the palace for a kind of ceremonial robe. When the Wālide Sultān went out she was escorted by an imposing suite and all the guards saluted her (P. de Réglā, *La Turquie officielle*, 1891, p. 264—265).

The Wālide Sultān was so used to these honours that the adopted mother of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II is said to have been offended when the German Empress did not kiss her hand (G. Rizas, *Les Mystères de Yildiz*, Constantinople 1909, p. 64—65). As to the incident of the salute paid to the Wālide Sultān by ships of the Marquis de Nointel, the French ambassador, it was exaggerated if we may rely on what the Marquis de Bonnac says; according to him, his predecessor made excuses (cf. Vandal, *Les Voyages du Marquis de Nointel*, p. 53; Le Marquis de Bonnac, *Mém. hist. sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople*, ed. Schefer, 1894, p. 25).

On the death of the Wālide Sultān, the sultān accompanied her remains as far as the gate at which he went to meet her on his accession. The cortège then went on to the place of burial led by the Grand Vizier and the Shaikh al-Islām

(Wāṣif, i. 50). Forty days of mourning followed, during which the ministers visited the tomb and the Qur’ān was read (*Zārikh-i Selānikî*, 1281, p. 173).

If on the other hand the sultān died before his mother, she returned to the old serāy to rejoin the women retired or disgraced from the harem (Ahmed Refik, *Yeñi Medjmu‘a*, No. 10, p. 190).

We can only quote two cases of the Wālide Sultān retaining the title in the reigns of two sons: Māh-Peiker Kösem Sultān, mother of Murād IV and of Ibrāhīm, and Gül-Nüş Emet-Ullah Sultān, mother of Muṣṭafā II and of Ahmed III. In one case there were two Wālide Sultāns simultaneously: Māh Peiker Kösem Sultān already mentioned, grandmother (*büyük wālide*), and Tarkhan Khadidje (*Turhan Hatidje*) Sultān, mother of Mehmed IV. This was however terminated by the violent death of the former.

When a prince imperial became sultān after the death of his mother, the title of Wālide Sultān was given to his foster-mother or nurse (*süt wālide*, *taya kadın*; older formula: *dāye khatun*), foster-relationships being held in high regard in Turkey. In default of either, the name of *wālide* was given by the sultān to the Khaznadār-Usta or Grand Mistress of the Treasury.

In the reign of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II, who had lost his mother at an early age, the rank of Wālide Sultān was given to his adopted mother Peresto Hanım, formerly fourth *kadın* of ‘Abd al-Medjid (Razis, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Dorys, *Abd al-Hamid intime*, 1907, p. 6 sqq.).

The position of the Wālide Sultān was very important during minorities. They acted practically as regents.

Titles of the Wālide Sultān. The word *wālide* "she who gives birth" is not in itself of any honorific significance. It is a synonym of the word *ana* "mother" but with the implication of greater respect. The Wālide Sultān very frequently has additional epithets like *mādjide* "glorious" or *muhtereme* "honoured": *wālide-i mādjide* (*muhtereme*), the (deceased) father of a reigning sultān was called *wālid-i mādjid*. (The popular pronunciation is due to the loss of the narrow vowel in the second syllable, a phenomenon fairly common in Turkish which even affects foreign words, when the accent is displaced to the last syllable: *khalife* > *kalfa*; *khazīne* > *khazna*. Cf. also in Arabic Wālda Basḥa; see below).

The title of sultān "sultana" on the other hand was the peculiar prerogative of the mother of the reigning sovereign. It was not given by marriage and she was the only woman who could bear it "without birth" as Baron de Tott says. It is moreover used here as an honorific affix or more accurately in post-position [cf. the article SULTĀN] like other titles of this kind (*pasha*, *bey*, *efendi*, etc.), and it is a mistake to explain it, as is sometimes done, by the Arabic *wālide sultān* (!) which is said to mean "mother of the sultān". "Mother of the sultān" would be in Arabic in the construct state *wālidet as-(al)-sultān*. And we actually find this in the Arabic epitaph of Khwand-khatun or Māhperi, mother of a Saldjūk sultān, at Pazar Nāhiyesi (4 hours from Tokat; cf. the text in Ismā‘il Ḥakkī, *Kitābeler*, Istanbul 1345 [1927], p. 77—78). Nor is there any question of a haplogogy in the Persian construction **wālide-i sultān*.

Besides the Wālide Sultān, the only women entitled to the affixed title of Sultān — like *begum* in Persia (Chardin, vi. 223) — were princesses, daughters of a sovereign or a prince imperial, the daughter of a sultana having the right only to the title *khanīm-sultān*.

Numerous authors, such as Cantimir and Guer who followed him, are therefore wrong in lavishing the title sultana on the wives of the sultāns. De Tott — who got his information from his wife who was born in Turkey and on terms of intimacy with Turkish princesses — long ago protested against this misuse of the term (i. 42). It seems however that we must not go to the other extreme. Thornton (*Present State of Turkey*, London 1812, ii. 411) seems to be right when he says that the title of sultan was given "by courtesy" to all *khāṣṣekī*, and according to d'Ohsson (vii. 88), it is only since Mehmed IV (1648—1687) that it was given only to daughters of sovereigns. The dates would have to be brought down a little, if we remember that the same author (vii. 65) says that down to the reign of Aḥmad III (1703—1730) the *ḥadīm* who gave birth to a prince was given only the title of *khāṣṣekī-sultān*. (If we believe the Marquis de St. Maurice, this title was given only to the mother of the male firstborn; cf. *La Cour ottomane ou l'Interprète de la Porte*, Paris 1673, p. 94 and, with the necessary modifications, p. 185). These customs were sufficiently well known in the west for Racine, who was nothing of an orientalist, to allude to them in these lines of his *Bajazet* (Act. i., Sc. i.): "Et même il (Sultān Amurat) a voulu que l'heureuse Roxane, Avant qu'elle eût un fils, prît le nom de Sultane".

It is clear from the above that from the beginning of the xviiith century at latest the title of sultana had ceased to be given to certain concubines of the sultān but we do not know at what period it was given to the latter's mother.

Among the Saldjūks, the predecessors of the Ottomans, the sultān's mother had the title *khātun* [q. v.] (arabised plural: *khawātīn*) "empress", "queen", as in the already quoted epitaph of Khwānd-khātun.

The mothers of the early Ottoman princes bore the same title of *khātun* which under the form of *ḥadīm* was to remain until the end of the imperial régime as the title of the sultān's principal favourites and in ordinary usage to lose its honorific significance to the extent of becoming inferior to *khanīm* "lady" and meaning simply "woman". This is how we find the mother of the Sultān Čelebi Mehmed I called *devlet-khātun* in the epitaph of 816 preserved at Brusa (cf. *T. O. E. M.*, p. 509—510; corrected in *M. T. M.*, ii. 177, l. 4 sqq.). The mosque founded at Tokat by Bāyazīd II in honour of his mother is called Khātūniye (Ismā'il Hakkī, *op. cit.*, p. 29—30). It is probable that in the following reign the practice became established of calling the sultān's mother Wālide Sultān.

We have not space here to enumerate the other titles, administrative, literary or poetic, given to the Wālide Sultān. The most common was that of *mehd-i 'ulyā* found as early as the Mongols of Persia (Mirkhond).

Allowances and house of the Wālide Sultān. The allowances to the Wālide Sultān like those of the *khāṣṣekī* and also sometimes those of the judges (Ewliyā Čelebi, ii. 6) were in general called *bashmaklīk* or *pashmaklīk*, pro-

perly 'for sandals' (v. Hammer, vi. 318; x. 75, 188). They were not fixed and consisted sometimes of money and sometimes of land. Sultān Ibrāhīm distributed whole provinces among his *khāṣṣekī* as *bashmaklīk* (Na'imā, iv. 243).

In normal times the Wālide Sultān enjoyed a much larger income than the sultanas (relations or sisters of the sultān; cf. d'Ohsson, vii. 95). According to Cantimir, it amounted to over 1,000 purses. The Turks, says the same author, never take a town without setting aside a street in it for the *bashmaklīk* of the Wālide Sultān (cf. also Bianchi's dictionary under the word *bashmaklīk*). The town of Smyrna formed part of her appanage and she maintained a *mütesellim* there (Tancoigne, *Voyage à Smyrne*, Paris 1817, i. 29—30. On the appanage of Crete, cf. Savary, *Lettres sur la Grèce*, 1788, p. 247). The mother of the Sultān was sometimes rich enough to build mosques or, like Aḥmed III's mother, to raise troops.

In more modern language, the word *bashmaklīk* was replaced by *takhṣīṣāt* (-i *kümāyūn*) "civil list" (Khloros). In 1850 the civil list of the sultān's mother and of the married sisters of the sultān amounted to 8,400,000 piastres, the piastre at this time being worth 23 gold centimes (*De la réforme en Turquie au point de vue financier et administratif*, Paris 1851, p. 12, a brochure of 84 pp. 8°, of which a résumé was given in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* of Sept. 1st 1850 in 10 pp.: p. 938—948).

Like all the sultanas, the mother of the Ottoman sovereign had a *kichya* (*kietkhudā*) or "superintendent, comptroller of her finances" (cf. the expression *selāṭīn kietkhudaları* "comptrollers of the sultanas" in *Silahtar Tarihi*, i. 646 below) but that of the Wālide Sultān was by far the most important in view of the considerable financial interests which he controlled and the influence which he himself could exert with the Wālide Sultān. He sometimes exerted enormous influence although it was frequently hidden. Foreign ambassadors were well aware of this and as a rule did not fail to win these officials' good graces by every means in their power (Beauvoisins, p. 12; *Tārīkh-i Dīwānet*, 1288, viii. 252—256).

It has been said that the *wālide kichyasī* combined this office with that of Master of the Mint (*ḡarbkhāne-i 'āmire nāgiri*) and this was indeed frequently the case (e. g. al-Ḥādīdj Mehmed Efendi later Pasha and his successor, in 1127, Atınallı 'Osmān Efendi; cf. *Sidjill-i oṯmānī*, iv. 219; iii. 425; Rāshid, i., fol. 105, 105^b—106) but there were very many exceptions; cf. Agha-babası Ibrāhīm Agha appointed *wālide kichyasī* in 1605 (Wāṣif, p. 30 etc.; cf. also Abdūlbakī, *Melānīlīk*, 1931, p. 180, note 1).

The rank of *rūtbe-i ūlā šīn-f-i ewweli* created on Monday 19th Rabī' II 1253 (July 24, 1837) was given to the *wālide sultān kichyasī* and to the Master of the Mint (*Sālmāme-i neẓāret-i khāridīye*, 1302, p. 199). When the rank of *bālā* was instituted in 1262 (1845—1846), the *wālide kichyasī* Ḥusein Bey was one of the two officials who first received it (J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p. 559, below).

The Wālide Sultān, like all the important ladies of the serāy, had at their command a first (*bash-aghā*) and second eunuch (Leila Hanoum, *Le Harem Impérial*, 1925, p. 113). Details of the organisation of their household, which resembled those of other sultanas, except that it was more

magnificent, are given in Osman-Bey, *Les Femmes en Turquie*, p. 268.

List of Sultana mothers. The list of mothers of the rulers of Turkey is here given from the *Sidjill-i 'othmānī* of Thüreiyā (Süreyyā) Bey with a few modifications.

The princesses figuring at the head of this list were not, as we have seen above, properly Wālide Sultāns since this title did not yet exist in their time. This title was nevertheless and like that of the sultāns themselves often wrongly put back to the beginning of Ottoman history. The title was even given to the mother of Ertoghrl Ghāzī, a legendary figure known as Khiyme Ana "mother tent" whose tomb was discovered in the reign of 'Abd al-Hamid II at the village of Čehār-shembe (Čarshamba) in the nāhiye of Dumanīč, in the district of Ine-Göl (*Sidjill*, i. 86). We do not know if this discovery is due to the zeal of an inventor devoted to the old dynasty or to the persistence of a local tradition which cannot be substantiated. The very name Khiyme Ana is suspicious.

In Süreyyā Bey's list, the title of "sultana" first appears in the case of Gülbēhār, mother of Bāyazīd II, which in itself is not impossible but we have already seen that she had the title of *khatun*.

The following is this list with a few changes and a list of the buildings erected by the Wālide Sultāns interested in building (Nos. 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 21 and 22). The references refer only to these buildings. Abbreviations: m. = mother; s. = sultān; *Had. Djaw.* = Hāfiz Hüseini b. al-Hādīdj Ismā'il Aiwanserayī, *Hādīkat ül-Djāwāmīc*, Constantinople, Ramaḍān 1281, 2 vols. (transl. by Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. xviii.); Cuinet = Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 1892, 4 vols. in-4°.

1. Malkhūn Rābi'a Khatun (or Malkkhatun), daughter of Shaikh Edebalī, m. of Orkhān Bey (and of the vizier 'Alā ed-Dīn); † 726 (1325—1326).

2. Nilüfer, daughter of *tekfūr* of Yār-Hişār, m. of Murād I.

3. Dewlet Khatun (Süreyyā: Sultān Khatun), daughter of Germyan Oghlu, m. of Mehmed I.

4. N., daughter of Isfendiyār, m. of Mehmed II (cf. however ISFENDIYAR where Hālīma, daughter of Mubārīz al-Dīn Isfendiyār and wife of Murād II, is given as mother of Haşan, killed in 855).

5. Gülbēhār, m. of Bāyazīd II.

6. 'A'ishe s., m. of Sulaimān the Magnificent; † 4th Ramaḍān 940 (March 19, 1534).

7. Nūr Bānū s., m. of Murād III; † 21st Dhu 'l-Ka'da 991 (December 6, 1583; according to *Silahtar Tarihi*: December 7).

Buildings: in Scutari in Asia (Top-tashī quarter): mosque called Wālide(i) 'atīk djamī(s)i, with medrese, primary school (*mekteb-i subyān*), 'imāret, hospital (*dār üşh-shēfā*) with *mesājid*, school of Tradition (*dār ül-hādīth*), school for reading the Kur'ān (*dār ül-kurrā*), a hostel (*müsāfir-khāne*; cf. *Had. Djaw.*, ii. 182—184 and 218—219; Hammer, xviii., 89, N^o. 749; p. 94, N^o. 781; p. 114, N^o. 54; Cuinet, iv. 639—640).

8. Şafiye s., of Venetian origin (sultana Baffa), m. of Mehmed III; † 28th Džumādā II 1014 (Nov. 10, 1605).

Buildings: in Constantinople (?): medrese built in 1006 (Süreyyā, p. 48). Began in 1006 the *Yeñi*

džāmīc continued by Turkhan Khadidje (N^o. 13). In Cairo: a mosque there bears her name: Malika Şafiya (R. L. Devonshire, *L'Egypte musulmane et les fondateurs de ses monuments*, Paris 1926, p. 123 sqq.).

9. Khendān s., m. of Aḥmad I; † 15th Radjab 1014 (November 26, 1605).

10. Māh-Firūz(e) s., m. of 'Othmān III.

11. Māh-Peiker Kösem s., m. of Murād IV and of İbrāhīm I (and also of Kāsim); † Saturday 16th Ramaḍān 1061 (Sept. 2, 1651).

Buildings: in Scutari in Asia (*Yeñi mahalle* quarter): mosque called *Činili djamīc* and medrese; in Constantinople: wālide *khanī*, with a little mosque and medrese; in Anadolu Kawaḳ: mosque; in the Dardanelles: began the citadel continued by Turkhan Khadidje (N^o. 13); numerous *wakf* (*Had. Djaw.*, i. 215 below, 218; ii. 184—186, p. 144, No. 1; Hammer, xviii. 91, N^o. 752; p. 144, No. 55; Cuinet, iv. 640—642 [Koulsoum Māh-peiker and other errors p. 641, lines 20 to 24]; Aḥmed Refik, *Yeñi mecmu'a*, N^o. 3, p. 49—50; cf. also the picture in Cornelius Gurlitt, *Konstantinopel*, Berlin n.d., p. 86—87; cf. *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, i. 176; v. Hammer, x. 286; d'Arvieux, 1735, iv. 484).

12. N., m. of Muştafā I.

13. Tarkhan Khadidje (*Turhan Hatidje*) s., of Russian origin, m. of Mehmed IV; † Tuesday Şa'bān 10, 1094 (Aug. 4, 1683; according to the *Silahtar Tarihi*, ii. 116 sqq., date confirmed by the *Relazione* of Donado; cf. the *Bibliography*; otherwise, Süreyyā Bey, Aḥmed Refik in *Turhan Valide*, p. 424: 10th Radjab).

Buildings: in Stambul (Emin Öñü quarter, Baghçe-kapısı, dominating the well known bridge of Karaköy or Galata): the famous mosque *Yeñi djamīc* or *Yeñi wālide djamī(s)i*, begun by Şafiye s. (N^o. 8) and finished in 1074 (inscription); on the Dardanelles: completed the building (inscription of 1070) of the citadel begun by Māh-Peiker Kösem, N^o. 11; cf. *Had. Djaw.*, ii. 144, N^o. 3; v. Hammer, xviii. 89, No. 748; Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Lyon 1717, ii. 196; Charles Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*, Paris 1815, p. 185—189; Gabriel, *Les Mosquées de Constantinople, in Syria*, 1926; Aḥmed Refik, *Wālide Džāmīleri, Yeñi Džāmīc*, in *Yeñi Mecmū'a*, N^o. 10, p. 189—192 (according to the *Silahtar Tarihi*, i. 218 and 390, the building of the mosque was resumed in 1071 and finished on Friday 20th Rabī' II 1076 [October 30, 1665]); cf. also *Journal of Antoine Galland*, i. 79; Grelot, *Relation...*, p. 281—282; Diehl, *Constantinople*, 1924, p. 115—117, 138—140; Arménag Bey Sakisian, *Syria*, 1931; Djelal Esad, Paris 1909, p. 211—214.

14. Şālihe Dil-Ashūb s., m. of Süleimān II; † 22nd Muḥarram 1101 (according to the *Silahtar Tarihi*, ii. 484, Sunday 22nd Şafar 1101 [December 4, 1689]).

15. Gülnüşh (or Gülhūm) Emet-ullāh s. (often wrongly called Ummet-ullāh), of Cretan origin from Retimo (of the Verzizī family, according to Donado), m. of Muştafā II and of Aḥmed III; † 9th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1127 (November 6, 1715; according to *Had. Djaw.*, ii. 188: Tuesday 8th Dhu 'l-Ka'da = November 5).

Buildings: in Mecca: Khāşşekiye 'Imāret, fountains and wells on the pilgrims' road; at Galata: *Yeñi*

djāmi or *Wālide-i djedid djāmi(s)i*, with 2 minarets, with fountain (*česhme*), *sebil*, *imāret* and *mekteb-i şubhān*; *medrese*; at Scutari in Asia: mosque (*Had. Djaw.*, ii. 187–188, p. 34; v. Hammer, xviii, p. 71, N^o. 637, p. 90, N^o. 750, p. 126, N^o. 242; Cuinet, iv. 636–637).

16. Šālihe s., m. of Maḥmūd I; † in 1150 (1737–1738). Buildings: fountain near ‘Azab Kāpısı (*Sidjill-i ‘othmāni*, p. 27); aqueduct (v. Hammer, xiv. 279; Mambourg, p. 137 and 148).

17. Shehsüwār s., m. of ‘Osmān III; † 27th Rādjāb 1169 (April 27, 1756).

18. Mihr-i Šāh s., of Georgian origin, m. of Selim III; † Wednesday 22th Rādjāb 1220 (October 16, 1805).

19. ‘Aṣiḥe Sineperwer s., m. of Muṣṭafā IV; † 3rd Djumādā II 1244 (December 11, 1828).

20. Nakṣh-i Dil s., m. of Maḥmūd II; † in the middle of Shawwāl 1232 (about Aug. 22, 1817); according to Süreyyā, p. 85 and Djewdet Paṣha, x. (1309), 214; according to the *Moniteur Universel* of Oct. 14, 1817, about September 8.

21. Bezm-i ‘Aleḥ, m. of ‘Abd ül-Medjīd; † 23rd Rādjāb 1269 (May 2, 1853).

Buildings: mosque at Dolma-Baghçe; hospital at Yeñi Baghçe; *dār ül-me‘ārif* near the *türbe* of her husband; fountains (*Sidjill-i ‘othmāni*, p. 26).

22. Pertew-Niyāl s., m. of ‘Abd ül-‘Azīz; † 27th Rabi‘ I 1300 (Feb. 5, 1883).

Buildings: added two minarets to the *Ki‘ātib djāmi(s)i* mosque in Akṣaray; library, fountain and school (*Sidjill-i ‘othmāni*, p. 27; Barth, *Constantinople*, 1906, p. 148).

The mothers of the other sultāns died before the accession of their sons. In Süreyyā Bey’s list after our N^o. 14, comes Khadīdje Sultān, m. of Aḥmad II, but according to the *Silahar Tarihi*, ii. 273, the mother of this prince died on Thursday 5th Dhū ‘l-Ḳa‘da 1098, i.e. before the accession of her son.

The nationality of the Wālide Sultān cannot be ascertained in most cases. At first they were Turkish and Greek princesses but from the time when they were always former slaves the latter must themselves have been often ignorant of their origin. All that we can say is that on the one hand the import of Turkish blood must have ceased at this time since in principle there were no slaves of Turkish origin and on the other the lands of the extreme west (including Germany but not Italy) counted for nothing or for very little in the genealogy of the sultāns. It is in vain that several attempts have been made to establish the contrary, in the case of France.

First of all a story was put into circulation which made Mehmed II the son of a royal princess of France captured by the Turks (cf. e.g. Ubicini, *op. cit.*, p. 122 and with more detail, de La Jonquière, *Hist. de l’Empire Ottoman*, 1914, i. 175). This fiction which de La Jonquière called “absurd” was accepted by well known Turkish historians like Pečewī, Selānikī and ‘Āli; it is also found in the *Tārīkh-i Djewrī Celebi*, 1291, ii. 2. The sultāns themselves in their negotiations prided themselves on their “relationship” to the kings of France (cf. Louis de Bonneville de Marsagny, *Le Chevalier de Vergennes, son ambassade à Constantinople*, Paris 1894, ii. 86–87: in this version the reference is to the ḥarem of Sultān Selim). Western historians, following the more reasonable tradition of the Turkish historians,

make Mehmed II’s mother the daughter of Isfendiyār (cf. de Salaberry, *Hist. de l’Emp. Ottoman*, Paris, i. 148; cf. No. 4, above, in the list of the Wālide Sultāns). The very interesting but always credulous and often mendacious Ewliya Čelebi admits in spite of everything (i. 106 *sqq.*) that Mehmed II was the son of Isfendiyār’s daughter “Alime Khanum” (it may be noted that this is the name given to the alleged French princess) but to arrange matters he makes the king of France’s daughter the concubine of Mehmed II and the mother of Bāyazīd II. He also says that his father had known a certain Sukemerli Muṣṭafā, *bash-kītib* of Janissaries, who was related to this princess and on this account used to receive presents from France. On the other hand, Cantimir (1743, ii. 410) records, without however believing it, another version of the story in which a granddaughter of a king of France enters the ḥarem of Sulaimān the Magnificent. It was obviously the Turks themselves who invented these fables, to explain the favoured treatment accorded the “pādishāh” of France in Turkey.

More recently the French and Turkish governments have had to deal from time to time with people desirous of having their relationship with the old Ottoman dynasty recognised. Maḥmūd II was, it was said, the son of Aimée du Buc de Rivery, a Creole of Martinique and a relative of the Empress Josephine (see *Bibl.*). The impossibility of this has been proved from official documents: Sultān Maḥmūd II was born in 1785 (July 20) and Mlle de Rivery was still in Nantes in 1788, when she was a witness to and signed a marriage contract which is still in existence. The thesis was however not abandoned on this account; it was simply modified. Aimée du Buc de Rivery — whose admission to the ḥarem of Selim III one is obliged to postulate, since she arrived in Constantinople after the death of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd I — is said to have been chosen to act as adopted mother of the future Maḥmūd II, son of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. This is a hypothesis which has little chance of ever being proved. We know actually that at the accession of Maḥmūd II his mother Nakṣh-i Dil was brought in solemn procession from the old serāy to the new (Djewdet Paṣha, viii. [1288], 424; Muṣṭafā Nedjib, p. 122). It is unlikely that the honours of the *wālide alay* were ever accorded to what might be called honorary wālides, like the nurses or adoptive mothers of the sultāns. Moreover, according to the *Moniteur Universel*, in 1817 she was about 50 years old; at that time A. de R. must have had an age of 41 years.

The Wālide (*wālide*) Paṣha of Egypt. The customs of the ḥarem of the Khedives were almost exactly copied from those of Constantinople. As in the Ottoman seraglio, the viceroy’s concubines were numbered and called *birindji*, *ikindji* (*kād’in*) or according to the Arabic pronunciation *biringi*, *ikingi* etc. “first, second”, etc. The title of “mother of the Khedive”, or as they say in the official French of Cairo the “Khédiva Mère” (in Turkish also *wālide-i khidivi*), was modelled on that of mother of the sultān with the substitution of *paṣha* for sultān. It was also the only case in which the title *paṣha* was borne by a woman, for it is a case of an honorific epithet and not of an expression meaning “mother of the paṣha”, which would be in Arabic Wālidet el-Baṣha and not Wālda Baṣha.

In the wealthy Khedivial family of Egypt, the Wālide Pasha was no less rich and her *dā'ira* "offices for the administration of estates" was very important. Two streets in Cairo bear the name Wālda or Wālda Basha. On one of them stood the palace of the last "Khédiva Mère", Emīne Kḥanīm, mother of 'Abbās Hilmī II, daughter of Ilhāmī Pasha and grand-daughter of the viceroy 'Abbās I, she died in her country house at Bebek near Istanbul on 18th June 1931.

The present king has broken with the Turkish custom by acknowledging his one wife as the queen of Egypt. This is a consecration of the principle of monogamy and of association on the throne. The widow of the Sultān Ḥusain enjoys an analogous position by right of survival.

Bibliography: (for the more famous Wālide Sultāns see the general histories of the Ottoman Empire. We have been content here to give a few isolated bibliographical references to supplement those in the text of the article): Michel Baudier, *Histoire Générale du Serrail, et de la cour du Grand Seigneur Empereur des Turcs*, Lyons 1659, p. 84 (book i., chap. xi.), p. 95 (chap. xii.), p. 101 (*ibid.*, in fine); Ricaut, *History of the present state of the Ottoman Empire*², chap. iv. (relating to Māh-Peiker Kösem s., No. 11 of our list); J. B. Tavernier, escuyer Baron d'Aubonne, *Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du Serrail du Grand Seigneur*, Paris 1691, chap. xviii.: De l'entrée à Constantinople de la Sultane mère du Grand Seigneur, appelée par honneur la Valide le 2 juillet 1668 (Tarkḥān or Turkḥān Khadīdīje, No. 13 of our list); *Relazione del nobil uomo Gianbattista Donado quondam Nicolò* (1684), in Barozzi e Berchet, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori e baili veneti a Constantinopoli*, Venice 1871, ii. 303 sqq. (No. 13 and 15 of our list); Demetrius Cantimir, *Hist. de l'Emp. Othoman*, Fr. transl. de Jonquières, Paris 1743, iii. 228, p. 450 sqq.; Beauvoisin, *Notice sur la Cour du Grand-Seigneur*⁴, Paris 1809, p. 11 sqq. (relating to Mihr-i Shāh s., No. 18 of our list); Adam Neale, *Voyage en Allemagne, en Pologne et en Turquie*, transl. from the English, Paris 1818, ii. 169 to 185 (the same sultana); Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Emp. Othoman*, vii. (1824), p. 86 sqq., p. 62, 64, 69; M-me Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pacha, *Trente ans dans les harems d'Orient, souvenirs de Melek-Hanum, femme de S. A. le Grand-Vizir, K.-M.-P.*, 1840—1870, Paris 1875, p. 130, 271 sqq. (relating to Bezm-i 'Aleṃ s., No. 21 of our list); Osman-Bey, alias Major Vladimir Andrejevitch (= Decourdemanche, son of M-me Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pacha), *Les Femmes en Turquie*², Paris 1878, p. 267 to 275; Paul de Régla, *La Turquie officielle*², 1891, p. 264—265, 269, 282; Aḥmed Refik (Ahmet Refik), *Ḳādīnlar Saltānaṭı*, 4 vols. in-12: i. (years 699 to 1027), ii. (1027 to 1049) — Istanbul 1332; iii. (1049 to 1058), iv. (1058 to 1094) — *ibid.*, 1924; by the same, *Turhan valide* (in Latin characters), Istanbul 1931, 424 pages in-12; Mehmed Zihni (Dihni), *Meshāḥir ün-Nisā'*; Lucy M. J. Garnett, *The women of Turkey*, ii. 393—397.

The quotations from Na'īmā's history are taken from the 4th ed. (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 246); those from Rāshid, from the edition by Ibrāhīm Mūtafarriḳa, of 1153; those from Wāṣif, from the new edition of Bulāḳ, 1246 (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 337); those from the *Silahtar Tarihi*

from the edition of T. T. E., in 2 vols., 1928.

We shall not give here the abundant literature relating to the "French sultana" (Aimée du Buc de Rivery). It will be sufficient to mention those who have written on the subject, Xavier Eyma, Jouy, Sidney Daney, Dr. Cabanès, Benjamin Morton, author of *The Veiled Empress*, New York 1923, Marc Hély. The majority of these writers reveal a remarkable credulity. We find more criticism displayed in the lengthy articles by M. René Puaux in *Le Temps* of Oct. 7 and Nov. 10, 1923. A résumé of the subject was given by M. Albéric Cahuet in *L'Illustration* of Nov. 21, 1931, p. 382—383. The theory by which Naḳsh-i Dil was the adopted mother of Sultān Maḥmūd II is defended in the recent work of M-me A.-M. Martin du Theil, *Silhouettes et documents du XVII^{ème} siècle* (Martinique, Périgord, Lyonnais, Ile-de-France), Périgueux 1932, 138 pp. in-4° with illustrations (p. 7 to 46: Aimée du Buc de Rivery—Sa mystérieuse destinée).

The Wālide Sultān could also, it seems, be studied in the novel: V. Smirnow quotes in *Vostočnīya zameŭki*, p. 56, *Bieglīy vngliad na nastoyashchīy i prošlīy seray*, note 1, a novel by Čistiakov, in *Žurnal dlia dīetīcy*, 1864, No. 5 and 6; cf. also the novel by Nizameddin Nazif, *Acuzenin definesi*, publ. in the feuilleton to *Vakıf*, beginning Novembre 11, 1931. (J. DENY)
WĀLĪHĪ, the name of two Ottoman poets of the xth (xvth) century:

1. WĀLĪHĪ KURD-ZĀDE of Adrianople (an alleged Wāliḥi from Gısr Erkene or Ergene Köprü is the same man). On the conclusion of his studies he came as a ḳāḍī to Cairo and was admitted into the Gülshani order by Saiyid Kḥayālī, the son of Ibrāhīm Gülshani, the founder of the order. Returning to Adrianople, he worked there as a Şūfī preacher, celebrated for his eloquence and command of language. He was given to drinking. He died in 994 (1586) in Adrianople where he is buried in the Shaikh Shudjā' on the bank of the Tundja. He left a complete *Diwān* which is still unprinted.
2. WĀLĪHĪ AḤMAD of Ūsküb who was also for a time *müdevvis* in Adrianople. He died in 1008.

Bibliography: Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 602; Brusall M. Tāhir, *'Othmānī Mū'ellifleri*, ii. 476; Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-'Alām*, vi. 4671; Saiyid Rizā, *Teskere*, Istanbul 1316, p. 102.

(TH. MENZEL)

WĀLĪMA. [See 'URS.]

WĀMIK WA-^ʿADHRĀ, a Persian romance alleged to come from a Pahlawī original. It is said to have been presented in Nishāpūr to the emir 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir (d. in 230 = 844) in the form of an old book dedicated to Kḥusraw I Anūsharwān (531—579 A.D.) and the governor is said to have ordered it to be destroyed, because it had been written by Zoroastrians. In any case, it was put into verse by 'Unsurī [q. v.] and again by Faṣḥī of Dīwrdjān in 441 (1049). In addition to 'Unsurī's version, Ethé (*Grundriss d. iran. Philol.*, ii. 240) mentions no less than six versions which are all lost. At the end of the xiith (xviiith) century, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣāḍīḳ wrote, under the pseudonym of Nāmī, a romance in verse with the same title (Luṭf 'Alī Beg, *Aṭeş Kede*, Bombay 1277, section on contemporaries, s. v. *Nāmī*; Ridā Kulī Kḥān, *Madjima' al-Fuṣḥā'*, ii. 523; E. G. Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, iv. 283).

The subject was also taken up in Ottoman Turkish by Bihishti (a contemporary of Bāyazīd II; mistake in Gibb) who put it in his *Khamse* and probably prepared it from the versions of 'Unşuri and Faṣiḥi, and by Lāmi'i (d. 937 = 1530 or 938 = 1531), also probably from 'Unşuri. Gibb (*H.O.P.*, iii. 357 sqq.) has given an analysis of the latter poem: Wāmiḳ, son of the emperor of China, falls in love with 'Adhrā, daughter of a king and sets out to find her again through all kinds of difficulties which he overcomes with the help of fairies. He finds his beloved princess then, is taken prisoner by the enemy, taken to India where the natives try to burn him; the flames do not touch Wāmiḳ, whom the Indians worship as a god. The hero escapes, finds 'Adhrā again and marries her.

Bibliography: Muḥammad 'Awfi, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed. Browne, ii. 32, l. 19; Dawlat-Shāh, *Tedhkire-i Shu'arā'*, ed. Browne, p. 30, 69; E. G. Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, i. 347; ii. 275; J. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, transl. Hellert, iv. 134, 417; do., *Wamiḳ und Asra, d. i. der Glühende und die Blühende, das älteste persische romantische Gedicht*, Vienna 1833. (CL. HUART).

WĀN, a town in Turkey on the Armenian plateau on the eastern shore of Lake Wān.

The name Wān is not found in the Arabic sources which deal with the Muslim conquest. Lake Wān is usually named by the Arabs after the towns on the northern shore, Ardjish and Akhlāt.

Ibn Ḥawkal alone (p. 250) mentions the Artsrunid Ibn Dairānī, lord of Zawazān, of Wān and Wostān. Yāqūt, iv. 895, mentions a fortress of Wān but makes it a dependency of Erzerum and locates it between Akhlāt and Tiflis (?).

For the Muslim conquest of Armenia see that article. The important fact is the campaign of Bughā al-Kabīr who in 238 (852) overran the whole of Armenia including Albāk (at the source of the Great Zab) from which he carried off the Artsrunid prince Ashot Artsruni.

In 885 the Bagratid Ashot was recognised as king of Armenia by the caliph and later by the Byzantine emperor and the princes of Waspurakan became his vassals. Of these the principal were the Artsrunis whose hereditary fief was Hadamakert in Albāk.

In the ninth century colonies of Arabs had settled in Armenia, like the Amirs of Manāzkert (Malāzger) whom the Armenians call Kaisikkh (< Kais) and who ruled on the northern shore of lake Wān (Apahunik, in Arabic باحنيس for باحنيس), and the 'Othmānids (in Armenian: Uthmanikkh) on the northeast shore of the lake, at Bergri and Amiuk. Towards the east, Waspurakan was exposed to the attacks of the Arab governors of Ādharbājdjān. The Sādjid [q. v.] Afshin occupied Wān and Wostān and appointed eunuchs as governors there (cf. Thomas Artsruni, transl. Brosset, p. 221).

In 916 the Sādjid Yūsuf executed the Bagratid king Smbat in Dwin (cf. Stephen Asoljik, *History*, iii., chap. iv.—v., transl. Macler, p. 18—24). Before this catastrophe, the Artsrunid prince Gagik (through his mother a nephew of Smbat) had enrolled himself in Yūsuf's suite and by this manoeuvre was able to assert the independence of Waspurakan against Smbat's successors (kings of Ḳars and Ani). The Artsrunid kings were overlords of the

principalities of Mokkh (now: Mukus) and Andzevatsik (cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, p. 359—382).

The Artsrunid princes are several times mentioned in Ibn Miskawaih's *Chronicle*. In 326 (937), the troops of the Dailami chief Lashkari were defeated near 'Akabat al-Tinnin by Atom b. Djurdjin (= Gurgen), lord of Zawazān (Ibn Miskawaih, i. 402; Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 262). This Atom belonged to the elder line of the Artsrunids which was eclipsed by that of Hadamakert. In 330 (940; *ibid.*, ii. 33), Daism, prince of Ādharbājdjān, took refuge with Djadjik b. al-Dairānī (Gagik b. Deranik). In 342 (953; *ibid.*, ii. 151), Ibn Dairānī and (?) Ibn Djadjik (probably "Deranik b. Gagik") surrendered Daism to the Musāfarid Marzubān.

In 1004, the Artsrunid Senekherim being pressed on all sides ceded Waspurakan to the emperor Basil II who gave him in exchange Siwās to which 40,000 Armenian families followed their king. Byzantine domination was of short duration: the battle of Melāzgirt in 463 (1071) lost the Byzantines the last of their possessions in Armenia (cf. a brief account in Lynch, *Armenia*, i. 334—367).

The name of Wān is briefly mentioned among the towns of "the province of Akhlāt" which the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn besieged after the capture of Akhlāt in 626 (1229) (Bargri, Manāzgird, Bitlis, Walashdjird, Wān, Wostān).

In the Mongol period (after Arghun Khān, 1284—1291), the region of Wān was close to the summer encampments of the Mongol Ilkhāns (on the mountain of Ala-Tagh, the ancient Νιφάρης, Tendürek, to the N.E. of Lake Wān) but the local authority of Wān must have been in the hands of the Kurd chiefs of Ḥakkāri (cf. below).

The *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 102, says that "Wān is a fortress while Wostān (Ostan) has been a large town but now is a medium sized one". "Its climate and its fruits are good, its water comes from a mountain; its taxes amount to 53,400 dinārs (Urmiya 74,999 dinārs and Ardabil 85,000 dinārs)".

Towards the end of the viiith (xivth) century, the rule of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Turkomans whose hereditary centre was at Ardjish, was extended over Wān but the direct administration remained in the hands of a family of Kurdish begs. When in 789 (1387) Timūr had plundered the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu encampments of Ala-Tagh, he ordered the destruction of the fortress but 'this building of the time of Shaddād' resisted his efforts. Timūr made 'Izz al-Dīn, lord of the fortress, governor of the 'wilāyat of Kurdistān' (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 421—424). The 'Izz al-Dīn, here referred to in the *Zafar-nāma*, was an important figure and took part in many of the events of his time (cf. *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, transl. Quatremère, in *N. E.*, xiv. 110, 153 180). The son of 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad was well received by Shāh Rukh in 824. Under Uzun Ḥasan [q. v.] the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu troops conquered Ḥakkāri and placed it under the Domboli tribe but the Nestorian Christians restored the power to a scion of the old family.

After the coming of the Ṣafawids, prince Zāhid b. 'Izz al-Dīn II entertained friendly relations with Shāh Ismā'īl.

In view of the rival propaganda of the Ṣafawids the Ottoman empire must have endeavoured to strengthen the very loose organisation given to Kurdistān by Idris, but the incorporation of the distant frontier district of Wān, filled with foreign elements, was full of incidents.

In 1534, during the offensive of the grand vizier Ibrâhîm Pasha against Tabriz, delegates from Wân gave him the keys of the fortress. But as soon as the cold weather forced Sultân Sulaimân's army to withdraw, the Persians advanced to Wân and soon afterwards occupied this town and Ardjîsh ('*Âlam-ârâ*, p. 51 [according to Ewliyâ Çelebi, iv. 174 the Persians retook Wân in 953=1546]). The situation during the 14 years from 1534—1548 is not very clear but when, at the instigation of the Persian prince Alkâs Mirzâ, Sulaimân again marched on Tabriz, he laid siege to Wân in 955 (Aug. 1548). The town surrendered through the mediation of Alkâs Mirzâ and the *defterdâr* Çerkes Iskender Pâshâ was appointed governor (cf. v. Hammer, ii. 209; cf. Ewliyâ Çelebi, ii. 174). From this period date the baths of Rustam Pâshâ at Wân and a mosque of 975; cf. *Djîhân-numâ*. [The dated inscriptions of the fine Ulu-Djâmi' (cf. Lynch, ii., fig. 131—132, and Bachmann) have now disappeared].

With the appearance of the Ottoman *mîr-i mirân* at Wân, the Kurd chiefs retired to their fiefs of Djûlamerk and Woştân. On the intervention of the *mîr-i mirân* in their affairs, cf. *Sharaf-nâma*, i. 99.

In 1013 (1604) Çighâla-Zâde, appointed commander-in-chief against Persia, established his head-quarters at Wân (of which he had previously been wâlî in 1585; cf. v. Hammer, ii. 552). He was besieged there by the Persian troops under the command of Allâh Werdi Khân and escaped from the fortress by boat. Very soon he undertook a new campaign against Tabriz but it ended in a complete debacle in the autumn of 1605; cf. '*Âlam-ârâ*, p. 474—476, and the article TABRIZ; Hammer, *G. O. R.*², ii. 678, 660; Govvea, *Relation des grandes guerres*, French transl., Rouen 1649, book ii., ch. xvi.—xviii., p. 268—286; Arakel de Tauris, *Livre d'histoires*, transl. Brosset, St.-Petersburg 1874, ch. vi., p. 303—307.

About 1600 the administrative organisation of Wân was described by Kôdjâ Nishandji (1528—1567) who in his *Tabakât* quoted by Hâdjîdjî Khalîfa included in this *eyâlet* some places now belonging to Persia (e.g. Salmâs), and by 'Ain-i 'Alî (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in d. moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, p. 72) who numbers in Wân 13 *sandjaks* and 1 *hükümet*, including in all 1,115 large and small individual fiefs (*kışık*).

Ewliyâ Çelebi, who in 1065 (1655) accompanied his uncle Ahmed Melek, who had been appointed Wâlî of Wân, has given us a very full description of the *eyâlet* of Wân (iv. 130—190). It is curious that the text is silent about the Christian population unless this information was suppressed by the censorship under 'Abd al-Hamîd.

Ewliyâ (iv. 176) gives 37 feudal *sandjaks* in Wân of different dimensions and with different privileges. The most important were the *hükümet* of Hakkâri (with an army of 47,000, including 10,000 with guns?), of Bidlis, Mahmûdi and Pinyanish.

The description in the *Djîhân-numâ*, faşl 41, p. 110 (Ermeniyê) is much shorter.

In the autumn of 1236 (1821) the heir to the Persian throne, 'Abbâs Mirzâ, took advantage of some complications with the Ottomans to invade the Turkish territory of Bâyezîd as far as Bitlis. Diplomatic complications and more particularly the epidemic of cholera arrested the Persian operations

and the *status quo* was re-established (cf. Mirzâ Taqî Sipîhr, *Ta'rikh-i Kādjar*, Teherân, i., under the years 1286—1287; cf. Watson, *A History of Persia... to 1858*, London 1866, p. 197—221). After the Russo-Japanese war the Ottomans in their turn advanced claims to the "unredeemed" territories and in July 1907 Yâwer-Pâshâ occupied many districts of the region of Salmâs [q. v.]. The *status quo* was however re-established after the Balkan War (Ottoman note of Oct. 12, 1912) and given legal sanction after the delimitation of 1913—1914 (on the basis of the Final Protocol of Nov. 17, 1913).

As a result of the Armenian movement which had broken out at the end of 1895 in many areas inhabited by Armenians, trouble broke out on a large scale at Wân between June 3 and 11, 1896 which cost the lives of 500 Armenians and 250 Muslims (cf. *Blue Book*, 1896, No. 8).

During the Great War, Russian troops occupied Wân on May 20, 1915. On Aug. 4, the Turkish counter-attack forced them to evacuate the town, but at the end of the month they returned, to remain there till the armistice of Dec. 18, 1917.

Statistics. It was only at the beginning of the sixteenth century that the first European travellers penetrated into the region of Wân. Schulz, who visited Wân in 1829 estimated that it contained 10,000—12,000 houses. In 1889 Mayevsky counted 4,953 houses in the town of which 2,012 were Turkish and 2,887 Armenian.

Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., 1891, p. 629—760 for the wilâyet of Wân gives the following figures (from the Turkish *sâlnâme*):

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Sandjak of Wân | Sandjak of Hakkâri |
| area | 11,530 sq. km. 10,000 sq. km. |
| number of <i>kaḍās</i> | 8 11 |
| number of villages | 724 1,555 |

The number of inhabitants in the wilâyet was: Turks 30,000, Kurds 210,000, Armenians 79,000, Nestorians 92,000 etc.; total 430,000.

Mayevsky (about 1900) is probably more accurate: the wilâyet of Wân had an area of 62,820 sq. km. in two sandjaks: that of Wân (in the west near Lake Wân) and that of Hakkâri (in the east along the Turko-Persian frontier).

The vicissitudes of the Great War, the deportations of the Armenians, the expatriation of all the Nestorian population to Persia and later to Mesopotamia and the trials to which the Kurds were exposed from the Christian militia in the Russian army left the wilâyet of Wân in ruins, and we are still (1932) very ill informed regarding present conditions there. After the reorganisation of the wilâyets, the old sandjaks of Wân and Hakkâri were made into separate wilâyets.

The Turkish official annuals of the years 1921—1926, 1926—1927, 1927—1928 (*Türkiye Djümhûriyeti Devlet Sâlnâmesi* [Yılığhî]) reflect the changes in the administrative system. According to that of 1927—1928 (with numerous mistakes in the Roman transcription), the wilâyet of Wân has an area of 21,905 sq. km. and 75,437 inhabitants. Its *kaḍās* are: Wân, Ardjîsh (Erdjîsh), Bash-Kal'a, Shataḱ, Kiawash, Mûrâdiye, Sarây (Mahmûd).

The wilâyet of Hekîârî has an area of 15,505 sq. km. and 25,216 inhabitants. Its *kaḍās* are: Hekîârî, with the chief town Djulamerk (Çulemerk), Beyti-Shëbab (capital Elki), Shëmdinân, Gawâr (Giawer).

It should be noted that the two wilâyets do

not coincide with the old sandjaks. The old boundary between them followed the meridian while the new follows the parallel. The wilāyet of Wân (which includes Bash-Kāla) is situated in the north and the wilāyet of Hek'ari (Hakkāri) in the south on the frontier of that part of Kurdistan which belongs to the Irāk.

Bibliography: Cf. the art. ARMENIA and the very full bibliography in Lynch, *Armenia*, ii., 1901. The early travellers are fully used in Ritter, *Erkunde*, ix. (1840), 972—1009; 639—687 (Hakkāri); x. (1843), 285—356; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, II/i., 1926 (very full study of the antiquities); on the excavations at Wân during the Great War: Marr and Orbeli, *Arkheologičeskaya ekspeditsiya 1916 v Wan*, Petrograd 1922. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, and Markwart (Marquart), *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, contain many topographical and genealogical details on the Kaisikkh, Uthmanikkh etc. The most detailed description of the wilāyet of Wân is by V. T. Mayevsky, *Voyenno-statističeskoye opisaniye Wanskago i Bitlisskago wilayetov*, Tiflis 1904. (V. MINORSKY)

WÂNĀKŪLĪ, MEHMED B. MUŞTAFĀ AL-WĀNĪ, a famous Ottoman jurist in the time of Murād III (982—1003 = 1574—1595) who especially distinguished himself in the field of *fiqh*, lexicography and literature. Born in Wân, he acted in a number of towns (Constantinople, Rhodes, Manissa, Salonika, Amasia, Kutahia, Yenisehir) as müderris, *kađi* and *mollā* and died in 1000 (1591—1592) as *mollā* of Medina, to which he had come in 998 (1590) in succession to Su'ūdī. In his long period of 30 years' service, he displayed great activity in writing and translating. His principal work is the translation of the *Şahāh* or *Şihāh* of Djawhari [q. v.] which is regarded as the most correct Arabic lexicon and is more esteemed by many than the *Kāmūs* of Firūzabādī. This work, which is briefly called *Wân-kūlī*, brought him the most enduring fame. It was printed in 1141 by Ibrahim Mutafarrika, as one of the first books printed in Turkey. A new edition appeared in 1168. His translation of Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā' al-Sa'ādā* (which according to M. Tāhir is also attributed by many to Nawālī) is celebrated. In addition to a few brochures like his *Tardīh-i Baiyināt wa-Tartīb-i Siyāsāt*, he wrote commentaries on the *Durer-i Ghurer* entitled *Naqd al-Durer* and on the *Ferā'id-i Saiyidī*; also one on the *Wesile* entitled *Miftāh al-Nadājāh*.

Bibliography: *Manāqib-i Wān-kūlī*, in vol. i. of the edition of 1141; *Şahāh-ik-i nu'māniye*, Dhail of 'Aṭā'i, p. 316—317; Thuriyā, *Sidjull-i othmānī*, iv. 130; Brusali M. Tāhir, *Othmānī Müellifleri*, ii. 48; Sāmi, *Kāmūs al-Ālām*, vi. 4678; v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 575. — The Turkish translation of the *Şahāh* should be added in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 128. (TH. MENZEL)

AL-WANSHARISĪ, *nisba* from the land of Wansharis, a mountainous area in western Algeria to the south of the Wādī Shalaf (Chélif) known to modern geographers in the corrupt transcription Ouarsenis.

I. ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-WĀḤID B. 'ALĪ AL-TILIMSĀNĪ AL-WANSHARISĪ, a famous Mālikī jurist of the Maghrib, born at Tlemsen, studied under celebrated teachers, like Ibn Marzūk al-Kafif and Abu 'l-Fađl

Qāsim al-Ukbānī. In 874 (1469) after some trouble with the government of Tlemsen of which we do not know the details, he left his native town to settle in Fās where he devoted himself to teaching and gave lectures to numerous pupils. It was in the northern Moroccan capital where he spent most of his life that he died at the age of 80 in 914 (1508).

The most important work of Aḥmad al-Wansharisī is a voluminous collection of legal opinions (*fatwā*; q. v.) entitled *Kitāb al-Mi'yār al-mughrib wa'l-Djāmi' al-mu'rib 'ammā taḡammanahu Fatāwī 'Ulamā' Ifriqiya wa 'l-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*. This work which is a regular corpus of the *nawāzil* of the jurists of North Africa and Muslim Spain contains a mass of material of considerable value from the legal as well as sociological point of view. It has been lithographed at Fās in 12 vols. (1315 A. H.); a partial translation was published by E. Amar, *Consultations juridiques des fakhs du Maghreb*, in *A. M.*, vol. xii., Paris 1908. The biographers of Aḥmad al-Wansharisī also mention among his works: 1. *Kitāb al-Fā'ik bi'l-Wathā'ik*; 2. *Idāh al-Masālik ilā Kawā'id al-Imām Malik*; 3. a supplement (*ta'lik*) in three volumes to the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Hāđjib [cf. the article]; 4. a commentary on the *Wathā'ik* of al-Fishta'li; 5. a biographical list of his teachers (*fahrasa*).

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādī*, Fās, p. 74; Ibn al-Qāđi, *Djadhwat al-Iktibās*, Fās, p. 80; Ibn 'Askar, *Dawḥat al-Nāshir*, Fās, p. 37; Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustān*, Algiers, p. 53, transl. Provençal (Algiers 1910), p. 57; Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fās, ii. 153; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 248; M. Bencheneb, *Etudes sur les personnalités mentionnées dans l'Idjaza du cheikh Abd al-Kader el-Fasy*, § 71; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, p. 70, N^o. 217.

II. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD 'ABD AL-WĀḤID B. AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. 'ALĪ AL-WANSHARISĪ AL-ZANĀTĪ AL-FĀSĪ, son of the preceding, a learned legist of Fās, where he held the office of *kađi* along with that of *mufti* and a teaching post. He had been a pupil of his father and of the principal teachers of the Moroccan capital. He was celebrated for his independence of character; for example, having to preside at the *ṣalāt* in the open air on the occasion of one of the canonical feasts and the Marinid sultān being late, he was not afraid to begin the solemn service before the sovereign arrived. In the course of the troubled period which immediately preceded the occupation of the capital by the Sa'dians, when brigandage was practised in it with impunity, he was assassinated on the threshold of one of the doors of the mosque of the Kairawānīs (Djāmi' al-Qarawīyin) at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjja 955 (1540). He was about 70. He left a number of works of a legal nature.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādī*, p. 168; Ibn 'Askar, *Dawḥat al-Nāshir*, p. 41; al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Hāđi*, ed. Houdas, p. 32 of the text, p. 61 of the transl.; Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, II, 146; Bencheneb, *Idjaza*, § 292; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p. 89. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

WARAQA B. NAWFAL B. ASAD AL-KURASHĪ, a cousin of Khadiđja, who encouraged and possibly influenced Muḥammad in the first years of his mission.

All we know concerning him has the colour of legend: he is classed with the (artificial?) group of Meccans known to tradition as the *ḥanīfs*, who, abandoning paganism, resolved to seek for the true religion of Abraham. Waraqa became a Christian; he was abstemious, knew Hebrew, studied the Bible, and had written down the Gospels in Hebrew (in the Hebrew alphabet?).

In his relations with Muḥammad he is endowed with supernatural powers, like the hermit Baḥira. The fictitious woman who offered herself to 'Abd Allāh in order to become the future prophet's mother, is described as a sister of Waraqa, who had seen on 'Abd Allāh's forehead the sign of his son's mission. It was Waraqa who found the infant Muḥammad when he strayed from his nurse. Khadija consulted him on her marriage, of which Waraqa warmly approved. One of the earliest confidants of the first revelation, he told Muḥammad that Jesus had predicted his mission, that he had been visited by the *Namūs* who came to Moses, and foretold his career and final triumph. It was also Waraqa who consoled Bilal, tormented by his pagan master.

Tradition however admits that Waraqa was never converted; this is rather feebly explained by making him die in the second or third year of the mission, before Muḥammad had been ordered to preach and make converts. He was probably an independent religious thinker, unlikely to follow a younger and less learned enthusiast. In the last years of his life Waraqa became blind. After his death Muḥammad had a dream of him in white robes, meaning that he was in heaven.

Waraqa died too early to transmit any traditions; Muslim authors on *ḥadīth* denounce as apocryphal the brief account of Gabriel's appearance which Ibn 'Abbās claimed to have heard from him.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 100—101, 107, 143, 149, 153—154, 205; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1147—1152; Ibn Sa'd, i. 58, 130; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ḡhāba*, v. 88; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, vi. 317; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii. 14—15; Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre*, i. 128—134; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introduzione, p. 129, 156, 180, 182, 183, 208, 210, 227, 231, 251, 262; Lammens, *Les Juifs de la Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, in *Recherches de Science des Religions*, viii. (1918), 18.

(V. VACCA)

WARĀMĪN (or WARĀM, cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 918), a town about 40 miles (Yāqūt, c. 30 *mīl*) S.S.W. of Ṭeherān, now the capital of the district of Khwār-wa-Warāmīn. The plain of Warāmīn watered by canals from the Džādjarūd is regarded as the granary of Ṭeherān. The town lies to the south of the great road from Raiy to Khurāsān passing via Khwār (near Kishlāk?) and Simnān (cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 22; only in the Mongol period did the road from Sulṭāniya to Khurāsān run via Raiy-Warāmīn-Khwār: *Nuṣḥat al-Kulūb*, p. 173). On the other hand in the ninth and tenth centuries, Raiy was connected with Iṣfahān and Karādj [cf. SULTĀNĀBĀD] by Warāmīn (Yāqūt, iv. 918, also puts Warāmīn on the route taken by couriers from Raiy to Iṣfahān). The route took this detour to the east apparently to avoid the low lying Hawḍ-i Sulṭān which before becoming a brackish lake was probably a salt-impregnated desert. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 209, mentions the little town of Warāmīn as a dependency of Raiy but does

not explicitly say that it is on the Iṣfahān road. The Ouseley MS. (*B.G.A.*, iv. 414) alone contains a later addition saying that Warāmīn had a large market; from Raiy to Warāmīn it was one *manzil* through cultivated country (except for a stretch of 2 farsakhs) and from Warāmīn to Dair al-Djīṣ (according to Tomaschek to the south of the Kūh-i gač), a *manzil* through the desert which faces the Kargaskūh; (from there the road went to Kādj and Kumm) [cf. also the statements regarding the journey of the celebrated Būyid vizier Ibn 'Abbād who on the way from Raiy to Iṣfahān passed through Warāmīn ("a village like a town") and then through a village called Naubihār; Yāqūt, iv. 817]. Muḥaddasī, p. 401, places Warāmīn 2 *marḥala* from Raiy (via K.skāna) and 6 *marḥala* from Karādj (via Āwa; cf. the article sāwa). Cf. particularly Tomaschek, *Die Wege durch die persische Wüste*, in *Sitzungsber. Wien. Akad.*, phil. hist. Classe 1885, cviii., p. 125—128.

Warāmīn does not appear to be specially mentioned in ancient times but situated between the great city of Raiy [q.v.] and Khwār (the ancient *Χωρνή*, *Χωρνή*; cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, Vienna 1930, p. 410) it must have lain within the settled and civilized area.

Lt. G. Pézard to whom we owe a detailed map of the region found no traces of a large town having disappeared, but excavations made to a depth of 10—15 feet brought to light Sāsānid ruins (at Tapa-Mil). "There is no doubt that there are in deeper strata... between Ṭeherān and Warāmīn much older remains". It seems that the site of Tapa-Mil shown on the map by Pézard to the north of Āsiyābād is the same as Morosov has recently described as "palace of Afrāsiyāb" to the south of Kal'a-yi nau and 15 miles from Ṭeherān; cf. *Revue des arts asiatiques*, Paris 1931, p. 20—22.

Warāmīn had a period of fame in the Saldjūk, Mongol and Timūrid periods. We have no exact information about the inhabited and administrative centres of the region of Raiy but the many monuments of Warāmīn show that even when Raiy was at the height of its glory important buildings were being erected at Warāmīn. The destruction of Raiy by the Mongols must have contributed to improve the position of Warāmīn which was less affected by events. It was a long time before Ṭihrān [q.v.] finally triumphed over Warāmīn as the successor to Raiy. In the *Nuṣḥat al-Kulūb* (740 = 1340) Warāmīn is called "the capital of the *tuman* of Raiy... Its climate is better than that of Raiy and Warāmīn produces cotton, wheat and fruit just like Raiy... The inhabitants are Twelver Shī'is very arrogant in their dealings". In 1405 Clavijo (transl. le Strange, p. 306) describes Warāmī ("Vatami") as a large town without walls and considerably depopulated. We may regard as an echo of the Shī'a tendencies of the people of Warāmīn the fact that we have in its neighbourhood to this day Turkish tribes who follow 'Alī-Allāhī teaching (Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ); cf. Minorsky, *Notes sur les Ahl-e Haqq*, in *R. M. M.*, xl, 1920, p. 48, 63.

The architectural features. Pézard mentions 18 ancient buildings in the neighbourhood of Warāmīn. Among them is the great square citadel of Kal'a-yi Gabr, to which Pézard ascribes "great antiquity" (Sarre: to the xith century). Then there are the great sepulchral towers called after the

imām-sāde 'Abd Allāh, Saiyid 'Azīm, Yaḥyā and 'Alī; Sarre connects the style of the *imām-sāde* Yaḥyā with that of the tower of Nakhičewān dated 557 (1162) although the decoration of the interior dates from 661 (1262). The most remarkable monument is the cathedral mosque which is worthy to rank with the mausoleum at Sulṭāniya [q. v.]. The mosque was built under the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd in 722 (1322) by [Hasan b.] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr *al-Kūhadhī. To judge by an inscription of 726 (1326) the work lasted at least four years. Some of the formulae of the inscriptions are *Shī'i*, which according to Madame Kratchkovskaya, "reflected the beliefs and desires of the people rather than of the sovereign" for Abū Sa'īd was a Sunnī. Under Shāh Rukh in 821 (1418) the mosque was rebuilt and enlarged by the amir Ghiyāth al-Dīn Yūsuf Khwādja. Recently the building has been studied very minutely by the architect V. M. Morosov but only a very small section of his work has been published or exhibited (London 1930 and Paris 1932).

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WARGLA (OUARGLA), an oasis in the Algerian Sahara 100 miles S. of Tuggūrt in 31° 58' N. Lat. and 5° 30' East Long. (Greenw.) at a height of 320 feet above sea-level. Wargla occupies a depression above a sheet of underground water fed by the subterranean course of the wād Myia which can easily be reached by sinking wells 60 to 150 feet deep. This has enabled palmgroves to be planted there, numbering 500,000 trees all in full productivity and an almost equal number of trees which are dying but might be revived by irrigation works. The stagnation of the waters, which cannot run away, has however the inconvenience that it makes the country unhealthy and produces a dreaded fever (the *tehem*) in spring and summer. The town itself is built on a limestone terrace 10 to 15 feet above the level of the palmgroves, surrounded by walls, traversed by narrow alleys, intersected by vaulted passages, with houses built of coarse rubble or roughcast; it is divided into three quarters called after the septs that inhabit them: Benī Sissīn, Benī Wagguin, Benī Ibrāhīm. Other villages have been built in the neighbourhood, Sīdī Khūiled in the N. E.,

Shott and Adjadja to the E., and Rouissat, the most important in the S. E. The settled population once proprietors of the palmgroves now usually cultivate them as *khammes* (paying a rent of a fifth) on behalf of merchants of the Mzāb and particularly the *Shamhaa* Arabs who lead a nomadic life in this part of the desert. Of Berber origin and still speaking a Zenāta dialect, the original purity of their stock has been much affected by intermarriage with negroes. The *Ruagha* as they are called have retained certain ancient customs, particularly in connexion with marriage and a kind of carnival (*shaib al-'āshūrā*) corresponding to the first fortnight of the month of Muḥarram. Alongside of these are negroes, Mzābis and a few Jews. The population of Wargla and of the *kṣūr* amounts to 5,149.

History. We have no information about Wargla before the Arab conquest. At that time the land was occupied by Zenāta tribes. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Benī Wargla (Berber Benī Urdjelan) came from the N. W. along with other Berber elements (Ifren Maghrāwa) and founded several little towns in these regions which combined to form the town of Wargla. The people adopted Ibādī doctrines so thoroughly that after the destruction of the Rustamid kingdom of Tiaret by the Fātimids at the beginning of the tenth century A. D. many Khāridjis came to settle in Wargla and founded the town of Sedrata, the ruins of which still exist buried under the sands half a day's journey to the S. W. At the same time Abū Yazīd, the "man with the ass", who had rebelled against the Fātimids recruited many followers in this region. The Ibādīs had nevertheless in the xiith century, as a result of conflicts with the orthodox and perhaps under the pressure of Arab elements, to abandon the region of Wargla and migrate to the Tadmāy, where they finally settled and created the oases of the Mzāb [q. v.]. Ibādism, however continued to survive at Wargla, where in the xviiith century it still had a few representatives.

During this period, Wargla, which according to the traveller al-Aiyāshī was ruled by the Benī Tudjīn dynasty, seems to have been a prosperous city enriched by trade with the Sūdān (Idrīsī, transl. de Goeje, p. 141). The Hilālī invasion marked the beginning of a troubled era. In the course of the wars between the Ḥammādīs and the Athbādī, with whom the people of Wargla had contracted an alliance, the dynasty of the Benī Tudjīn was overthrown and the town destroyed. Rebuilt a short distance from the original site it suffered later in the wars between the Almohads and the Benī Ghāniya. In the xivth century, although under the suzerainty of the Benī Moznī, representatives of the Ḥafṣīds in the Zab, Wargla was practically independent under the rule of sultāns belonging to the family of the Benī Abī Ghābul, of the fraction of the Benī Wagguin (Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbers*, transl. de Slane, iii, 286). At the end of the xvth century, these sultāns were extremely wealthy but according to Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, book vi., vol. iii, p. 146) they had to pay heavily for the protection of the nomad Arabs. Wargla at this time still preserved the commercial importance which it owed to its situation as a "port of the desert", to use Ibn Khaldūn's phrase (*loc. cit.*). It was a market where the produce and slaves of the Sūdān were exchanged for the merchandise bought from Tunis

and Constantine. Leo Africanus remarks on the beauty of the houses, the number of artisans and the wealth of the merchants. This opulence attracted the attention of the Turks to Wargla. In 1552 Ṣalāḥ Re'is at the head of an army of Turks and Kabyls advanced as far as Wargla, the inhabitants of which offered no resistance and he returned after plundering the town and imposing on the sultān an annual tribute of 30 negroes.

The expedition of Ṣalāḥ Re'is was followed by a new period of troubles which was ended, it seems, at the beginning of the xviiith century by the proclamation of a new sultān Allāhum, to whom local tradition attributes a Sharīfian origin; his descendants held power down to the middle of the xixth century. But the real masters of the country were the nomad Shamhaa, Beni Tur, and Said Otba, whose continual interference in the quarrels of the two *ṣoff*s into which the settled population was divided kept up the disorder and made the authority of the sultāns illusory. The latter had even to recognise the supremacy of the Ben Babia, hereditary chiefs of the oasis of Ngusa, which they did not cast off till 1841. But ten years later, a new cause of trouble arose. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (the sharīf of Wargla) raised the tribes of the Sahara against the French who entrusted the task of reducing the rebels to the Shaikh of the Ūlād Sidi Shaikh, Si Hamza. The latter occupied the town in the name of France in 1853 and was given supreme command of the Sahara tribes. But the participation of the people of Wargla in the rising of the Ūlād Sidi Shaikh in 1854 forced French columns to intervene on several occasions in the region. Another rebel, Ben Shusha, nevertheless succeeded in establishing himself in Wargla in 1871. The suppression of this rebellion resulted in the final establishment of French authority in 1872.

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WĀRITH. [See **MIRĀTH.**]

AL-WARKĀ', a ruined site in southern Irāk, in 45° 25' N. Lat. and 31° 19' East Long. (Greenw.). Yākūt (*Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 922) knows al-Warkā' as a place which belonged to the district of Kaskar and the circle of Zawābi in the area of the two south Babylonian Euphrates canals called Zāb (cf. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geograph.*, i., Leyden 1900, p. 32; G. Le

Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 37, 73). According to a Muslim tradition, Ibrāhīm, the Abraham of the Bible, was born in al-Warkā' (see Yākūt, iv. 922, 14 sq. and cf. also Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 161 sq.). At the same time however, a whole series of other places are mentioned as Ibrāhīm's native place. As Saif b. 'Umar records in his *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (see Yākūt, iv. 922, 23 sq.) the first encounter between Arabs and Persians at the beginning of the Muslim campaigns against the Sāsānian empire took place at al-Warkā'.

Warkā' is the largest of all the groups of ruins in Southern Babylonia. It marks the site of the town of Uruk (Sumerian Unu-ki) of the cuneiform inscriptions, which, with Nippur, Ur, Eridu and Lagash, was one of the oldest towns in the country and played a prominent part in the religious life of the Babylonians from the most primitive times to the Parthian period. Alongside of Uruk we sometimes find the form Arku for the name in inscriptions (cf. the ethnic Arkēwāyē in Ezra iv. 9). Besides this reference, Uruk occurs only once in the Bible in the form Erekh where it is mentioned with three other towns as a part of the dominions of Nimrod (Gen. x. 10).

Of the epoch of Babylonian history before Hammurapi, we know five dynasties of Uruk, of which however the first, to which belongs Gilgamesh, the hero of the famous epic which bears his name, is mythical. The end of the fifth dynasty of Uruk is to be dated about 2300 B. C. Uruk remained an important town under the rule of the Persians, Seleucids and Arsakids; many cuneiform documents of this late period have been found here. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxvi. 123, 130 and Strabo, xvi. 739, know Orchoe, Ὀρχοή (ethnic Orcheni, Ὀρχηνιοί) as a great centre of Chaldaean astrology (cf. also the reference in Ptolemy, v. 20, 7; viii. 20, 19).

Uruk was not a Hellenistic town like Babylon; but it is very possible that it had a considerable Greek community within its walls. Even in the later Parthian period only a small portion of the extensive site of the old town was still inhabited; under the Sāsānians the town must have become more and more ruined. By the time of the Muslim invasion, it was presumably completely deserted and abandoned.

The first exact examination and description of the ruins we owe to W. K. Loftus (see *Bibl.*). He was three times in Warkā' in 1850 and 1854; on his second and third stays there he conducted excavations for three weeks and three months respectively. Of further visitors we may especially mention: W. H. Ward (1885); see J. P. Peters, *Nippur or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates*, i. (New York 1898), p. 349–350 (Peters himself also visited Warkā'; see *op. cit.*, ii. 98–99); also E. Sachau (1895); P. Anastase Carme (1900), see *Bibl.* The examination of the ruins of Warkā' entered into a new phase with the scientific expeditions of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft.

Loftus gave an excellent account of the topography of Warkā' (see his plan, *op. cit.*, p. 160: repeated e.g. by Hommel in his *Gesch. Babylonien und Assyrien*, p. 208 and in Zehnfund, *op. cit.*, p. 70). Andrae prepared a later plan. The new plan made in the winter of 1912–1913 by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft's expedition is still more accurate and shows even more details; see

it in Jordans, *Uruk-Warka*, 1928 (p. 7 *sq.*) and cf. also *Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Orientges.*, No. 66 (1928), p. 4.

Uruk must have been a very populous town at its zenith when it extended for a period beyond the walls around it, which can still be recognised to-day, as is shown by the mounds of ruins and other traces of habitation outside them; cf. Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 165; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

In Babylonian antiquity, either the Euphrates itself flowed past Uruk or else an arm of it, which might be identified with the now entirely silted up river-bed of the Shaṭṭ al-Kār (in the N. W. of Warkā'), supplied the town with its water by a canal. Jordan thinks the latter can be identified with remains of the Shaṭṭ al-Nil which comes from the north and runs along the N. E. city wall. The modern Euphrates flows south of Warkā' at a distance of over 4 miles, reckoning from the nearest point on the bank. The easiest road to the ruins is now from al-Khiḍr on the north bank of the river, a station on the Baghdad-Baṣra railway. The ruins lie in a completely deserted region which is only occasionally visited by Beduins pasturing their flocks.

The expedition of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft in the winter of 1912—1913 found a considerable number of lead bullae and seal impressions which throw an instructive light on the style of the mixed Babylonian and Hellenistic culture; they also obtained ceramics of the late period (especially clay figures, terracotta animals), and among other things a hoard of 196 coins of the Parthian king Gotarzes (40—51 A. D.); the number of cuneiform documents was particularly large but they came mainly from the Seleucid period (cf. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, p. 39, 57—70 and in the *Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 66, p. 12—17). In 1929—1931 were found numerous clay tablets with pictographs.

Besides these things found as the result of official excavations, we have a considerable number of objects (mainly inscriptions but also sculptures) which have been brought to light through the plundering by the Arabs, tempted by the gold of the dealers in antiquities. This systematic pilfering began before the excavations by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft (1912) and was continued before the Society could resume their work in 1928; through the market these finds of Arab burrowings found their way into various European and American museums and private collections, in Paris, London, Brussels, Berlin, Newhaven (Yale Babylonian Collection), Baltimore (Goucher College), Pierpont-Morgan Library, Nies Collection etc. On a number of especially remarkable objects found cf. Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

In the last two decades, numerous cuneiform texts from Warkā', among which documents of the late period (late Babylonian to Parthian) predominate, have been published in specialist periodicals and in separate works.

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WARRĀḲ, ABŪ 'ISĀ MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRŪN, an independent thinker, who himself was accused of *zandaqa*, was like his friend and pupil, Ibn al-Rāwandī [cf. AL-RĀWANDĪ], at one time a theologian of the Mu'tazila school. Victims of the same persecution, both died in exile in Ahwāz in 297 (909).

His theological vocabulary only makes mild concessions to Hellenistic philosophy, but his dialectic is powerful; and his documentation of an objectivity and exactness unknown in this period enabled him to write a manual of the history of religions, the *Kitāb al-Maḳālāt*, the only source (unfortunately lost) of al-Bīrūnī and al-Shahrastānī for certain Irānian heresies and Jewish sects. His critical examination of the three branches of the Christianity of his time, a little book of great accuracy, has survived under the title *Kitāb fi 'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Firaḳ al-thalāth*, the methodical refutation of which was attempted by the Jacobite philosopher Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. Arabe, No. 167). His *Kitāb al-Madḡālīs* is lost.

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(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

WASHMGĪR B. ZIYĀR, ABŪ ṬĀLIB (and according to his coins ṢĀḤIR AL-DAWLĀ) or better WUSHMGĪR, if the name means 'catcher of quails' (cf. al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ix. 30, note), second ruler of the Ziyārid dynasty, reigned 935—965. He only left his native land Dīlān, after his brother Mardāwīdj [q. v.] had come to power, and had lived until that time the primitive mountaineer life of his people (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, viii. 182). Under Mardāwīdj he conquered Iṣfahān and drove from there 'Alī b. Būye, who had taken that town when he was in Mardāwīdj's service. After Mardāwīdj had died in Iṣfahān (323 = 935), Washmgir went to Raiy, where his brother was buried with great solemnity; there he was proclaimed Mardāwīdj's successor by the population

and by the Dailamite army that had been previously sent to Khūzistān in order to march on Baghdād. Until about 328 (940) Washmgir was able to keep together the territory conquered by his brother; he corresponded with the vizier Ibn Muḳla about an advance to Baghdād in order to drive out Ibn Rā'īk, and tried to extend his influence to the west by supporting the Kurd Daisam b. Shādhilūye in his endeavour to reconquer Āḍhar-bāidjān. In the year mentioned, however, Washmgir came in conflict with the Sāmānids in consequence of his alliance with Mākān b. Kākī [q. v.], who at that time had made submission to the Sāmānids but had received in 936 from Washmgir the government of Djurdjān and also of the country round Sāriya (Sārī) on account of previous good relations. Mākān then renounced his allegiance to the Sāmānids and the Sāmānid ruler sent against them his general Abū 'Alī Ibn al-Muḥtādī. The latter invaded Djurdjān and at the same time the Būyid brothers 'Alī and Hasan ('Imād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla) took the opportunity to seize Iṣfahān and even Raiy. Washmgir and Mākān mobilised in Sāriya an army composed exclusively of Dailamīs and Djilīs to meet the Sāmānid army. In the battle of Iṣhākābād near Dāmghān, however, Mākān was killed (Dec. 25, 940) and Washmgir retired to Āmul, leaving Ibn al-Muḥtādī to take Raiy in his turn.

In the following years Washmgir got into difficulties through Mākān's nephew Ḥasan b. Fairuzān, who at first had taken the Sāmānid side in order to recover his uncle's possessions, then made an attack on Ibn al-Muḥtādī's already retiring troops, so that he was able to make himself master of Djurdjān, while Washmgir recovered Raiy for the last time. But soon Ḥasan turned against him, while the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla seized Raiy again. Washmgir had to fly for protection to the Sāmānid ruler Nūḥ b. Naṣr in Khurāsān and so lost his political independence. The protection sought for was readily given and until Washmgir's death Nūḥ was constantly helping him with reinforcements against Ḥasan b. Fairuzān and Rukn al-Dawla; in this way Ṭabaristān became a useful buffer state between Sāmānids and Būyids. Washmgir all the time remained a loyal ally of the former dynasty, Ḥasan being the candidate of the Būyids. About 950 he was attacked by Rukn al-Dawla in Ṭabaristān and had to retire; in 954 a last endeavour was made to recapture Raiy, together with Ibn al-Muḥtādī. After the failure of this expedition he was again driven back to Khurāsān, but soon reinstated by a Sāmānid army. In 962 the same thing happened again; Washmgir had to leave Sāriya and withdrew to Djurdjān. At last, in 967, great military preparations were made by the Sāmānid Maṣnūr b. Nūḥ to attack Rukn al-Dawla; the Sāmānid general Muḥammad b. Ibrāhim Simdjūr joined Washmgir in Djurdjān. Washmgir was to be chief commander of the expedition, but before it came to an end Washmgir was killed by a wild boar in Muḥarram 357 (according to Miskawaih on 1st Muḥarram = December 7, 967). He was succeeded by his son Qābūs b. Washmgir [q. v.]. Washmgir had won the reputation of an able and good ruler and the Ziyārid dynasty is not seldom called after him the dynasty of Washmgir. As his biography shows, he did not excel in the arts of war, which accounts for the dwindling down of the large territory originally

conquered by Mardāwīdj. At times, however, he was undisputed ruler of Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān, although, as Ibn Hawḳal (p. 274) points out, there remained strongholds which he never had been able to subdue.

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AL-WASHSHĀ', ABU 'L-ṬAIYIB MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. IṢḤĀK B. YAHYĀ, Arabic philologist and bel esprit, pupil of Mubarrad and of Tha'lab, who earned his living as a teacher in an elementary school, but in the most important of his works that has survived to us, the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* (ed. R. E. Brünnow, Leyden 1886, reprinted as *Kitāb al-Zarf wa 'l-Zurafā*, Cairo 1324), prepared a handbook of rules of good society for the aristocrats of Baghdād. In addition there survives by him a letter-writer: *Tafriḍī al-Muḥādī wa-Sabab al-Wuṣūl ila 'l-Farādī* or *Surūr al-Muḥādī wa 'l-Albāb fī Rasā'il al-Aḥbāb* in the Berlin MS., *Ahlwardt Verz.*, No. 8638. He was probably also the author of the *Kitāb Waṣāyā Mulūk al-Arab fī 'l-Djāhiliyya*, the first part of which was printed in Baghdād in 1332, although Yahyā al-Washshā' is named in it.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 85; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuḥat al-Aḥbāb*, Cairo 1294, p. 374; Yāqūt, *Iṣḥād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 277 sq.; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuṭā'*, p. 7; Flügel, *Die gramm. Schulen der Araber*, p. 212; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, No. 87. (C. BROCKELMANN)

WĀSĪ. [See WĀSIYA.]

WĀSĪ' 'ALĪSĪ or 'ALĪ, an Ottoman author, scholar and poet, stylist and calligrapher of Philippopolis. His full name is: 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Čelebi b. Šālih or Šālih-zāde al-Rūmī, known as 'Abd al-Wāsi' 'Alīsī or Wāsi' 'Alīsī (from the *müderis* Mewlānā 'Abd al-Wāsi' whose assistant [*mülāzim*] he had been). He was *müderis* in various medreses in Brussa, Adrianopl and Constantinople, then *ḫāḍī*. He died in Brussa in 950. His fame is mainly based on the elegant and pompous translation, surpassing even the Persian original, of the *Anwār-i Suhailī* of Ḥusain Wā'iz Kāshifī [cf. KĀSHIFĪ] which in turn is a translation from the Arabic version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffa' being based on the *Panīatantra*. On the complicated problem of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* see that article. The manuscript of a version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* done directly from the Arabic is No. 1897 in the Laleli Library in Stambul. The Turkish translation by Wāsi' 'Alīsī called *Humāyūn-nāme* with its pompous and elegant style and the interspersed verses was regarded as one of the most important prose-works of the old school, a masterpiece which could not be equalled and a model of tasteful

style and composition. While the grand vizier Luṭfī Paṣhā (945—947) accepted the dedication of the work to the Wāṣīf had devoted his whole life with the reproachful remark that he would have done better to have devoted his time to legal treatises, Sulṭān Sulaimān, whose attention was called to it by the historian Ramazān-zāde at once recognised its importance and the very next day appointed the author to the important office of kādī of Brussa. He died there only a year later. The *Humāyūn-nāme* was printed in Bülāk in 1251 (1835). One of the two synopses made by Oṭhmān-zāde Aḥmed Ṭā'ib (d. 1136 = 1723) appeared in 1256 under the title *Ṭhamār al-Asmār*. Another synopsis was made by Mufti Yaḥyā Efendi.

Bibliography: Taḥkōpür-zāde, *Ṣhaḳā'ik-i nu'māniye*, p. 172, transl. by Rescher, Constantinople 1927, p. 307; Latīfī, *Tezkeret*, Constantinople 1314, p. 248; Peçewī, *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1283, i. 59; Ṭuraiyā, *Sidjil-i 'oṭhmānī*, iii. 497; Rifāt, *Lughāt*, vi. 93—94; v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, ii. 229—234 and *G. O. R.*, i. 114; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 227; Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 90, A. 1; Flügel, *Katalog*, iii. 229, 267. (TH. MENZEL)

WĀṢĪF, AḤMAD, official historian of the Ottoman empire, belonged to Baghdād, early entered the service of high Ottoman dignitaries, for example Kel Aḥmad Paṣhā and Abāza Meḥmed Paṣhā, for whom he acted as librarian. He was captured by the Russians and his fortune was made when he was sent with letters from Catherine the Great to the grand vizier. He finally acted as secretary (*waḳ'a nuwis*; q. v.) at the peace of Bucharest (1772). In Dhū 'l-Ḥijjā 1197 (Oct. 1783) he was appointed imperial historian (*waḳā'ī nuwis*; q. v.) in place of Enwerī [q. v.] Efendi. Five years later he was sent on an extraordinary mission to Madrid, which is fully described by him. As the Russo-Turkish war had broken out in the meanwhile Enwerī was again appointed official historian during his absence in Spain and Edib his deputy. Wāṣīf on his return had therefore to be content with an office in the Porte until in 1205 (1791) he was able to take a very active part in the peace negotiations, for which he was granted the important post of *Anadolū mü-hāsebedjī wekilī*. Later we find him leading a lonely and wretched life in Stambul, maintaining a constant fight with poverty. He was then banished to Mytilene but recalled on a change of government and again given the post of imperial historian (1213 = 1798). In Djumādā I 1220 (July 1805) he was even promoted to be *re'is efendi*. Sickness and bad health crippled him however and he died on 7th Rabī' I 1221 (May 24, 1806). He was not an attractive character because he was greedy, envious and malicious to a degree but rightly enjoyed a great reputation as an historian. As he had taken an active part himself in important events, his accounts are of peculiar historical value. His style is noble and sonorous and was regarded by his contemporaries as a model of impressive writing. From his pen we have four state chronicles known as *dhuyūl*, appendices, because they follow on to 'Izzī's work [q. v.]. The history, printed under the title *Maḥāsīn al-Āḥḥār wa-Ḥaḳā'ik al-Aḥḥār* (on the various editions cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 337), runs from 1166 (beg. Nov. 8, 1752) to 1st Radjab 1188 (Sept. 7, 1774) but the greater part of the second volume (1183—1188) is from

the pen of Enwerī. As to the appendices themselves, the first which follows on to Enwerī's fourth part deals with the concluding events of the year 1197 (end of 1783) and ends with the month of Sha'bān 1201 (June 1787). The second appendix begins with Selim's III's accession (Radjab 1203 = April 1789) and ends with the beginning of the year 1209 (beg. July 29, 1794). The third appendix covered the period for 1213 (beg. June 15, 1798) to 1217 (beg. May 4, 1802); it seems to have completely disappeared. The fourth and last appendix runs from Rabī' I 1217 (July 1802) to the end of Shawwāl 1219 (Jan. 1805). In conclusion Wāṣīf wrote a brief account of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. It is one-sided and therefore of no value as history. Wāṣīf also prepared translations from the Arabic, for example, he translated Zamakhshari's [q. v.] *Nawāghib al-Kalim* into Turkish.

Bibliography: v. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Die osmanischen Geschichtsschreiber der neueren Zeit* (reprint from vol. viii. of the *Denks. Ak. Wien*, Vienna 1856), p. 5—9; F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 335—337 (with a list of manuscripts, printed texts, separate editions and translations of the works of Wāṣīf Efendi).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

WĀṢĪL B. 'AṬĀ', ABŪ ḤUDHAIFA AL-GHAZZĀL, the chief of the Mu'tazila [q. v.]. Biographical facts concerning this personality are meagre, especially from early sources, yet without considerable divergencies. Born in Madina in 80 (699—700), where he was a client of the Banū Ḍabba, or of the Banū Makḥzūm, he migrated to Baṣra, where he belonged to the circle of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [cf. AL-ḤASAN B. ABI 'L-ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ], and entered into friendly relations with notable personalities such as Djaḥm b. Ṣafwān [q. v.] and Bashshār b. Burd [q. v.]. With none of these three men, however, these relations remained undisturbed. His wife was a sister of 'Amr b. 'Ubaid Abū 'Uṭhmān [q. v.], next to himself the most celebrated of the earliest Mu'tazila. He had the guttural pronunciation of the *r*; on account of his mastery of the language he succeeded in avoiding this letter, in *khutba*'s and sayings, specimens of which are preserved. Further he was conspicuous for his giraffe-like neck, an object of satirical lines by his former friend Bashshār.

He received the *laḳab* al-Ghazzāl because of his frequenting the spinners' market in order to bestow alms upon the poor women who exercised that métier. He was praised for being very scrupulous in touching money.

Wāṣīl's deviation from the views of Ḥasan is said to have become the starting point of the Mu'tazila. The origin of the name of the sect cannot, however, be based on that fact [see MU'TAZILA].

Four theses are ascribed to Wāṣīl: Denial of Allah's eternal qualities [cf. the art. ṢIFA]; the doctrine of free will, which he shared with the Ḳadarites; the doctrine that the Muslim who commits a mortal sin enters into a state intermediate between that of a Muslim and that of a *kāfir*; the doctrine that one of the parties who took part in the murder of 'Uṭhmān, in the battle of the Camel and that of Ṣiffin was wrong, just as in the case of *Ḥ'ān* [q. v.] one of the parties must be considered to swear a false oath.

The last doctrine is made by the author of the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* the starting point of Wāṣīl's

system. He represents it in this form: The intention to kill a *ṣaḥābī* [cf. AṢḤĀB] does not render a Muslim *fāsiq* (p. 170). Yet he admits to having been rebuked for this representation, on the ground that Wāṣil considered the intention to kill one of the *ṣaḥāba* as *kufr* [cf. KĀFIR].

In this connection it may be noted that the passage on Wāṣil in *Djāḥiẓ* *Bayān* suggests more important deviations from orthodox Islām than those mentioned in later sources.

Lack of contemporary information is the cause of our not being able to say more of this.

It is said that Wāṣil propagated his ideas through missionaries whom he sent to different parts of the Muslim world. Al-Shahrastānī states that in his days a sect called *al-Wāṣiliya* was living in the Maghrib. Yet the *Wāṣiliya* are not mentioned in al-Ash'ari's *Maḳālāt*, where the name of Wāṣil occurs once only (ed. Riter, i. 222). — He is said (see e.g. Ibn Khallikān) to have written several books or pamphlets on the theological and political questions of his day. He died in 131 (748—749).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Husain 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Khaiyāt, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nierberg, Cairo 1344, Register; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, vii. 234; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, Cairo 1311, i. 8 sqq.; Ibn Kutaiba, *Adab al-Kātib*, ed. Grünert, p. 15 sq.; Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii. 24, 61; 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḳ bain al-Firḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Badr, Cairo 1328, register; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 31—34; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, Register; al-Idjī, *Mawāḳif*, ed. Soerensen, p. 290, 330; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 791; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, *G. M. S.*, vii. 223 sqq.; al-Mahdi li-Dīn Allāh Ahmad b. Yahyā b. al-Murtaḍā, *Kitāb al-Munya*, ed. Arnold, Haidarābād 1316—Leipzig 1902, Register; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-'Itidāl*, No. 2301; Pococke, *Spec. hist. arabum*, ed. White, Oxford 1806, p. 214 sq.; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i. 193; ii. 261, 262; A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. 410 sq.; H. Steiner, *Die Mu'tasiliten*, Leipzig 1865, p. 25, 49 sqq.; Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam tot op al-Ash'ari*, Leyden 1875, p. 51 sqq.; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910, p. 101; H. Galland, *Essai sur les Mo'tazelites*, Geneva 1906, p. 39 sqq.; M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, Register; Houtsma, in *W. Z. K. M.*, iv. 219 sq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

WĀSĪT, once one of the most important cities of the 'Irāk in the centre of which it stood. The city was a creation of al-Ḥadjjdjād b. Yūsuf [q. v.]. As to the date of its foundation, the statements of the Arab writers vary between 83 (702) to 84 (703). Yāqūt is probably right in saying that the building of it occupied the years 83—86 (702—705). Al-Ḥadjjdjād was certainly living in his new city by the year 84. On the date of its foundation cf. Streck, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 324—325; Périer, *op. cit.*, p. 208; Mas'ūdi, *B. G. A.*, viii. 360.

On the immediate reasons which led to the building of a new town and the choice of its site see the story in Ṭabarī, ii. 1125, 12 sq. (transl. in Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 323 sq.). Al-Ḥadjjdjād wished by creating a fixed camp for the Syrian troops,

his best soldiers, to strengthen their morals and by separating them from the 'Irākīs to avert friction between them. The new garrison town was also intended to keep in check the two turbulent military colonies of Kūfa and Baṣra, for it was built equidistant between them (cf. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendlande*, Berlin 1885—1887, i. 394; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 156; Périer, *op. cit.*, p. 205 sq.; Reitemeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 46 sq.). Being immediately above the Baṭiḥa [q. v.] Wāṣit was also intended to facilitate the effective control of these somewhat inaccessible regions.

According to the usual statement, al-Ḥadjjdjād himself chose the name Wāṣit = "middle" for his new city, because it was roughly midway between the two principal cities of the 'Irāk, Kūfa and Baṣra, and was a similar distance from al-Ahwāz, the capital of Khūzistān.

According to another story, however, there had previously been a village named Wāṣit al-Ḳaṣab (= Wāṣit of the Reed) on the site chosen by al-Ḥadjjdjād; cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 322 sq. and Périer, *op. cit.*, p. 206 sq.

In the Muslim east, at least where Arabic nomenclature prevailed, there were over 20 places called Wāṣit in the time of the 'Abbasid caliphate. The most important of all these was Wāṣit al-Ḥadjjdjād, as the town is often called to distinguish it from others of the same name; it is also particularised as Wāṣit al-'uzmā ("Great Wāṣit") and Wāṣit al-'Irāk (cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 323).

Even if we reject the somewhat doubtful existence of a place named Wāṣit al-Ḳaṣab, the immediate vicinity of al-Ḥadjjdjād's town was already inhabited in the Sāsānian period; Wāṣit was built on the west bank of the Tigris while opposite it on the east bank lay the town of Kaskar.

In the story of the foundation of Wāṣit which has been embellished with legendary details a not inconsiderable part is played by the great magician 'Abd Allāh b. Hilāl, whom al-Ḥadjjdjād brought specially from Kūfa (cf. Yāqūt, iv. 885, 4 sq. and *W. Z. K. M.*, vii. 255). Considerable sums were required to build the new city (cf. Streck, p. 325; Périer, p. 208 and Reitemeyer, p. 47—48). The palace built by al-Ḥadjjdjād was surmounted by a towering green dome which got the name of *al-Kubba al-khadrā*. Its plan (square in general form, the measurements of the sides, the dome) afterwards served as a model to the caliph al-Manṣūr in building his palace in Baghdād; the latter was therefore also called *al-Kubba al-khadrā*. Beside his palace al-Ḥadjjdjād built the chief mosque; al-Manṣūr also copied the proportions of this in his chief mosque likewise built beside the palace in Baghdād, as Herzfeld points out in *Sarre-Herzfeld, Arch. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii. (Berlin 1919), p. 135.

Among the buildings erected by al-Ḥadjjdjād in Wāṣit must be mentioned the large prison called *Dimās* (presumably Greek *δημόσιον* "prison") (see Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 326). Al-Ḥadjjdjād died in 95 A. H. (714) in Wāṣit and was buried there.

At first al-Ḥadjjdjād would only allow Arabs (preferably Syrian) to settle in his new capital; later he settled there Transoxanian Turks (mainly from Bukhārā originally) from Baṣra where a considerable number had settled, sometimes as prisoners and sometimes as voluntary emigrants (cf. Périer,

op. cit., p. 209). It was only after the death of al-Ḥadjdīdj that the old native Aramaic population and the Persians were admitted; in course of time the population became a very mixed one. Wāsiṭ and Kaskar gradually became merged in a single twin city united by a community of political and economic interests.

During the whole period of the Umayyads, Wāsiṭ remained the most important town in the 'Irāk, the seat of government of the country and the residence of its governors except for the last years of the dynasty. It was the 'Abbāsids who put an end to the dominating position of Wāsiṭ. But even after its loss of position as the centre of the region Wāsiṭ continued to be of great strategic importance. It has always played a very important part in the political and military history of the central and southern 'Irāk, especially that of the districts of the Baṭīḥa and Maisān [q. v.]. Cf. Ibn al-Mu'allim and Margoliouth in *Z. A.*, xxvi. 334 *sqq.* In the xvth century Wāsiṭ played an important part under the dynasty of the Musha'sha' Saiyids; cf. Caskel, *Islamica*, iv. 48 *sq.*

The decline of the city seems to have gradually begun in the xvth century. This was mainly the result of a change in the distribution of the water to the two arms of the river at the old bifurcation of the Tigris at Kūt al-'Amāra. It may be mentioned that the Turkish geographer Ḥādjīdj Khalifa, who lived in the first half of the xvth century, in his *Djihān-numā* (Latin version by Norberg, Lund 1818, p. 70) records of Wāsiṭ that it lies in the middle of the desert and that the canal there is famous for the pens made out of its reeds.

The population of the town in the days of its prosperity was certainly very considerable. Yāqūt who was several times in Wāsiṭ shows that in the early decades of the xiiith century it was still a large place. The *dihkān*, the Persian landowners, were still in Yāqūt's time (see *B.G.A.*, vii. 322), i. e. about 891, living in the old town of Kaskar. The Christian element must have been not inconsiderable in Wāsiṭ in the Muslim period; their quarters were probably in Kaskar, as in the Sāsānian period. Here there was in any case a Jewish colony before the Arab invasion. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Babylonia about 1170, found a strong Jewish community in Wāsiṭ which he estimated at 10,000 people, the same as in Baṣra. The bulk of them presumably lived in a special quarter of the old eastern city.

The region in which Wāsiṭ was built is said to have been unfertile before the settlement by al-Ḥadjdīdj. The latter improved the soil of the surrounding country. The result was that conditions of life became much healthier and sanitation was improved so that the climate of Wāsiṭ was regarded as healthier than that of Baṣra. The Arab geographers agree in their panegyrics on the countless orchards, extensive groves of date-palms, the water flowing everywhere, the plentitude of fish, and the very fruitful yield of the soil of the region of Wāsiṭ. Much corn was exported from the granary of Wāsiṭ and in times of famine Baghdād had to be supplied from here (cf. the accounts of Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawkal, Muḥaddasī, Yāqūt, Kaẓwīnī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 328—330).

Wāsiṭ was also an important centre of communications, partly from its location on the navigable Tigris and its position in the centre of the 'Irāk and from the fact that important roads ran

north, south and east from it, one along the Tigris to Baghdād, another through the Baṭīḥa to Baṣra and the third to al-Ahwāz (Khūzistān). Wāsiṭ was therefore bound to become an important commercial centre; as Muḥaddasī mentions, it had fine bazaars; among other things, valuable textiles were manufactured here (for curtains) which were known as *Wāsiṭī* fabrics (cf. *B. G. A.*, iv. 375 and Salmon, *L'Introduction topograph. à l'histoire de Bagdad d'al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, Paris 1904, p. 135). Shipbuilding also played a part in the activities of Wāsiṭ in view of the busy traffic on the river; *al-wāsiṭīya* is still found in the 'Irāk as the name of a kind of boat, cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, v. (Baghdād 1927), p. 463, 11.

Wāsiṭ also took the place of its predecessor Kaskar as capital of one of the twelve districts into which the Sāsānians had divided the 'Irāk for taxation purposes (cf. thereon Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 15, 18, 332).

Wāsiṭ was not only a strong garrison town but an important agricultural and commercial centre. It also distinguished itself in the cultivation of knowledge, particularly of Muslim theology. Among its inhabitants in the time of Muḥaddasī (c. 985) were notable legists and Qur'ān readers; the study of the sacred book was especially carried on here (*B.G.A.*, iii. 118, 119, note). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 2, 9 *sq.* and cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 330—331) who was in Wāsiṭ in the first half of the xivth century, is full of praises of the pious citizens, most of whom knew the Qur'ān by heart and recited it correctly. The subject of *tadẓīd al-Kur'ān* [q. v.] was studied with special enthusiasm. A representative of the art of reading the Qur'ān who belonged to Wāsiṭ was Ismā'īl b. 'Alī (d. c. 1291; cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 411).

It may be mentioned that the mystic theologian al-Ḥallādj who was born in Fārs, spent his youth in Wāsiṭ (cf. L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj* [Paris 1922], i. 20 *sq.*). In this connection it may be noted that the founder of the Ḳarmāṭian sect of the Baḳliya, Abū Ḥatīm, made his first appearance in 295 (908) in the *sawād* of Wāsiṭ [cf. above, art. BAḲLĪYA].

In Wāsiṭ was also studied the history of the town and of that of the adjacent Baṭīḥa. Aslam b. Sahl Baḥshal (d. 904) wrote a local history, consisting mainly of biographies (see Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, in *Abh. G.G.W.*, 1882, No. 83; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 138). The history of Ibn al-Maghāzili al-Djullābī (d. 1139; see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 240) was probably a continuation of this. An appendix to the latter work was probably the local chronicle of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Dhahabī al-Dubaiṭhī (d. 1239); see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, No. 323; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 330; *Z. S.*, ii. 107.

Ibn Abi 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Baḳhtiyār (d. 1157), a native of Wāsiṭ, wrote a history of the Baṭīḥa (*Ta'rikh al-Baṭā'ih*); cf. 'Alī Sharkī, in *Lughat al-'Arab*, vi. (Baghdād 1928), p. 279, 3 *sq.*

As to the history of the mint of Wāsiṭ, we have coins of the town from its foundation (85 = 704) down to the period of the Mongols of Persia. Cf. e. g. St. Lane-Poole, *Catal. of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. x., p. ccxvii.—viii. (years 85—326 = 704—937 or 701—770 = 1301—1368) and O. Codrington, *Manual of Muslim Numismatics* (London 1904), p. 194.

In conclusion we have still to discuss the site of Wāsiṭ. Its exact location is one of the most difficult and most important problems of the historical geography of mediaeval Babylonia. We know definitely that the twin city of Wāsiṭ-Kaskar stood on the Tigris on either side of it. All the Arab geographers of the ixth—xiiith centuries agree in this (cf. the passages in Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 319 sq. to which we may add Mas'ūdi, *B.G.A.*, viii. 53, 17 and also Suhrāb [Ibn Serapion], who about the middle of the tenth century described the river and canal system of the 'Irāk fully; see his *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Akālīm al-sa'b'a* [ed. Mzik, Leipzig 1930] p. 118, 3 = *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 9, 4 from below). In order to identify the site of Wāsiṭ the first thing necessary is to establish the course of the mediaeval Tigris. It must be pointed out that the arm of the Tigris on which Wāsiṭ stood, the main stream of which since the xvth century has been gradually diminishing and sinking to be a secondary arm, as the bulk of the water was gradually diverted from below Kūt al-'Amāra into the eastern bed, is to be considered the real lower course of the Tigris.

The *Shatt' al-Haiy* (better *Shatt' al-Gharrāf*) which branches off at Kūt al-'Amāra S. E. from the main stream, has been usually said to be the mediaeval Tigris (on this water course cf. especially the artt. DIDJLA, 'IRĀK and MAISĀN). It forks again a little below the town of Kūt al-Haiy (also known briefly as Haiy) into two arms, one of which is now called Abū Djuhairāt and as a rule is now the only one to contain water, and the eastern *Shatt' al-A'mā*. Both unite again at the village of *Shaikh Khadr* (*Khḍer*) and enclose an island about 30 miles long called *Djazirat al-Hairat* on maps. Herzfeld has rightly pointed out in *Sarre-Herzfeld*, *op. cit.*, i. 247, that the *Shatt' al-Haiy* forms the greatest crux in the ancient geography of the 'Irāk. Is it really the mediaeval Tigris or is it only a secondary arm? Perhaps we have to see in it a canal which was dug in ancient times to give a convenient connection between the Euphrates and the Tigris. The little that we have so far learned from European travellers about the ruins of Wāsiṭ is against locating it on the banks of the *Shatt' al-Haiy* and therefore against identifying the latter with the mediaeval Tigris.

Unfortunately the whole canal and river system of the *Shatt' al-Haiy*, especially the wide territory between it in the west, the Tigris in the east and the Euphrates in the south, has been very insufficiently investigated from the geographical point of view and the maps to be consulted for the region of Wāsiṭ are very defective. Of these the following have been used here: F. R. Chesney, *The Expedition for the survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London 1850), Atlas, plate ix. (pertinent text in vol. i. 36—37); Ed. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris* (Leipzig 1900), plate ii. and cf. p. 69 sq.; *Lower Mesopotamia between Bagdad and the Persian Gulf* (1:1,000,000), London, War Office, 1907 (also reprinted by the cartographical section of the German General Staff, Berlin 1915); *Karte von Nordbabylonien* (temporary edition; 1:200,000), sheet 9: Kūt al-'Amāra, Berlin (kartograph. Abteilung der preussisch. Landesaufnahme), 1918; *Karte von Mesopotamien* (temporary edition; 1:400,000), sheet 5^d, Bagdad, Berlin (*ibid.*) 1919.

A number of European travellers visited the

actual site of the mediaeval Wāsiṭ in the ixth and xxth centuries; their accounts however are rather brief. The first to be mentioned are the English officers Ormsby and Elliott who stopped in Wāsiṭ in 1831. On their information are based the statements in Chesney, *op. cit.*, i. 37; J. R. Wellstedt, *Travels to the city of the Caliphs*, London 1840, i. 171 (an edition of Ormsby's diary) and J. B. Fraser, *Mesopotamia and Assyria*, Edinburgh 1842, p. 155. R. Koldeweg and B. Moritz are said to have visited Wāsiṭ during their archaeological expedition to Southern Babylonia in 1886—1887; but so far nothing has been published of their observations. Count Aymar de Liedekerke-Beaufort, who fell in 1916 in the War, also visited Wāsiṭ on an archaeological expedition in 1913—1914. His valuable account of the district in question was published by Virolleaud, in *Babyloniaca*, vi., Paris 1922, p. 105—116 unfortunately without a map. We therefore really have only two brief descriptions of the ruins of Wāsiṭ, one of 1831 and the other of 1913—1914.

The former going back to Ormsby and Elliott gives (according to Chesney) the following data. The old dry bed of an arm of the river can be followed for a few miles below Kūt al-'Amāra; this flows S. S. E. through the ruins of Wāsiṭ and then goes on in the same direction under the name of *Shatt' Ibrāhīm*, and rejoins the Euphrates midway between the *Shatt' al-Haiy* and Kurna. That this river-course should be recognised as the Tigris proper, on the banks of which Wāsiṭ lay, is suggested by the breadth of the ancient bed and the ruins on both sides of it; some of Wellstedt's notes supplement this: mounds of ruins are to be seen everywhere; the ground is covered with fragments of buildings (pillars, architraves, friezes, glass and ceramics). Special mention may be made of a fairly well preserved little domed building in the style of the period of the caliphs, very probably a mosque; the channel which cuts through these ruins is of the breadth of the Euphrates. Fraser finally tells us that in the vicinity of the old town there has arisen a little village of 40—50 wretched houses built out of the material of the ruins and inhabited by fishermen.

As to A. de Liedekerke-Beaufort's description 80 years later (see *op. cit.*, p. 115—116) it may be noted that this traveller came to Wāsiṭ from the old Babylonian site of Zerghul (Surghul), 4 miles N. E. of *Shaṭra*; striking N. E. After 3 hours' march from Zerghul he crossed the old silted up bed of the Tigris of the 'Abbāsīd period which the natives call *Shatt' el-Khōrder*. This he met again at the ruins of Wāsiṭ. Among the shapeless mounds of ruins there the only remarkable thing was a fine brick portico. According to A. de Liedekerke-Beaufort, Wāsiṭ lies 25 miles west of Haiy (Kūt al-Haiy). This remark must be due to an error or rather to a slip of the pen; for it must be "east of Haiy" (correct also the statement above, art. KASKAR). Our traveller thinks that the Tigris in ancient times used the *Shatt' al-Haiy* as far as *Djelatseker* (meaning Kal'at Sikkar on the *Shatt' al-A'mā*), then followed the lakes of the swamps (*hōrs*; cf. above, art. MAISĀN) of Tellōh, al-Hibba and Serghul, finally entering the sea at the side of the modern Hōr al-Ḥammār (cf. above, art. MAISĀN); in the Muslim period on the other hand, it created for itself this eastern bed on which Wāsiṭ lay.

According to the already mentioned map of Mesopotamia, sheet 5^d, Bagdad, the geographical position of Wāsiṭ is 32° 15' North Lat. That this town is probably to be placed north and not south of 32° N. Lat. was already proved by Wagner (in *N. d. G. G. W.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1902, p. 272, 279) from the statements of the mediaeval Arab itineraries. On the above mentioned map the ruined site of Wāsiṭ is crossed by a channel running S. E.; three further channels enter it of which those still in use take their water from the Nahr Dujġele. Quite close to Wāsiṭ is marked a place Beled, presumably the fishing-village mentioned by Ormsby and Elliott (in Fraser).

The Dujġele (= little Tigris) leaves the Tigris about 6 miles below Kūt al-ʿAmāra. It might be identical with the ancient, now dried up arm of the river which Ormsby and Elliott were able to follow and which they took for the mediaeval Tigris of Wāsiṭ (see above). In Stieler's *Handatlas* sheet 59 (1918), this water course is marked as Shaṭṭ al-Wāsiṭ and Wāsiṭ itself is marked on it in 32° 15' (according to the map of Mesopotamia, leaf 9, Wāsiṭ lies 4—5 miles south-west of the river Dujġele). The distance between Wāsiṭ and Kūt al-Haiy is, according to the map of Mesopotamia sheet 5^d and that of Babylonia, sheet 9 (see above), and sheet 59 in Stieler's *Handatlas*, about 15 miles as the crow flies; A. de Liedekerke's estimate (25 miles) is decidedly too high. The distance Wāsiṭ-Kūt al-ʿAmāra is about 45 miles as the crow flies.

The question of the site of the mediaeval Wāsiṭ would therefore seem to be solved with considerable certainty by the above considerations. The town was at one time sought on the bank of the Shaṭṭ al-Haiy or at least in its immediate neighbourhood; modern native geographers of the ʿIrāk like Hāshim al-Saʿdi and ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī still hold this view. It is a fact that the place-name Wāsiṭ is still found in the district in question, especially around Kūt al-Haiy as well as to the south in the island formed by the two arms of the Shaṭṭ al-Haiy, quite near the eastern arm, the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā. Chesney (*op. cit.*, i. 36 and *Atlas*, plate ix.) knows the "mounds Neishaget Wasut" in the neighbourhood of Kūt al-Haiy to the east of it. On the same position Loftus puts Wasut in the map accompanying his *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (London 1857); Streck therefore also at one time (1911, see above, i. p. 677^a) considered locating Wāsiṭ near Kūt al-Haiy. Hāshim al-Saʿdi (*Drughrafiyat al-ʿIrāk al-ḥaditha*, 2nd ed., Baghdād 1927, p. 145) has obviously the same region in mind when he places the ruined mounds (tells) of Wāsiṭ on the banks of the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā near the town of al-Haiy. ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī (*Rihla fi ʿl-ʿIrāk*, 2nd ed., Baghdād 1925, p. 29) holds a similar view; he lays stress on the existence of numerous tells and pieces of buildings, still visible at the present day. The same author says in his more recent work *Mudjiz Taʾriḫ al-Buldān al-ʿIrāqiya* (Baghdād 1930, p. 119) that al-Haiy is identical with the ancient Wāsiṭ.

Cuinet's authority (see his *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 313) says that half-way between Kalfat Sakar (the already mentioned Djelatseker in A. de Liedekerke = Kalʿat Sikkar; a little below 32° N. Lat.) and Kūt al-Haiy one comes to an area covered with mounds, which may be presumed to

contain old ruins; the most important is "Hai al-Ouaset", the celebrated town of Wāsiṭ; there one can still see the door of a palace which the local Arabs call el-Menāre. With this statement in Cuinet, I would take a note in L. Massignon, (*La passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, i., p. 23) which is based on a communication by a Baghdādi, a former inspector of the domains in the region of al-Haiy. According to the latter, the now abandoned ruins of Wāsiṭ, which lie on the bank of a dead water-course named Raṣid, consist only of a few old tombs and a minaret in ruins (apparently that mentioned in Cuinet). The reference here is probably to the same ruins as are mentioned by Chesney and the two modern Arab geographers. In keeping with these views Wāsiṭ is placed by Kiepert, *Carte générale de l'Empire Ottoman* (Berlin 1892), on the eastern bank of the Shaṭṭ al-Haiy, in 31° 55'.

We also find marked on maps (e. g. in Chesney, plate ix. and in Stieler's *Handatlas*, *loc. cit.*, in the latter in about 31° 45' N. Lat.) on the already mentioned Shaṭṭ al-Haiy island a village of Wāsiṭ al-Haiy, which no doubt still exists. It is about 25 miles south of Kūt al-Haiy and at least 4 miles from the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā which probably at one time flowed directly past it. This is the Wāsiṭ of the map *Lower Mesopotamia*, several times already mentioned, which marks also in 31° 45' on the east bank of the eastern Shaṭṭ al-Haiy arm a Kalʿat Shaikh Djewaid with the addition "al-Wāsiṭ".

It must be left for future thorough topographical study on the spot to establish what these villages or ruins near and on Shaṭṭ al-Haiy are. The existence of two places called Wāsiṭ, one in the vicinity of Kūt al-Haiy, one much further south (Wāsiṭ al-Haiy), seems to be proved; but it also seems safe to assert that all these places in the region of the Shaṭṭ al-Haiy have nothing to do with the mediaeval Wāsiṭ. The occurrence of the name Wāsiṭ in this region could, in my view, be explained most simply by saying they are settlements by emigrants from the old mother-city. When their existence became more and more threatened by changes in the course of the Tigris, many, if not the majority, of the inhabitants must have abandoned the city and settled on the banks of the Shaṭṭ al-Haiy which presumably gained in importance with the decline in the Tigris at Wāsiṭ in volume and importance. To distinguish it from the ancient Wāsiṭ a colony of people of Wāsiṭ on the Shaṭṭ al-Haiy may have been called Wāsiṭ al-Haiy.

On the antiquity of the town of Kūt al-Haiy nothing is exactly known, but I do not consider it probable that it goes far back into the middle ages; while it may have existed then as an insignificant village, it only began to come to the front from the xvth century with the decline of Wāsiṭ. It may in a way be described as the successor of the ancient Wāsiṭ. Kūt al-Haiy is now developing rapidly; it is the largest place in the whole valley of the Shaṭṭ al-Haiy and at the last census had about 10,000 inhabitants (cf. ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī, *Mudjiz* etc., 1930, p. 119).

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p. 318—338 (where further references are given); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 39—40 and previously in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 44—45; J. Périer, *Vie d'Al-Hadždjādī Ibn Yūsuf* (Paris 1904), p. 205—213 (and index, s. v.); E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam* (Munich 1912), p. 44—48; J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gaonats* (Frankfurt a. M. 1929), p. 91—93, 199—201, 336—337; cf. also the articles AL-BAṬĪḤA, KASKAR and MAISĀN.

(M. STRECK)

WAṢĪYA (A.), commission; as a technical term, last will, testament, legacy; *waṣī*, the person empowered, particularly the executor of a will.

1. The *waṣīya* of the pre-Islāmic Arabs was less concerned with the distribution of the estate than with orders and instructions to the survivors; it is the spiritual testament of the dying man sanctified by religion which is to hand on obligations and secure the continuity of tradition. In this sense, according to the *Shī'a*, 'Alī is the *waṣī* of the Prophet and every imām the *waṣī* of his predecessor, i. e. the continuer of his religious task and the steward of his doctrine. The literary form known as *waṣīya* for transmitting instruction and advice, especially from devout men and scholars, goes back to this source.

2. In so far as the term *waṣīya* was of significance in connection with the law of property in Muḥammad's milieu, it must have consisted in the consideration of more remote heirs — something between legal will and an expression of wishes — alongside of the *ʿaṣaba* who are called upon first to inherit [cf. MĪRĀTH]. According to Sūra xxxvi. 50 (of the second Meccan period) to draw it up before death was the obvious duty of a Quraish merchant. Such a *waṣīya* is expressly ordered the believers by sūra ii. 176 *sqq.* in favour of parents and "relatives" (sūra iv. 37, which, without using the term demands the same thing, adds also the so-called confederates); at the same time any alteration falsifying it is forbidden but any friendly interference in the interests of reasonableness is allowed; sūra ii. 241 going decidedly beyond the old Arab usage, makes provision for the widow by a *waṣīya* a duty. These three passages date from about the same time, the year 2 A. H. Sūra v. 105 *sqq.*, apparently later, prescribes for the *waṣīya*, which it presumes to be usual, two witnesses, the method of swearing them and the manner of challenging their evidence.

3. The later thorough regulation of the law of inheritance was doubtless intended to replace the earlier rules for the *waṣīya* [cf. MĪRĀTH]; a tradition which expressly states this was very early interpreted to mean that a legacy in favour of an heir-at-law is inadmissible at all; the former verses were therefore considered abrogated by the latter. Along with this prohibition the restriction of the legacies to one third of the estate is prominent in the traditions. Neither of these rules is traced to Muḥammad, it is true, but they obtained recognition so early and so generally that only the slightest traces of divergent views are to be found in tradition (e. g. al-Dārimī, *Waṣāyā*, Bāb 8, 14, 26; *Kanz al-Ummāl*, viii., N^o. 5409). The question was more disputed, following sūra vi. 12—15, whether the legacies should be handed over before the payment of the debts or vice versa; the

second alternative predominated and quite early. Further traditions reveal two opposite views on the making of a *waṣīya*: on the one hand it is urgently recommended and on the other one is advised against it; in any case, an unjust *waṣīya* is regarded as a grievous sin and a just one on the contrary as a good deed. To insert pious advice in the *waṣīya* (cf. section 1) is regarded as commendable. — Stress is laid upon the statement that the Prophet died without making a *waṣīya* — against the *Shī'a* view (cf. Lammens, *Faṭīma*, p. 110 *sqq.*).

4. According to the teaching of the Fikḥ, every Muslim may make arrangements by will that: *a.* one or more individuals shall settle the business of the estate as *waṣī*; this *waṣī* represents the estate, actively and passively, may not however burden it with an *ikrār* and enjoys the privileged position of the *amin*; that *b.* he or another *waṣī* as *walī al-māl* is to administer the property of his infant children (or grandchildren); for this office the mother usually comes first, although according to the *Shāfi'is*, she has no legal claim to it; the *waṣī* as administrator of the estate is empowered to transact all business of his ward but may only pledge or dispose of his land or houses in a case of obvious advantage or absolute necessity, and when the latter reaches his majority he must render an account; in both cases *a.* and *b.* the persons named are urgently recommended to accept the appointment as *waṣī* (the so-called *ḥāḍir*) and if possible to do the work of the office without payment; in case of necessity the *ḥākim*, the public authority, represented by the *ḥāḍir*, sees to the appointment of a *waṣī*, who in this case is usually called *ḥaiyim*; the *ḥāḍir* is also empowered to supervise the *waṣī* and if necessary to dismiss him; that *c.* legacies which in all must not amount to more than a third of the estate after payment of debts [cf. MĪRĀTH, 6a] are to be paid; if it turns out that they amount to more than a third of the estate they are cut down *pro rata* unless the heirs *ab intestato*, to whom the remaining two thirds go, confirm the provision of the deceased after his death. Under the same limitation come all gratuitous business transactions which he has undertaken in a condition of severe illness (*marāḍ al-marūt*) or, according to the *Shāfi'is* and *Malikis*, also under any other serious threat to his life, if his death results from it; a legacy in favour of a person who is also an heir of the testator to be valid needs the approval of the other heirs; it is further demanded that the person who draws up the will should be capable of doing business (with the exception of the spendthrift under age) and act under no pressure; that the legatee at the time of making the will is in a position to accept the bequest (except an unborn child, which is born within the next six months) and survives the testator and further that a transfer of property in the subject of the legacy is possible (but it need not yet be in existence at the death of the testator, for example the produce of a piece of land); the *waṣīya* can be used not only for individuals and groups of individuals but also for public purposes or even assume the form of a foundation (*wakf*) but in this case its purpose must be one allowed by law; a definite form is not prescribed for drawing up a will but the Muḥammadan law of evidence requires two witnesses even in the case of a written *waṣīya*; lastly for validity acceptance

by the legatee after the death of the testator is necessary; the testator on the other hand retains while alive the power to alter the waṣīya.

5. The limitation of gratuitous disposal of property in case of mortal illness to a third of the estate is the answer of the fikh to attempts to obtain real liberty of bequest by evasions; other plans however, which are still in use at the present day, could not so easily be prohibited. Among these is the irrevocable acknowledgment (*ikrār*) which may refer to all kinds of obligations, admits no counterproof and in case of a mortal illness as well as, at least according to the Shāfi'is, in favour of an heir, may be completely rejected; only in case of obvious impossibility is it invalid. The next two evasions are only effective before being overtaken by mortal illness. They are the so-called *hiba bi 'l-iwāq*, i.e. a gift, in return for which another, even if insignificant, gift is stipulated or given, which cannot be regarded in law as the purchase price (this gift is complete and irrevocable even if the giver does not own it up to his death), and the endowment (*wakf*) the yield of which the founder can allot quite freely to any one legally qualified and (but this is only according to the Ḥanafis) earmark during his own lifetime for his own support or the payment of his debts. A simple gift (*hiba*) from one man to another may also be used to circumvent the restriction to a third and sometimes the waṣīya is actually put in the form of a *hiba*, for which as far as possible the approval of the nearest blood relation is obtained (both usual in the Dutch East Indies). Further possibilities of evasion by fictitious transactions are given in the *ḥiyal*-literature. In many Muslim countries however, in contrast to these endeavours there is a decided objection to the waṣīya, e.g. in Somaliland.

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(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

WAṢṢĀF, a Persian historian, properly Waṣṣāf al-Ḥaḍrat "panegyrist of the court", the name by which Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh of Shirāz is known. Employed 'as a tax-collector under the Mongols, he became the protégé of the minister and historian Rashīd al-Dīn, who presented him to Üldjaitū (712 = 1312), when the Īlkhan was in Sultāniya. His history *Ta'rikh-i Waṣṣāf* is the continuation of the *Ta'rikh-i Djahān-gushā* of 'Aṭā Malik Djuwainī; it is called *Tadjiyat al-Amṣār wa-Tadjiyat al-Aṣār* "division of the towns and propulsion of the centuries" and covers the period 1257–1328.

Although it contains an authentic account of contemporary events, its value is diminished by the lack of method and the artificial and bombastic style, imitated by his successors. J. von Hammer edited the first volume with a German translation (Vienna 1856). The whole text has been lithographed in Bombay in 1269 (1853).

Bibliography: *Ta'rikh-i Waṣṣāf*, Bombay 1269, p. 544 sqq.; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, p. 162; Ridā Kulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣahā*, i. 655; Hammer, *Geschichte d. schön. Redekünste Persiens*, Vienna 1818, p. 243; Edw. G. Browne, *Hist. of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 67.

(CL. HUART)

WATAD or WATID, "a peg", means in prosody 1. a group of two vocalised consonants followed by a quiescent consonant (*watad maḍmūn*); 2. a group of two vocalised consonants, separated by a quiescent consonant (*watad maḍrūk*). Each foot ought of necessity to have a *watad* followed or preceded by one or two *sabab* [q. v.].

Bibliography: See the article 'ARŪP.

(MOH. BEN CHENER)

AL-WĀTHIQ BI 'LLĀH ABŪ DJĀFAR HĀRŪN B. AL-MU'ṬAṢIM, 'Abbāsīd Caliph. He was given the name Hārūn after his grandfather Hārūn al-Rashīd; his mother was a Greek slave. On the day that his father al-Mu'ṭaṣim bi 'llāh [q. v.] died (18th Rabī' I 227 = Jan. 5, 842), al-Wāthiq was proclaimed as his successor. Before al-Mu'ṭaṣim's death an alleged descendant of the Umayyads, named Abū Ḥarb, usually called al-Mubārka' "the veiled" from the veil which he always wore, had provoked a dangerous rising in Palestine, and Radjā' b. Aiyūb al-Ḥaḍārī whom al-Mu'ṭaṣim sent against him could at first make no progress. Soon after the accession of al-Wāthiq, Damascus also became the scene of a great rising; the rebels shut the governor up in the citadel and encamped on the plain of Mardj Rāhiṭ not far east of the town, but they were very soon routed by Radjā' who had been recalled to meet the danger from Palestine. He next turned his attention to al-Mubārka'. After a section of the latter's followers had left him because the season for sowing the fields was approaching Radjā' succeeded in defeating and capturing him. The Beduins around al-Medina also gave the Caliph trouble. When the Banū Sulaim plundered the market places of the Ḥidjāz the governor of al-Medina sent a large army under Hammād b. Djarir al-Tabarī against them; but he was defeated and slain so that al-Wāthiq had to turn to the tried general Bogha al-Kabir [q. v.]. In Sha'bān 230 (April–May 845) Bogha entered al-Medina and after defeating the Banū Sulaim and taking the prisoners to al-Medina he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and then turned his attention to the Banū Hilāl, who had also taken part in the rising. The most guilty were imprisoned in al-Medina and the others pardoned. Bogha then turned against the Banū Murra and the Banū Fazāra, who had seized the town of Fadak, but as soon as he appeared they abandoned the town and took to flight (231 = 845–846). In the meanwhile the prisoners escaped from al-Medina and killed their warders but were cut down by the citizens of the town with the help of the many negro slaves in al-Medina. In the following year, Bogha had also to fight against the Banū Numair in al-Yamāma and only subdued them after much

difficulty. There were also troubles among the *Khāridjīs* and the Kurds. Al-Wāthiq died on the 23rd Dhū l-Ḥijja 232 (Aug. 10, 847) at the age of 32, or according to others 34 or 36. He had not the gifts of a great ruler and his brief reign was not distinguished by remarkable events. The Caliph's character also was not such as to make him beloved. It is true that he was liberal to the poor in Mecca and al-Medīna and he also treated the 'Alids with great benevolence and took a considerable interest in poetry and singing; for the rest he is described as covetous, intolerant and devoted to sensual pleasures. He extorted huge sums of money from the high officials and as an ardent Mu'tazili he persecuted the orthodox theologians. In the circumstances, it is not remarkable that the generally respected Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Mālik al-Khuzā'i prepared a plot to dethrone the Caliph and put a check to the arrogance of his Turkish officers. By an accident the signal was given too soon (Sha'bān 231 = April 846); the authorities were therefore able to discover the conspirators without difficulty and Aḥmad b. Naṣr was executed.

Bibliography: al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii., index; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vi. 372, 376; vii. 6-9, 12-26; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, index; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 584-590; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Ṭīktākā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 323-325; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 337-346; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 522-525; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 523 sq., 543 sq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

WAṬṬĀSIDS (BANŪ WAṬṬĀS), a Moroccan dynasty of the xvth and xviith centuries. The Banū Waṭṭās were a collateral line of the great family of the Banū Marīn, to which also belonged the Banū 'Abd al-Ḥaḥḥ, founders of the dynasty generally known as the Marīnid dynasty [q. v.]. After leading a nomadic life on the edge of the Sahara and the high plateaus of the Central Maghrib the Banū Waṭṭās settled in the xliiith century in eastern Morocco and soon established themselves in the Rif, of which they were became practically independent rulers, when their relatives the Banū Marīn had replaced the last Almohad rulers in northern Morocco. Henceforth their history is at first linked with that of the Marīnids and afterwards closely connected with the Christian attempts to conquer territory in Morocco and with the events which led to the accession of the Sa'dian princes to power in the middle of the xviith century.

During the whole of the Marīnid dynasty, the Banū Waṭṭās, on account of the bonds of relationship which connected them with the ruling family, had been overwhelmed by the latter with honours, dignities and offices which they held either at the court of Fās or in the principal towns of the country. In 823 (1420) Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd 'Uṭmān was assassinated and Morocco was left in complete anarchy and exhausted by civil war. Spain had now been almost entirely reconquered by the Christians; the Portuguese had seized Ceuta; several pretenders supported by Tlemcen or Granada, were endeavouring to restore for their own advantage the unity of the kingdom of Fās. It was then that one of the outstanding members of the family of the Banū Waṭṭās, Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā b.

Zaiyān, who was governor of the town of Salé, took control of the destinies of the country. He proclaimed and succeeded in getting recognised a son, still a minor, of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaḥḥ, and ruled the country in his name as vizier. This regency was continued far beyond the minority of 'Abd al-Ḥaḥḥ. When Abū Zakariyā' (called in his land Abū Zekrī) died in 1448, he was at first replaced as mayor of the palace by his cousin 'Alī b. Yūsuf, then by his son Yaḥyā.

Events at first favoured the Banū Waṭṭās. The repeated landings of the Portuguese on the Moroccan coasts soon produced throughout the country a revival of religious sentiment which found expression in summons to a *djihād* and in arousing the fanaticism of the masses by marabouts and descendants of the Prophet. The Waṭṭāsīd regents at first turned to their own advantage this feeling among the people by taking the lead in the holy war and organising the struggle against the Portuguese. While Abū Zakariyā' succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on the latter in 1437 and taking the Infanta Ferdinand prisoner, Alī b. Yūsuf was less successful and could not prevent the fall of al-Ḥaṣr al-Ṣaghīr. In Fās, the Idrisid *shorfa'* [q. v.] were working for themselves, reviving the cult of Idris II [q. v.], the founder of the town, and their chief 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Djūfī saw his power growing daily. At the same time the regency of the Banū Waṭṭās had come to an end; two months after he had assumed power in 1458, Yaḥyā, the third Waṭṭāsīd vizier, was assassinated along with most of his family. The Marīnid Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥaḥḥ then tried to govern directly but he very soon alienated the people of the capital by his mistakes, such as appointing the Jew Hārūn as vizier. In 869 (1465), he was assassinated and with him the Marīnid dynasty ended.

But two brothers of the vizier Yaḥyā had been able to escape the massacre of their family in 1458. One of them, Muḥammad al-Shaikh, had taken refuge in Arzila (Āšīlā) and had been able to create an increasingly important party in the highlands of northern Morocco. On the death of 'Abd al-Ḥaḥḥ, he made up his mind to take Fās, now under Idrisids government, and after a six years' struggle, he entered the ancient capital of the Marīnids and was proclaimed sulṭān there in 1472. He reigned until 1504 but had to face many difficulties. The capture of Granada by the Catholic kings in 1492, the foundation of Mazagan [q. v.] and of Safī [q. v.] by the Portuguese had only exasperated still further the religious movement in Morocco and encouraged on all sides the rising of pretenders who used the *djihād* for their own private ambitions.

On his death, Muḥammad al-Shaikh was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, called al-Burtuqālī (the Portuguese), who managed to hold the throne of Fās till 1524. But events were moving rapidly; the Sa'dian *shorfa'*, after consolidating their authority in the extreme south of Morocco, advanced rapidly northwards and in 1523 seized Marrākush. The struggle between Waṭṭāsīds and Sa'dians was only to end in the final triumph of the latter. The successors of Muḥammad al-Burtuqālī, his son Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad (1526 and 1547-1549) and his grandson Muḥammad al-Ḥasrī (1545-1547), vainly endeavoured to check the vigorous progress of the Sa'dian

prince Muḥammad al-Shaikh al-Mahdi. When the latter in 1550 had finally occupied Fās, the issue was decided. A second Waṭṭāsīd pretender, 'Alī Abū Ḥassūn (Bā Ḥassūn), brother of Muḥammad al-Burtuqālī, made another effort to save and restore his dynasty: he went to seek help in the rest of Barbary and in Europe, visited Charles V in Germany, seemed to have interested the Portuguese for a time in his fortunes, and finally persuaded the Turks, who had just arrived in north Africa and extended their rule to Tlemsen, to make an expedition against Fās. This city fell to them in 1554 but Muḥammad al-Mahdi regained it a few months later. The last Waṭṭāsīds now left Morocco without hope of return. Some, it is interesting to note, were converted to Christianity and became monks.

The period of the Waṭṭāsīds in Morocco was one of transition between the Berber and the Sharīfian dynasties, between the mediaeval and the modern periods in the history of the country. In spite of the political turmoil, the country had occasional brief periods of prosperity. Fās continued to flourish under the Banū Waṭṭās, as it had done in the greatest days of the Marinids, and it was at this time that it was visited by Leo Africanus, who has left us a valuable and accurate description of it.

A genealogical table of the Banū Waṭṭās with full notes is given in H. de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, first series, Spain, vol. i., Paris 1921, pl. iv. (p. 162 and 163).

Bibliography: The main facts regarding the dynasty of the Waṭṭāsīds are scattered through the treatises on Moroccan hagiography and biography of the xviiith and xviiith centuries. The only consecutive sketch of their history is that given at the end of the sixth century by the historian Aḥmad b. Khālīd al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī [cf. AL-SLAWĪ], in his *Kitāb al-Isṭikṣā*, i. 159 sqq. — The European sources are Marmol and Diégo de Torrès. Cf. also the official documents published or in course of publication in H. de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*. A monograph was written on the Waṭṭāsīds by A. Cour, *La dynastie marocaine des Beni Wattas*, Constantine 1920 (cf. on this book and its subject *Revue Africaine*, 1921, p. 185—189; *Hespéris*, i., 1921, p. 492—497).

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

WATWĀṬ, RASHĪD AL-DĪN, a Persian poet, a native of Balkh, whose proper name was Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Djalil al-'Umārī (descendant of the Caliph 'Umar); he was called Waṭwāṭ (the swallow or martin) from his diminutive stature and insignificant appearance. He flourished under the Saldjūk sultān Sandjar and the Khwārizmshāh Atsiz (d. 551 = 1156—1157) and was secretary and court poet to Atsiz. While Sandjar was besieging the latter in the fortress of Hazārasp in Khwārizm (khānate of Khīwa) in 542 (1147) he commissioned the poet Anwarī to write insulting verses which were shot into the town on an arrow, and Waṭwāṭ had to reply to them. Taken prisoner, he was condemned to be cut into seven pieces but was saved by the intervention of Muntakhab al-Dīn Badī' al-Kātib, ancestor of the author of the *Djahāngushā*, who remarked that the swallow (*waṭwāṭ*) is too small a bird to be cut into seven pieces and that they should be content to cut him in two, which caused Sandjar to laugh and

pardon the poet. In 547 (1152—1153) he incurred the wrath of Atsiz and was banished from the court of Khwārizm but was restored to favour on addressing a poem to him. He died in this town in 578 (1182—1183) aged 97 lunar years, it is said. In addition to poems, he left works in prose: the *Maṭlūb Kull Ṭālib*, a translation and paraphrase in Persian of the 100 sayings of 'Alī, which has been edited and translated into German by H. L. Fleischer (Leipzig 1837), and the *Ḥadā'iq al-Sihr* "gardens of magic", a treatise on rhetoric based on the *Tardjumān-i Balāghat*, "the interpreter of eloquence" of Farrukhī, used by E. G. Browne in the introduction to vol. ii. of his *Literary History of Persia* (London 1906). His *Diwān* contains 7,000 verses.

Bibliography: 'Awfi, *Lubāb al-Albāb* (ed. Browne, 1906), i. 80—86; Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā* (ed. Browne, 1901), p. 87—92; Luṭf 'Alī Beg, *Atesh Kede* (Bombay 1277, no pagination), region of Tūrān; Riḍā Kulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣḥā* (Teheran 1295), i. 222 (copious extracts from the *Diwān*); 'Aṭā' Malik Djuwainī, *Tārīkh-i Djahāngushā* (ed. Muḥammad Kazwīnī, Leyden 1916), ii. 6—11; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte d. schön. Kedekünste Persiens*, p. 119; Edw. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii. 124, 309 sqq., 330—333. (CL. HUART)

WĀW, 27th or 26th (when it precedes *hā*); this is the sequence in some dictionaries, letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 6. For its palaeographical pedigree, see ABABIA, plate i. — It belongs to the group of the labials (*al-ḥurūf al-shafawiya*) as well as to that of the soft letters (*ḥurūf al-līn*). It is pronounced like English *w*. In the north-Semitic languages and sometimes in Ethiopic, its place at the beginning of words is taken by *y*. In a few cases it corresponds with *m* (cf. *urdujwān* "purple" with Aramaic ארמן and Hebrew ארמון).

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 69—73; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik d. sem. Sprachen*, p. 138 sqq.; do., *Précis de linguistique*, transl. by W. Marçais and M. Cohen, Paris 1918, p. 75; A. Schaade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre*, Register. (A. J. WENSINCK)

WAZĪR, vizier, title of ministers of state and of the highest dignitaries, especially in the Ottoman empire. The word and the idea come from Īrān. In the *Avesta vicira* means "decider, judge", in Pehlevi *v(i)zir* "judge, decision". The Arabs undoubtedly took over the term in the Sāsānian period and it was only in later times that modern Persian took back *wazīr* from the Arabic as if it were really Arabic. Under the Umayyads the usual name of the secretary of state was *kātib*; it was later replaced by *wazīr* (cf. Et. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, ii./2, Paris 1845, p. 317 sqq.; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, p. 6; on the origin of the name cf. also Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 53, note 1 and p. 444, note 3, where for the abstract significance we may compare *sulṭān*). The first *wazīr* was Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaimān al-Khallāl, appointed by al-Saffāh who was in office from Rabī' I 132 (Nov. 749) but was killed on 5th Radjab (Febr. 27, 750) (cf. E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 6 and Ibn Khallikān, *Kitāb Wafayāt al-A'yan*,

transl. by W. MacGuckin de Slane, i. 467). Under the caliphs the vizier managed the chancellery (*diwān al-rasā'il*), later, as business increased, jointly with the head of the *diwān*. It meant a considerable increase in the power of the vizier when the caliph al-Rashīd gave Dja'far b. Yahyā al-Barmakī (d. 187 = 103) the right to decide petitions (*tawḥīṣ 'ala 'l-kīṣāṣ*; cf. W. Björkman, *op. cit.*, p. 6 sq.). A full list of the viziers under the caliphs is given by E. v. Zambaur in his *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hannover 1927, p. 6—9. The last was 'Alā' al-Dīn Djuwainī in 661 (1263). The successors of the viziers were the governors of Baghdad. The signet-ring was the visible badge of the vizier's office (cf. Ibn Badr, ed. R. Dozy, p. 244). A history of the vizierate under the caliphs with its varying importance and scope has not yet been written. A list of the more important sources is given in the *Bibl.* A history of the vizierate in Persia and under the Saldjūks, cannot be given here, although the importance of the vizierate was greater than elsewhere, as may be seen from the distinguished names among the Persian and Saldjūk viziers.

Under the Ottomans the first vizier is said to have been 'Alā' al-Dīn, brother of the second sultān Urkhān. The historians give 726 (1326) or 728 (1328) as the date of the inauguration of this office, with what justice we do not know. Among the Saldjūks the office was called *perwāne*, lit. "command, advice", which is also used in old Ottoman. The power of the earliest Ottoman wazīrs was considerably restricted. In 788 (1386) Timurtash Pasha appears as the holder of the highest office in the kingdom. He bore three horsetails as a distinguishing badge. He is regarded as the first grand vizier of the Ottomans (*ulu wazīr*) and henceforth every Pasha of three tails bore the title vizier (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 199). The number of the viziers was constantly changing. In the reign of Mehemmed II the number was not allowed to exceed seven but could be less. Down to the conquest of Constantinople there was only one vizier. The viziers with the grand vizier (*ulu wazīr* in xvth century documents and later in popular usage, *şadr-i a'zam* in official language) were called *kubbe wazīrleri* "viziers of the dome" because they sat with the grand vizier, whose name they shared but not his power, under the same dome in the Diwān (so J. v. Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 80 sq.). They were called in order of rank, second, third, fourth etc. vizier.

As a rule, vizier in later times was simply a title of the other high officials like the *nishandji*, the *defterdār*, the Kapudan Pasha, sometimes even of the Agha of the Janissaries. The grand vizier was usually chosen from their number. When they appeared together before the sultān, only the grand vizier could speak about official business. The other viziers stood silent beside him with hands crossed.

In war time the viziers of the dome commanded armies and were then called *serdar* or *ser'asker* and had extensive powers, such as filling empty offices and fiefs. They had even the right to issue *firḡāns* from their camps in the name of the sovereign and to place the sultān's *tughra* [q. v.] upon them. Their income did not exceed 200 aspers. In the reign of Aḥmad III the institution of viziers of the dome was abolished on account of the great

confusion which they caused and only the Kapudan Pasha [q. v.] retained the title of vizier (cf. on the preceding J. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, etc., ii. 81). Afterwards it was given to the four chief pashas of the empire, the governors of Rumelia, Anatolia, Baghdad and Egypt, but then gradually extended to all the governors of the Ottoman empire as soon as they were promoted from the rank of a pasha of two tails to that of pasha of three tails. On extraordinary occasions such as the marriage of a sultān's daughter, according to J. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 82, viziers used to be appointed in name only without any official power. With the abolition of the viziers of the dome the power of the grand vizier increased immensely and only began to lose its prestige with the introduction of reforms in the reign of Selīm III. The external symbol of omnipotence among the Ottomans also was the sovereign's seal, which the grand vizier kept and handed on to his successor on his dismissal. On the honours which used to be enjoyed by the grand vizier as well as the insignia of his rank, cf. J. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii. 83 sq.; on the different names, *ibid.*, p. 84. — The history of the grand viziers of the Ottoman empire has been sketched by a number of authors. Cf. the list and biographies of the grand viziers in F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 165, 254 sq., 259, 267, 292, 306, 314, 315, 364, 365, 366, 368. Luṭfī Pasha (d. 1564) who had himself been a grand vizier, wrote a special work (*Asafnāme*) on the duties of the office of grand vizier; on it cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 80 sq. With the dissolution of the Ottoman empire after the Great War, the office of grand vizier naturally disappeared.

Bibliography: On the history of the word:

Geiger-Kuhn, *Gr. I. Ph.*, i. 2, 48, 91, 181; on Arab ideas, cf. the Qur'ān commentaries on Sūra xx. 30 and xxv. 37; Ibn al-Tiḡṭakā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. H. Derenbourg, *passim*, esp. p. 25; Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-sultāniya*, ed. M. Enger; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 81; Ibn Abdus, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. v. Mēik; Šābi, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz; Māwardī, *Kitāb Adab al-Wazīr*, Cairo 1929; Ibn al-Sairafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-Wizāra* (Fātimid period); 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Athar al-Shi'a al-imāmiya* (= biographies of Shi'i viziers under the Saldjūks, Šafawids etc.); Khālil al-Zāhiri, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, Paris 1884, p. 93; H. Bowen, *The good Vizier Ali Ibn Isa*, Cambridge 1928; Makrizī, *Khitaṭ*, ii. 58; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, ii. 57, note 31 (important). (FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-WAZİR AL-MAGHRIBĪ. [See AL-MAGHRIBĪ.]

WEDJĪHĪ, ḤUSAIN, an Ottoman poet and historian. Ḥusain whose *makhlaṣ* was Wedjīhī, came from Baghche Serāy in the Crimea at an early age to Stambul where he became seal-bearer (*mühürdār*) to the later grand vizier, then Kapudan Pashā, Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha. He died in 1071 (beg. Sept. 6, 1660) in Stambul and was buried before the Adrianople gate. Wedjīhī left a history and a *Diwān* which has not yet been printed. The former begins in the year 1047 (beg. May 20, 1637) with the description of the conquest of Baghdad under Murād IV, then describes the reign of Ibrāhīm I fully, as well as the first twelve years of the reign of Muḥammad IV. It ends with the year 1070 (beg. Sept. 18, 1656). The concluding portion for the year 1070 is especially

valuable because there is a gap here between the works of the imperial historians Na'imā and Rashīd. There are manuscripts of the still inedited chronicle of Wedjīh in Leyden, Vienna and Stambul, and an Italian translation in the Library of St. Mark in Venice entitled: *Relazione delli successi nell'imperio ottomanno, principiando dall' anno di Mahometto 1047 sino li 1071, e di Christo Nostro Signore 1638 sino li 1660, composta in lingua turca da Hassan (!) Vezhi e tradotta nell' idioma italiano da Giacomo Tarsia, Dragomanno veneto, in Pera di Constantinopoli, li 20 ottobre 1675*. Extracts from this Italian translation were published by N. Jorga, in *Annales de l'Académie Roumaine*, xxi. 55 sqq.

Husain Wedjīhī is sometimes wrongly called Hasan Wedjīhī.

Bibliography: F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 208 and the references there given.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

WEGA (VEGA) (AL-NASR AL-WĀKĪʿ). The Arabic name *al-Nasr al-wākīʿ* "the falling eagle" — in Latin always reproduced as *Vultur cadens*, in Greek γυψ καθεμείνων, although *nasr* is undoubtedly the eagle not the vulture — is the name first of the brightest star (first magnitude) α in the constellation of the Lyre and secondly of the whole constellation of the Lyre itself. The name Vega, a corruption of *wākīʿ*, is found in this form as early as the Alfonsine Tables e. g. "Lucida super pupillam deferentem et est Alohore et dicitur Wega". The expression *pupilla deferens* which here occurs for the first time in the Latin translations from the Arabic is to be explained, as Ideler (*Sternnamen*, p. 71) has shown, by a confusion of the word *nasr* with the similarly sounding *nāzīr* "eye, pupil"; *deferre* is, especially in mediaeval Latin, frequently used synonymously with *cadere*. The *Alohore* of the Alfonsine Tables is the Arabic *al-Lūrā* which again is identical with the classical Greek *lúra*, which was applied to Vega and also to the whole constellation.

The Arabic name *al-Salyāk* or *al-Shalyāk* [q. v.] also applied to both star and constellation, to which al-Kāzwinī gives first place, is presumably (cf. Hyde, *Com. in Ul. B.* 1665, p. 18 and Ideler, *op. cit.*) an Arabic corruption of the Greek *χέλυς* (or *χέλυν*) "tortoise", which we find for example in Aratus as a synonym of *lúra*. (The equation of *lúra* and *χέλυς* is based on the legend of Mercury according to which the god made the first lyre from the shell of a tortoise; cf. *Hymnus Hom. in Mercurium*). *Sulahfāt* (in al-Šūfī, *Ulugh Beg* etc.) is the Arabic name of the tortoise (from Pers. *sūlāk* > *sūrākh* = *pāy*, *pā*); it is therefore equivalent to *al-Salyāk*.

For the whole constellation, more rarely for Vega alone, we find in Arabic literature also the names *al-lwazz* ("crane, goose"), *al-Mīʿaza* ("cymbal") and *al-Šandī* ("stringed instrument"); the latter word represents the arabicised form of the Persian name of the constellation *Čang-i rūmī* ("Greek harp") and appears in the Latin translation of 'Alī b. Rīdwan as *Assange* and also from a wrong reading (cf. Ideler, *op. cit.*) as *Arnig*.

In the Arab conception of the constellations *al-Nasr al-wākīʿ* is a companion piece to the "flying eagle" (*al-nasr al-ʿāʾir*) as an eagle falling down from north to south with wings folded, the two wings being represented by the stars ε₁, ε₂

and ζ Lyrae which together, according to al-Šūfī, are popularly called *al-Athāfī*, "the tripod".

Pictorial representations of a later date frequently show the figure of the falling eagle, sometimes that of an eagle hovering in the lyre. (Gundel points out [Pauly-Wissowa, Stuttgart 1927, vol. xiii., article *Lyra*] that possibly Abū Ma'shar had already thought of this combination when he [Arabic text, published by Dyroff in Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 527] mentions the lyre as paranatellon to the third decan of Sagittarius and gives the explanatory note: "i.e. the Tortoise, and it is also called 'the falling eagle'." This assumption however, is not certain for in the text the two pictures are mentioned successively and not as a combination).

The oldest Arab representation of the heavens of the Muslim period, the fresco in the dome of Kušair 'Amra (cf. Saxl-Beer, *The Zodiac of Quşayr 'Amra*, Oxford 1932, and art. MINṬAKA), shows the constellation as a Lyre; the fine manuscript of *King Alfonso X's Book of Stars* and the Arabic globe of the heavens of the 13th century in Florence shows it as a tortoise, as do several other Latin MSS. of astrological works (cf. Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 432).

Vega was quite well known to the ancients; among the Babylonians the star (*bēlit balāṭi*) is identified as "mistress of life" with the goddess Gula (cf. Jeremias, *Geisteskultur*, p. 225); in Chinese it is often mentioned as *chih-nü* (the "woman weaving"). It is one of the brightest stars in the northern heavens and therefore forms an extremely favourable object of observation for the astronomer. Among the Arabs it plays an important part as an astrolabe star (cf. al-Šūfī: *al-Kawākib wa 'l-Šuwar*); in astrology however, it is of minor importance in view of its great distance from the ecliptic and is only rarely taken into account in horoscopes.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Šūfī, *Description des étoiles fixes*, ed. H. C. F. C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874; al-Kāzwinī, *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Aḥbār al-'Ibād* ("Kosmographie"), ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849; do., transl. by H. Ethé, Leipzig 1868; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809; Fr. Boll, *Sphaera*, Leipzig 1903. — On the etymology of *Sulahfāt*: A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919. (WILLY HARTNER)

WILĀYA (A.), a *mašdar* from *waliya* "to have power over something", according to others a substantive like *šindā'a*; a general term for any "conferment of power", authorisation. Djurdjānī, *Ta'rifāt*, p. 275, defines it as the "carrying through of a decision affecting a third person whether the latter wishes or not".

I. In constitutional law it means the sovereign power (= *sultān*; Ibn al-Sikkīt [d. 243 = 857], in *Lisān*, s. v.) or the power delegated by the sovereign, the office of a governor, a *wālī*. The *wilāya* is derived from *Sūra* iv. 62: "O ye who believe, obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority amongst you". It is regarded as granted by God and is a *fard* 'ala 'l-kifāya. A distinction is made between a general and a special *wilāya*. The *imām* [q. v.] or *ḫalīfa* [q. v.] possesses the general power. According to Māwardī, the vizier and governors of provinces have the general *wilāya*, the latter for their provinces. On the other hand,

military commanders, judges, imāms (i. e. the leaders of the *ṣalāt*), the leaders of the *ḥaḍīḡ*, financial officials etc. have a special *wilāya*. The possessors of a *wilāya* must be males of full age (*bāliḡh*), be in full possession of their mental faculties, have no physical defects, must be 'adl and be fitted by education and knowledge for the office in question; there are also still further conditions for particular offices (e. g. the *ḡāḍī* must be a free man).

Wilāya then comes to mean the appointment and certificate of appointment of an official. The different kinds are dealt with very fully by Kaḡashandī, *Ṣubḡ al-A'shā*, Makāla 5. (cf. the statement of contents in Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei*, Hamburg 1928, p. 144 sq.). In this connection we may note the designating of his successor by the reigning caliph, called *wilāyat al-'ahd*, which was first done by the caliph Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik and became the rule in the 'Abbāsīd period; every heir apparent is still therefore called *walī al-'ahd*.

Wilāya has in time come to be applied to the area of a *walī's* authority: thus in the Mamlūk period in Egypt and Syria it meant the smallest administrative area, at the head of which was a *walī* of the rank of an *amīr al-ṭablkhāna* (Kaḡashandī, *Ṣubḡ*, iv., p. 199 sqq.). In Persia it means the larger administrative areas into which provinces are divided; in Turkey, however, since the xvth century, the name has been given to the largest administrative units (also called *eyālet*) under Beglerbegs, later *wālīs* (Turkish pronunciation *vilāyet*).

II. In personal law every freeman possesses *wilāya* (usually pronounced *walāya*; cf. *Lisān*, s. v.), the power of disposing of himself (cf. e. g. Sarakhsī, *Mabṣūt*, xxiv. 157, 18 sq.). In certain cases this power can and must be transferred to another. But even then the Islāmic jurists speak simply of a *walāya*. We have this *walāya* in the case of the administrator of waḡf properties, the executor of a will, a father with respect to his infant children and particularly in the case of *walāyat al-nikāḡ* [see NIKĀḡ] and *walāyat al-māl*, guardianship. We shall deal only with the latter here.

a. Muḡammad, himself an orphan, was always interested in the protection of orphans, e. g. in the later Meccan period in Sūra xvii. 36 = vi. 153: "Touch not the property of the orphan, except for his good, until he is grown up". In the Medīna period we are told that one should deal fairly with orphans (iv. 126), be good to them (iv. 40; ii. 77, 211) and treat them as brothers (ii. 218—219) and support them for the love of God (ii. 172). Muḡammad set aside the fifth of the booty for orphans among other objects (viii. 42; cf. lix. 7). The principal passage however is Sūra, iv. 2 sqq.: "And give to the orphans their property; substitute not worthless things for that which is good, and devour not their property after adding it to your own; for this is a great crime . . . (4) And entrust not to the incapable (i. e. in money matters; *sufahā*) your substance which God has placed with you for a support; but maintain them therewith, and clothe them, and speak to them with kindly speech; (5) and make trial of orphans until they reach the age of marriage; and if ye perceive in them a sound judgment (*rushd*) then hand over their substance to them; but consume ye it not wastefully or hastily (6) (out of fear that) they are growing up. And let the rich guardian abstain [from it]; and let

him who is poor use it for his support (eat of it) with discretion. (7) And when ye make over their substance to them, then take witnesses against them . . . (11) Behold, they who swallow the substance of the orphans wrongfully, shall swallow down only fire into their bellies, and shall burn in the flame".

The pertinent traditions only contain certain developments of the Qur'anic idea (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s. v. Wali and Orphans).

b. The main doctrines of the Fīḡh.

1. The ward (*maḡḍūr*, i. e. the "bound") is either an orphan minor or a mentally deficient person (*maḡnūn*) or a spendthrift (*safīḡ* or *muḡadhdhir*). The *safīḡ* was only added about the end of the first or beginning of the second century A. H. The Qur'ān (cf. above) speaks, it is true, of the *safīḡ* but not yet in the later technical sense; the oldest expositors of the Qur'ān (Muḡjahīd [d. 100 = 718], al-Ḥakam [d. 115 = 733], Kaṭāda [d. 117 = 736], al-Suddī [d. 127 = 744]) only understand thereby women and children or one of these two. Ṭabarī still criticises this interpretation at considerable length and defines the *safīḡ* as "one who on account of the dissipation of his fortune, his immorality, his injury to and mismanagement of his fortune requires control (*ḡaḍīr*)" (*Tafṣīr*, iv. 153). Abū Hanīfa still refused to put the *safīḡ* under a guardian.

2. The guardian to be appointed should by law be the paternal father or grandfather, who is also entitled to appoint a guardian by will, the so-called *waḡī* (who may also be the mother). In other cases the guardian (*ḡaiyim*) is appointed by the *ḡāḍī*. The guardian must be a Muslim, who has attained years of discretion and is in full possession of his mental faculties, of good repute ('adl) and able to undertake the office. Guardianship is a religious duty and can only be declined for important reasons approved by the *ḡāḍī*.

3. The obligations imposed on a guardian. He has to administer the estate of his ward and act here as *wakīl*. Among his powers are that of arranging marriage or divorce and making of a will etc. He has to champion the interests of his ward; he may invest his ward's estate in business enterprises but not in his own business. He can only dispose of lands or houses with the approval of the *ḡāḍī*. He cannot have any business dealing between himself and his ward and cannot give anything away of his ward's property.

4. The guardianship is ended by the death of the guardian or of the ward, by deposition of the guardian for faithless conduct or when the ward attains years of discretion (*bāliḡh*, as a rule at 14) or becomes *rashīd*, i. e. capable of administering his estate himself (and according to the Shāfi'ī view also possesses the ability to recognise the true faith). The guardian has then to give his ward an account of his stewardship.

Bibliography: On I: Māwardī, *al-Aḡḡām al-sulṭāniya*, ed. Enger, Bonn 1853; transl. by E. Fagnan, as *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, Algiers 1915; transl. Ostrorog, 2 vols. (unfinished), Paris 1901, esp. introd., p. 74 sqq. — On II: In addition to the *Kitāb al-Ḥaḍīr* in the Fīḡh works: Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islam. Gesetzes*, Leyden 1910, § 44; 3rd (Dutch) ed., Leyden 1925, § 52; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1926, i. 232 sqq. (HEFFENING)

WIRD (A., pl. AWRĀD). The technical term *wird* (etymologically "to go down to a watering-place"; not to be vocalised *ward*) means the definite time (*waq̣t*) of day or night which the pious believer devotes daily to God in private prayer (in addition to the five prescribed prayers). It also means the formula of prayer recited on this occasion, called properly *hizb* (plur. *aḥzāb*; cf. Makki, *Kut al-Kulūb*, i. 81—84 and i. 4—22). The simplest *wird* consists of 4 rak'as, with the recitation of a seventh of the Qur'ān; but, very early, in private devotional prayer (*du'ā'*; Sunnī as well as Shī'ī, cf. Kulainī, *Kāfī*, at the end — and Khārīdī, cf. Djaitālī, *Kanāfir al-Khairāt*, iii. 397—416) there were added litanies, either isolated phrases (*basma*, *tahlīl*, *takbīr*, *tasbīḥ*, *taṣliya*, *istiḡfār*, *istī'ādha*) or isolated words (Arabic names of God: *Allāh*, *ḥuwa*, and invented or cabalistic names) because they were found to be "efficacious".

When in the xiith century, Islāmic congregations were formed which took up the Shī'a idea of the initiatory *ba'a*, they decided to teach the novice on the day of his admittance (*talkīn* = *akhḍh al-wird*) a special *wird* (cf. for the first appearance of this term L. Massignon, *Recueil*, 1929, p. 107, 6) which became the distinctive *dhikr* of each congregation.

In practice the *wird* is divided into two: *wird 'amm* (*dhikr dījāhrī*), an exoteric formula often of some length (several hundred *istiḡfār*, etc. several times a day: after the *fajr* and *maghrib* among the 'Alawiya), and *wird khāṣṣ* (*dhikr sirrī*), "secret" name of God (e.g. *yā Laṭīf*, among the Sanūsīya), which the *Shaikh* only communicates to the initiate as a great mystery (cf. Hasan Kādīrī, *Irshād al-Rāghibīn*, p. 27—28; publ. at the end of the *Kawāl maḥbūl* of Ibn 'Alīwa of Mostaganem, Tunis, Nahḍa, 1339). The term *hizb* or *dhikr* is used by preference for the assemblies of the brethren for common recitation (old term *samā'*; now *waḥḍa*).

Since the xivth century special collections have been put together, in the style of the *muhaddithūn*, containing the *wird* of the principal Sunnī *ṭarīqa*'s with the *isnād* of the transmission of the initiation. The oldest, the *Risāla* of the *hāfiṣ kubrawī* Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Futūḥ Tāwūsī of Abarḳuh, compiled shortly after 822 (1419) (cf. Kūshāshī, *Simt*, p. 75, 109 and Kattānī, *Fihris*, i. 337; ii. 274—275, 306—311), remodelled and brought up to date successively by the *shaffārī* Ghawṭh Hindī (d. 970 = 1562; in *Djāwāhir* and *Daradjāt*), Abū 'l-Mawāhib Shinnāwī (d. at Medina in 1028 = 1619; in *Sharḥ 'ala 'l-Djāwāhir*), Aḥmad Kūshāshī (d. 1070 = 1661; cf. his *Simt madjūd*, lith. Haiderābād 1327) and Hasan 'Udjamī (*Risāla*; cf. 'Aiyāshī, *Rihla*, lith. Fās n. d., ii. 214—222; and Kattānī, *loc. cit.*, i. 336—337; ii. 150, 193—195, 396), culminated in the famous manual, still unpublished, of Sanūsī, called *al-Salsabil al-mu'īn* (cf. the article *TARĪQA* and L. Massignon, *Recueil*, 1921, p. 169—171) where everything is found down to the "*wird* of the Hindu Yogis". These collections of *awrād*, brought from Mecca by pilgrims with *idjāsa*, have spread them throughout the Muslim world.

Bibliography: The essential work is 'Abd al-Hayy Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, Fās 1346, 2 vols. (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

WITR. In the treatment of ceremonial law in *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* this term is applied to the odd number of rak'a's which are performed at night. For details see below.

I. a. *Witr* (*watr* is also admitted) does not occur in this sense in the Qur'ān, but frequently in *ḥadīth*, which in this case also discloses to us a piece of the history of the institution, which is probably a continuation of the history of the fixation of the daily *ṣalāt*'s, as the traditions on *witr* presuppose the five daily *ṣalāt*'s. Some traditions even go so far as to call *witr* an additional *ṣalāt* of an obligatory nature (see also below, II). When Mu'adh b. Djabal, at his arrival in Syria, perceived that the people of this country did not perform *witr*, he spoke to Mu'āwiya on this subject. When the latter asked him: Is then this *ṣalāt* obligatory? Mu'adh answered: Yes, the Apostle of Allāh said: My Lord has added a *ṣalāt* to those prescribed to me, namely *witr*, its time is between '*ishā'*' (cf. Mīkāt) and daybreak (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v. 242). In accordance with this tradition it is reported that *witr*, when it had been forgotten or neglected, had to be recovered (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 206; Ibn Mādja, *Iḥāma*, b. 122). 'Ubāda b. al-Sāmīt [q. v.], on the other hand, denied the obligatory character of *witr*, on account of a different tradition (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 315 sq., 319).

A second stage in the position of *witr* is expressed in those traditions in which Muḥammad admonishes his people to perform *witr*, "for Allāh is *witr* (viz. One), and He loves *witr*" (e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 110).

The third stage of *ḥadīth*, which was to become the point of view of all *madhhab*'s with one exception, is represented in those traditions which call this *ṣalāt sunna*. Many traditions of this kind expressly deny its obligatory character and are consequently of a polemical nature; they are frequently ascribed to 'Alī (e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 86, 98, 100, 115, 120, 145, 148 etc.). It may be that this question, like other ceremonial points, belonged to the polemical repertory of the early Shī'is.

b. The time of *witr* is mentioned in *ḥadīth* in connection with different parts of the night. "Witr consists of pairs of rak'a's; whosoever fears *ṣubḥ*, has to add a rak'a in order to make the total number odd" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 5, 9, 10, 75). In other traditions three rak'a's are mentioned in order to avoid the *ṣubḥ* (*fa-bādir al-ṣubḥ bi-rak'atain*, e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 71). The number of thirteen rak'a's occurs also (Tirmidhī, *Witr*, b. 4), and in general *witr* is supposed not to be allowed after *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* (cf. Mālik, *Muwatta'*, *Witr*, trad. 24—28, and Tayālīsī, N^o. 2192: "No *witr* for him who has not performed it before *ṣubḥ*").

Witr is also frequently mentioned in connection with the first part of the night (cf. below, II). Abū Huraira performed it before going to sleep, on Muḥammad's order (Tirmidhī, *Witr*, b. 3). Muḥammad himself is said to have performed this *ṣalāt* in any part of the night (e.g. Tirmidhī, *Witr*, b. 4). The time between '*ishā'*' and daybreak appears as the largest space accorded to *witr* in *ḥadīth* (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 242). It is prohibited to perform more than one *witr-ṣalāt* in one night (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 23 bis).

c. Tradition frequently mentions the rak'a's, prayers, invocations and formulas by which *witr* used to be followed (e.g. Nasā'ī, *Ḳiyām al-Lail*, b. 51, 54; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 199, 350).

II. The chief regulations of *witr* as fixed by the different *madhhab*'s show insignificant divergencies only (see Sha'rānī, p. 198 sqq.), with the single exception, that *witr* is declared obligatory

by the Ḥanafīs, whereas in all the other *madhhab*'s it is *sunna* (cf. above, I. a.). The rules of the Shāfi'ī school are as follows: the number of *rak'a*'s may vary between the odd numbers from one to eleven; the *niya* [q. v.] is required; after every two *rak'a*'s and after the last a *salām* or *tashahhud* is performed. The best time is immediately after *tahajjud* [q. v.] for those who do not perform this *ṣalāt* in the first third of the night. In the second half of Ramaḍān [see TARĀWĪḤ], *witr* is prolonged by *ḥunūt* [q. v.].

Bibliography: A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v.; al-Marghinānī, *al-Hidāya wa 'l-Kifāya*, Bombay 1863, i. 152 sqq.; Futawa Alemgiri, Calcutta 1829, i. 155 sqq.; al-Shāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, i. 123 sqq.; Abū Ishāk al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll, p. 27; al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-Waḍi'a*, Cairo 1317, i. 54; do., *Ihyā'*, Cairo 1302, i. 177 sq.; Ibn Ḥajjar al-Haitamī, *Tuhfat al-Muhtādī bi-Sharḥ al-Minhādī*, Cairo 1282, i. 203—205; Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Muḥakkik, *Kitāb Sharā'i' al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255 (1839), p. 25; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Kut al-Kutub*, Cairo 1310, i. 31; al-Shā'rānī, *Kitāb al-Mizān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1219, p. 198 sqq.; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, index s. v. Tarāweeh prayers; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mr. L. W. C. v. d. Berg's beoefening v. h. moh. recht*, p. 402 sq. (*Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 101 sq.); Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis der mohammedaansche wet*, Leyden 1925, p. 75. (A. J. WENSINCK) WIZĀRA. [See WAZĪR.]

WUḌŪ' (A.), the minor ritual ablution which gets rid of the condition of "minor" ritual impurity (*ḥadath*, q. v.). Regulations for ritual ablutions based on a belief in demons and on animistic ideas were known to the Arabs as a survival from the older Semites but in Muḥammad's time they were no longer carefully observed. The regulation in Sūra v. 8, of the late Medina period, already betrays Jewish influence: "Ye, who believe, when you prepare for the *ṣalāt*, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows and rub your heads and your feet up to the ankles". Muslim regulations for purity based on this passage and the next verse v. 9 (in part identical with iv. 46) developed in all details under the influence of the corresponding regulations of Judaism but on the whole are less exacting than the Jewish system. The material for the study of their origins is contained in an unusually comprehensive body of traditions, in the transmission of which Aḥmad b. Hanbal had a particularly large share; in it we find on the one hand a, to some extent, antinomian tendency and on the other an endeavour to regulate everything in minute detail and lastly the harmonising tendency of the moderate elements.

The text of the Kur'ān taken literally prescribes a ritual ablution before each *ṣalāt*. This is actually maintained to be obligatory by the Zāhirīs and and Shī'īs. The four orthodox *madhāhib* however are agreed that a *wuḍū'* is only necessary to make a *ṣalāt* valid in case of a "minor" *ḥadath*. This view, which it was even endeavoured to support by an insertion in the text of the Kur'ān ("while ye are in the condition of *ḥadath*"), represented a concession to actual practice, which had already been very slack since ancient times. According to the law, a "minor" *ḥadath* is produced by: 1. touching the skin of the other sex (sexual intercourse itself

causes "major" *ḥadath*) even if the two persons are related in a way that prohibits marriage; 2. relieving nature; 3. loss of consciousness and sleep apart from a snooze while sitting; 4. touching the sexual organs and in several other ways.

The essential elements of the *wuḍū'* are according to the Shāfi'ī teaching: 1. washing the face; 2. washing the hands and the forearms up to the elbows; 3. rubbing the wet hands on the head; 4. washing the feet; 5. observing this order in the process; 6. formulating the intention (*niya*) of performing the *wuḍū'* before beginning it. Other actions recommended by the *sunna* are: the previous washing of the hands, rinsing of the mouth and clearing the nose (before 1); stroking through the beard with the wet fingers, rubbing the ears and washing the neck (before 4); uttering certain formulae at the separate actions, beginning with the right side of the body and performing certain actions three times. As a rule the *wuḍū'* takes barely two minutes to perform; many people do it hurriedly and confine themselves to the essential points. The demands to which the water intended for ritual ablutions must conform, are fully discussed in the *fiqh* books. If the believer has no suitable water available or on account of illness or wounds cannot perform the usual *wuḍū'*, it is sufficient to rub the face, hands, and forearms with sand or dust (*tayammum*, q. v.).

All the orthodox *madhāhib* permit a man who is at a permanent abode, once in twenty-four hours, and if he is on a journey, thrice in twenty-four hours, to rub his foot-covering instead of washing the feet at the *wuḍū'*, if the feet when last covered were washed clean and put into clean shoes, which must be impermeable and fit tightly. This process of *mash'ala 'l-khuffain* is not permitted by the Khāridjīs nor by the Shī'īs; as one of the most important external distinctions between *Sunna* and Shī'a, this has attained a considerable religious significance and among the Sunnis its recognition is an absolute essential of the profession of faith. The practice of *mash'ala 'l-khuffain* is very old and is perhaps one of the alleviations of ritual introduced by the Muslim armies. There is besides a difference of opinion regarding the normal treatment of the feet at the *wuḍū'*: all the Sunnis, the Khāridjīs and the Zaidīs demand that they should be washed, the Imāmīs, on the other hand, rubbed only; the former view, which is in keeping with the sense of Sūra v. 8, is no doubt the original one, while the latter represents an attempt to amend it in keeping with the literal text of the Kur'ān, which caused the representatives of the older view to produce tortuous explanations.

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Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, general index, s. v. Shoes. — Cf. also ṬAHĀRA.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

WUḌŪF or WAḌFA (A.), "halt", means in particular the halting of the pilgrims at any spot they choose within the plain of 'Arafa; it begins on the afternoon of the 9th Dhu 'l-Hiǧǧja and lasts till sunset. This *wuḏūf* is considered the most essential part of the ḥaǧǧǧj. The imām of the ḥaǧǧǧj usually introduces it (before the beginning of the combined *zuhr* and *ʿaṣr ṣalāt*) with a *khuṭba*; his words can of course only be heard by those in his immediate neighbourhood. The pilgrims for their part recite portions of the Qurʾān, say prayers — mainly for forgiveness of sins — and cry *labbaika* [q. v.] and other religious formulae. The ceremony ends with the running (*ifāda*) to Muzdalifa. A similar halt, spent in prayer and also called *wuḏūf*, is made in the early morning of the 10th Dhu 'l-Hiǧǧǧja in Muzdalifa before the running to Minā, also on each of the 11th, 12th and 13th Dhu 'l-Hiǧǧǧja after the throwing of stones on the "little" and "middle" heap. The stop, spent in prayer, on the elevations of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa in the running (*sa'y*) between these two sacred places is also occasionally called *wuḏūf*.

The significance of the *wuḏūf* in the Muslim ḥaǧǧǧj is clear: it is a kind of common worship, a "standing before God" (cf. *Rifʿat*, i. 141). But the form of the ceremony goes back to pre-Islāmic rites. For the monotheism preached by Muḥammad would in itself have had no reason to invent the sacred rite in 'Arafa and with it the most important part of the ḥaǧǧǧj. It might however be supposed that Muḥammad wished with the help of this act of worship to fill in gaps which may have arisen from the omission of some ceremonies of the pagan pilgrimage, and to this extent the *wuḏūf* may have in a way been a new creation of his. But this hypothesis loses its probability when we reflect that the *wuḏūf* (except in the last halt on al-Marwa, which follows the last *sa'y*) seems always to precede a ritual running and to be connected with it (cf. *Isl.*, xviii. 192: *wuḏūf* in contrast to *i'tikāf*). Now, since the ceremony of ritual running certainly goes back to pre-Islāmic rites, the same may be presumed for the *wuḏūf*. The original significance of this custom is however not thereby explained. This much nevertheless seems to be probable, that the *wuḏūf* took place

on holy ground or at least in the neighbourhood of such: the *wuḏūf* of 'Arafa was perhaps located at the foot of the hill later called *Djabal al-Rahma*, the special sanctity of which continued under Islām. The sojourn of the Israelites at the foot of Sinai described in Exodus xix. might in a way be compared with it. The Muslim theory, according to which the whole of 'Arafa (or Muzdalifa) is *mawḏif* (place of *wuḏūf*), perhaps points to the very fact that this was not the case before Islām. This statement, it is true, is easily explained as a concession to the multitude of Muslim pilgrims who could not all find a place on a restricted area. It may also from the first have served the purpose of destroying the influence of an old pagan sanctuary within 'Arafa (or Muzdalifa). The supposition that the *wuḏūf* in its original form presupposed the making of a sacrifice cannot be maintained, so far as the present evidence goes.

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X

XATIVA, town in Spain. The present orthography is Játiva. Cf. *SHĀṬIBA*.

Y

YĀ³, 28th and last letter of the Arabic alphabet with the numerical value of 10. For palaeographical details, see ARABIA, i. 382^b, 383^b, 384^a and plate i. It belongs to the soft letters (*hurūf al-lin*); its pronunciation is that of English *y*.

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YĀJŪDJ WA-MĀDJŪDJ (the forms Yā'djūdī and Mā'djūdī occur also), Gog and Magog (cf. *Gen.* x. 2; *Ez.* xxxviii., xxxix), two peoples who belong to the outstanding figures of Biblical and Muslim eschatology. Magog in *Gen.* x. is reckoned among the offspring of Japheth; this notion is also found in Arabic sources (e. g. Baiḏāwī on sūra xviii. 93, where also different traditions are mentioned); this much only may be said here, that the Bible as well the Arabic sources connect these peoples with the North-East of the ancient world, the dwelling-place of peoples who are to burst forth from their isolation in the Last Days, devastating the world southwards, until they will be destroyed in the land of Israel (cf. H. Gressmann, *op. cit.*).

In Muslim eschatology this picture is repeated with many, partly fresh, details, and connected with the reappearance of ʿIsā on the earth. Yādjūdī and Mādjūdī will be so numerous that they will drink all the water of the Euphrates and Tigris or of the Lake of Tiberias. When they have killed the inhabitants of the earth they will shoot their arrows against heaven, whereupon God shall send worms into their nostrils, necks or ears, which will kill them to the last man in one night, so that the smell of their corpses will fill the earth (Muslim, *Fitan*, trad. 110; Ibn Mādjā, *Fitan*, bāb 33, 59; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 375; ii. 510 sq.; iii. 77; iv. 182; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvii. 62 sq., 65). Or a host of birds will catch them and drown them in the sea (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvii. 64). They are cannibals (Thaʿlabī, p. 320) and dwell behind the mountains of Armīniya and Aḥarbaīdjān (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvi. 12).

The traditions of the Arabic sources are largely connected with sūra xxi. 96: . . . "until Gog and Magog shall have a passage opened for them [in the Last Days] and they shall hasten from every high hill" etc. Here is an allusion to the connection of Gog and Magog with the dam which was built by Alexander the Great, as it is said in sūra xviii. 92 sqq.: "And he [Alexander] prosecuted his journey from south to north, until he came between the two mountains, beneath which he found certain people, who could scarce understand what was said. And they said, O Dhu 'l-Karnain, verily Gog and Magog waste the land; shall we therefore pay thee tribute, on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them? He answered, The power wherewith the Lord hath

strengthened me is better than your tribute; but assist me strenuously, and I will set a strong wall between you and them" etc. Then the text goes on to relate how Alexander built the dam or gate behind which Yādjūdī and Mādjūdī should thenceforth be shut up till the Last Days. Every night they will try to dig under the wall in order to escape, and every night the sound of their tools is heard. But God repairs before the morning the breach they have made (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvii. 64).

Yādjūdī and Mādjūdī are of three kinds: one as tall as cedars; the second are as broad as they are tall; the third can cover their bodies with their ears (Ṭabarī, xvi. 16).

Tradition relates that one day Muḥammad came in a hurry into the room of Zainab bint Djaḥsh, saying: So much has been opened of the dam of Yādjūdī and Mādjūdī, making a sign with his thumb and index finger. She said: Shall we perish, there being so many good people? He answered: Ay, if evil be widespread (Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, b. 7; Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, b. 23; Ibn Mādjā, *Fitan*, b. 9; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 341, 529 sq.; vi. 428, 429).

According to de Goeje (cf. *Bibliography*), the story of the dam (which is found in the Syriac Legend of Alexander; cf. *Bibl.*) refers in reality to the wall which surrounded a part of the Chinese empire and which had a gate in the South, called the jasper gate. He mentions reports of travellers who visited the wall, especially in the times of the caliphate.

The term *Baḥr Yādjūdī wa-Mādjūdī*, which occurs in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (Cairo 1347, ii. 50³) apparently refers to the Caspian Sea.

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YĀFĀ or **YĀFA**, **JOPPA**, **JAFFA**, a town on the Mediterranean, the port of Jerusalem. It occurs in the form *Y-pw* as early as the xvth century B.C. in the list of towns in Palestine taken by Thutmosis III (W. Max Müller, in *M. V. A. G.*, xii, 1907, i., p. 21, N^o. 62). In the Amarna tablets and among the Assyrians it was called Yappū or Yappū, in Phoenician inscriptions יָפֹ, in the Bible Yāfō and by the Greeks Ἰόππη or Ἰόππη. Yāfā is already the port of Jerusalem in the Bible, to which king Hiram sent in floats the wood destined for the building of the temple. Before the conquest by Sennacherib (701 B.C.) it was subject to the king of Ascalon. It was not till the time of the Maccabees that the ancient Canaanitish city came under Jewish rule. The legend of Jonah which is localised here and the story of Perseus and Andromeda are probably connected with some very early cult of a fish-god in Yāfā.

In the year 15 (636) ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣī (according to others Mu‘āwiya) took the town (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 138). The importance of the old harbour of Jerusalem further increased when the Umayyad Sulaimān b. ‘Abd al-Malik founded the new capital of Djund Filāṣṭīn, al-Ramla, some 14 miles S.E. of Yāfā. Yāfā with the rest of Filāṣṭīn passed in 264 (878) into the hands of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn [q.v.] and remained under the rule of the Ṭulūnids of Egypt until in 905 it passed to the ‘Abbāsī al-Muktafi. After Dja‘far b. Falāḥ had conquered Syria for the Fāṭimid Mu‘izz [q.v.] in 359 (969), the Ḳarṃāṭians penetrated in 360 (971) under Ḥasan al-A‘ṣam as far as Yāfā in which the troops (11,000 men) sent to Syria by Dja‘war b. ‘Abd Allāh were blockaded. After the Ḳarṃāṭians had been driven out of Egypt in 362, Yāfā was relieved and the garrison brought back to Egypt. The Turkish emir Atsiz b. Abāḳ in 463 (1071) took al-Ramla but Yāfā and ‘Aṣḳalān did not come into his power.

The possession of the town was hotly disputed during the Crusades. The Franks who made it a vassal duchy of the kingdom of Jerusalem were able to hold it until the Third Crusade (1099—1187). The vizier al-Afdāl sought in vain to take it from them in 1101, 1105, 1113 and 1115. After his murder, the caliph al-Āmir besieged the town in 1122 but was driven back, and again in 1123 as a result of the destruction of his fleet by the Venetians. After the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (583 = 1187) most of the coast towns surrendered to Saladin, and Yāfā to his brother al-Malik al-‘Ādil. Richard Coeur-de-Lion recaptured it for the Crusaders in 587 (1191). Saladin besieged it in 1192 and regained it for the Saracens; he could not however take the citadel, and Richard, who hurried to the help of its garrison, drove Saladin's troops out of the town and refortified it. At the truce of al-Ramla the Christians were confirmed in possession of Yāfā.

By 593 (1197) however, al-Malik al-‘Ādil had again taken Yāfā, destroying the fortifications and, it is said, killing 20,000 Christians in the fighting. In the following year Saxon and Brabant troops temporarily occupied the town, but abandoned it in 595 again whereupon al-‘Ādil regained it by a coup-de-main. After the Fourth Crusade (1204) the town was again in the hands of the Franks. The Emperor Frederick II restored the fortifications in 1228; as did Louis IX in 1250 after his release.

In the Mamlūk period Yāfā belonged to the

district of al-Ramla, one of the four districts of the coast, which were part of the *manlaka* of Dimashḳ; for a time however (under Saladin's successors), it was under that of Ghazza (al-Dimashḳi, ed. Mehren, p. 230).

Baibars attacked the town unexpectedly on 20th Djumādā II 666 (March 8, 1268) and took it and its citadel in one or two days (inscription on the White Mosque at Ramla, ed. van Berchem, *Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie*, Cairo 1897, p. 57-64). He destroyed the town with all its houses, walls and the citadel. A certain emir Djamāl al-Din... b. Ishāk, according to an inscription preserved in Yāfā, built there in 736 (1335) the sanctuary of Kubbat Shaikh Murād which is still in existence (Clermont-Ganneau, *Matériaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1876; do., *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1834*, ii., London 1896, p. 154). When the kings of England and France were planning a new crusade in 1336, al-Nāṣir had the harbour of Yāfā destroyed to make it impossible for the Franks to land there. For the same reason, the town as well as the harbour, was destroyed in 1345 (Tolkowsky, in *Journ. Pal. Orient. Soc.*, v., 1925, p. 82-84).

The Arab geographers describe Yāfā as a small, strongly fortified coast town which as the port of Jerusalem and al-Ramla enjoyed thriving trade and busy markets in times of peace. In times of war it was greatly exposed to enemy raids, in the first centuries of Islām, for example, to attacks by the Byzantine fleet, the Mardaïtes and the Kibyrraiotes. To protect the coast against these raids, watch-towers (*ribāṭ*) were built, like those of Byzantium from Lu'lu'a to Constantinople, from which was signalled by smoke or fire to the capital, al-Ramla, the approach of Byzantine ships, which also used to visit the ports from Ghazza to Arsūf to ransom prisoners (al-Maḳdisi, ed. de Goeje, p. 177).

After the battle of Dābiḳ in 922 (1516) the whole of Syria passed to the Ottomans. Yāfā, which was in ruins, only began to revive gradually in the second half of the xviith century, especially after its quays were built. From 1770 for several years the Pasha of Dimashḳ fought with ‘Ali Bey and his followers for the town, in which, the Mamlūks perpetrated a frightful massacre on May 19, 1776. The French behaved even worse after the capture of the town by Napoleon (March 6, 1799); 4,000 prisoners were shot on the shore. Immediately after the entry of the garrison the plague broke out in the French army which suffered heavily. Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of Meḥemmed ‘Ali, in 1831 occupied Yāfā, which passed to the Turks again in 1840. An earthquake in 1838 destroyed many houses and a portion of the defences.

On Nov. 16, 1917 Yāfā was occupied by the English (Anzac Corps). Since the war the town has grown very little (44,000 inhabitants); but its northern suburb, the Jewish colony of Tel-Aviv founded in 1909, has rapidly developed into a modern town, which is already the size of the old town. To the northeast of the town are the German Templar colonies of Wilhelma and Sarona founded in 1868 and to the south Jewish agricultural colonies. The plan of building a new harbour, accessible to modern ships, instead of the old and useless one which is surrounded by reefs,

has so far not materialised owing to the expense; it would enable the town to compete with Ḥaifā, which is growing rapidly.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

AL-YĀFĪ, 'ABD ALLĀH B. AS'AD B. 'ALĪ B. 'UTHMĀN B. FALĀḤ AL-ŠĤĀFĪ 'AFĪF AL-DĪN ABU 'L-SĀ'ĀDA ABU 'L-BARAKĀT, a Šūfī and author, was born one or two years before 700 (1300 - 1301) in the Yaman though the place of his birth does not appear to be known. He studied first under the tuition of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dihānī al-Baṣṣāl and Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ḥarāzī, Ḳāḍī of 'Adan. These studies comprised probably only the Qur'ān and theology, but his ascetic inclinations must have been developed early and have guided his whole life. As early as 712 (1313) he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca and there he associated himself with 'Alī al-Tawāshī who remained his chief Shaiḫ. In 718 he settled in Mecca and married. The following years he spent partly in Mecca and partly in al-Madīna, and in 734 (1335) he made a journey to Jerusalem and Damascus and came also to Egypt. After his return to the Ḥidjāz he remained some time at al-Madīna and then came to Mecca where he married a second time. Later he made a short journey to the Yaman to pay a visit to his old teacher al-Tawāshī. Subkī in 747 (1346) made his acquaintance on the occasion of the pilgrimage and it was in Mecca that he died on the 29th Djumādā II 768 (Febr. 21, 1367). Subkī gives as the date of his death Djumādā I 767, probably an error.

He had received the *khirqa* of a Šūfī from several masters. Biographers praise his devout mode of living and his kindness towards his pupils, and his reputation as a pious and learned man was widely spread during his life-time. While the older biography as yet knows nothing of his *barakāt* [q. v.], later works are fairly full on this point.

His leisure in Mecca permitted him to write a large number of works, especially upon Šūfism and the principles of faith. He made a point of defending the doctrines of al-Ash'arī and among

other works wrote a treatise against Ibn Taimīya, which brought upon him the hostility of the adherents of the latter. He is said to have had a very high opinion of the Spanish Šūfī Ibn al-'Arabī. The works of al-Yāfī which are accessible prove him to be in the main a compiler from the works of others with very little originality on his part.

1. His principal work is probably the *Rawḍ al-Riyāḥīn fī Ḥikāyat al-Šāliḥīn* (also called *Nuzhat al-'Uyūn al-nawāzīr wa-Tuḥfat al-Kulūb al-ḥawādhīr*) in which he gives biographies of five hundred saints and šūfis. Pious narratives outnumber in it by far the historical data. The work has been printed several times (Būlak 1286; Cairo 1301, 1307 etc.). Of this work a number of abbreviations are in existence and it has in addition served as a source for later works of similar tenor, the latest perhaps the *Karāmāt al-Awliyā'* by Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Nabhānī (printed in Cairo 1329 in two volumes).

2. His historical work *Mir'āt al-Djanūn wa-'Ibrat al-Yaḳẓān* (printed in Ḥaidarābād 1334-1339 in four volumes) serves also principally biographical purposes. As Yāfī, according to his own statement, was content with extracting the chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr and the works of Ibn Khallikān and Dhahabī, we find hardly anything new in it. The book has however a certain value as long as we have no edition of the large biographical works of Dhahabī. Only at the end of the work he gives a few biographies of his teachers in the Yaman, but in these notices one is hardly able to pick the few historical details out of a volume of empty words; dates are quite a secondary consideration. There are several abbreviations and excerpts of the work in existence, some with later additions, among them the *Ghīrbāl al-Zamān* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal (died 885 = 1480), which deals principally with South Arabian saints; also an extract by a certain 'Alī al-Kurashī al-Šūstārī who lived about 1100, contained in a Berlin Ms.

3. *Nashr al-Maḥāsīn al-ghālīya fī Faḍl al-Mashā'ikh al-šūfiya*, mentioned at the end of the *Mir'āt al-Djanūn*. This work has been printed in the margin of the *Karāmāt al-Awliyā'* of Nabḥānī (see above) and contains like the *Rawḍ al-Riyāḥīn* accounts of pious Šūfis and seems to be a first draft of his larger work. The purpose of this work, according to his own statement, was to furnish a proof that the Šarī'a and Šūfism can be made to agree with one another. For this reason he gave to this book the second title of *Kifāyat al-Mu'taḥid fī Nikāyat al-Muntaḥid* (*Mir'āt*, iv. 335).

4. *Marḥam al-'Ilal al-mu'addila fī 'l-Radd 'alā A'immat al-Mu'tazila bi 'l-Barāḥīn al-kāfi'a al-mufaṣṣala*. This work he composed at the instigation of Naḍīm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Iṣfahānī (died 750 A. H.). Collecting material from all manner of sources, he attempts the refutation of the doctrines of the Mu'tazila, which hardly existed any longer in his time. The work has been printed to the extent of about two thirds in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1910-1911. The title is wrong in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, and wrongly corrected on the title-page of the printed edition.

5. *al-Irshād wa 'l-Tatrīz fī Faḍl Allāh wa-Tilāwat Kitābihi 'l-'azīz*. Composed before the *Mir'āt*, the title indicates the contents.

6. *Durr al-Naẓīm fī Faḍl 'il* (or *Khawāṣṣ*) *al-Kur'ān al-'aẓīm wa 'l-Ayāt wa-Dhikr al-Ḥakīm*.

A short treatise concerning the advantage of reading the Qur'ān and of prayer. Printed in Cairo 1282 (1313) and later.

In addition he composed a large number of poems of religious content and generally with long titles, partly preserved in manuscript or only known by name. Two are printed at the end of the *Mir'āt*.

7. *Bāhiyat al-Muhaiyā fī Madh Shuyūkh al-Yaman al-aṣfiyā*.

8. *Muhdijat al-Asdjan fī Dhikr al-Aḥbāb Ahl al-Awṭān* etc.

9. *Asna 'l-Mafākhīr fī Manūkh al-Shāikh 'Abd al-Kādir* (i. e. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī).

10. *Shams al-Imān wa-Tawhīd al-Rahmān wa-'Akīdat al-Haḥk wa 'l-Itkān*, preserved in several manuscripts.

In addition several treatises the contents of which are unknown to me:

11. *Nūr al-Yaḥīn wa-Iṣḥārat Ahl 'al-Tamkīn*.

12. *al-Risālat al-Makkīya fī Ṭarīḥ al-Sādāt al-Ṣūfiya*.

Bibliography: *al-Durar al-kāmīna*, ii. 247; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vi. 103; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 176—177; Sarkis, *Dictionnaire*, col. 1952—1953 and later works on the saints of Yaman.

(F. KREKOW)

YĀFĪTH, the Japheth of the Bible, is not mentioned in the Qur'ān; but the exegesis of the Qur'ān and legend are familiar with the names of the sons of Nūḥ: Sām, Hām, Yāfīth (exceptionally Yāfit: Ṭabari, i. 222). The Biblical story (Gen. ix. 20—27) of Hām's sin and punishment and the blessing given to Sām and Yāfīth is known in Muslim legend but it is silent about Noah's planting the vine and becoming intoxicated. Al-Kisā'ī completely transforms it: in the Ark Nūḥ could not sleep from anxiety; when he came out he fell asleep on Sām's bosom; the wind revealed his nakedness, Sām and Yāfīth covered him up but Hām laughed so loudly that Nūḥ was awakened; he uttered the following blessings and curse: prophets shall be born descendants of Sām, kings and heroes of Yāfīth and black slaves of Hām. But Hām's descendants intermarry with Yāfīth's family; thus the Abyssinians, Hind and Sind were born to Kūsh b. Hām; the Copts are the descendants of the union of Kūṭ b. Hām with a descendant of Yāfīth. Nūḥ divided the earth among his three sons: Yāfīth received the district of Faisun (Pishon). His descendants are variously given, either exactly as in the Bible (Ṭabari, i. 217 sq.) or partly (al-Kisā'ī, i. 101) or quite differently. He is usually regarded as the ancestor of Yādūdī and Mādjudī, often of the Turks and Khazars, more rarely of the Ṣakāliba [q. v.]. Persia and Rūm are sometimes traced to Sām, sometimes to Yāfīth; to Yāfīth also e.g. Cyrus, who killed Belshazzar b. Evilmerodach b. Nebuchadnezzar, and Yezdigird. Briefly Sām is said to be the father of the Arabs, Yāfīth of Rūm (or Yādjudī-Mādjudī), Hām the father of the Sūdān. Of the three, Semitic tradition naturally prefers Sām. But Yāfīth is rarely spoken of unfavourably as in Ṭabari, i. 223 where we are told that nothing good comes from Yāfīth and his descendants are deformed. On the other hand, the 72 languages are divided as follows: 18 to Sām, 18 to Hām and 36 to Yāfīth. He is the blessed son of Nūḥ.

Bibliography: Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i.

211—225; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 38; al-Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, i. 98—102. — See also the art. NŪḤ, SĀM.

(BERNHARD HELLER)

YĀ'FUR B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN (also AL-RAḤĪM)

B. KURĀIB AL-ḤIWĀLĪ (on the disputed vocalisation cf. the poem in van Arendonk [see *Bibl.*], p. 232, note 3), founder of the dynasty of Ya'furids or Hiwālids who claimed to be descended from the Tubba's, the ancient Ḥimyarite kings. Their ancestral home Shibām, called Shibām Aqyān or Shibām Kawkabān to distinguish it from other places of the same name, is described by geographers as a well cultivated hilly country. In the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim, i. e. before 227 (842), Ya'fur began to show his independence of the 'Abbāsīd governors who were succeeding one another rapidly; in 247 (861) Ya'fur had succeeded in driving the governor Ḥimyar b. al-Ḥārith out of Ṣan'a' and extending his rule over the highlands southwards as far as Djanad. The accounts, full of obscurities even in the special histories of the Yaman, show at least one thing clearly: the lack of unity in the dynasty from the first. By 256 (870) Ya'fur's son Muḥammad appears as lord of Ṣan'a', as the acknowledged governor for the caliph Mu'tamid. He was however slain about 270 (883) by his own son Ibrāhīm presumably at the instigation of the aged Ya'fur himself who had been thrust aside by Muḥammad but he himself henceforth disappears from history. Ibrāhīm's son Asad was still lord of Ṣan'a'; but the two-fold 'Alid penetration by the Ḳarmāṭians and Zaidites raised up new enemies, so that he had only two successors in office. Some younger princes established themselves for a time in the Tihāma and in the mountains round Ṣa'da.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1891, i. 57, 106 sq.; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklil des Hamdānī*, in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, xciv. 1879, p. 352 sqq.; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, iii. 249; iv. 544; 'Azīm al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwan's* (G. M. S., xxiv., Leyden 1916), p. 30; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its Early Medieval History*, London 1892, s. Index; C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, p. 103 sqq. (with careful consideration of unpublished Yaman sources); E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 116.

(R. STROTHMANN)

YAGHMĀ DJANDAĶĪ, pseudonym of the Persian poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan Raḥīm b. Ḥādīdī Ibrāhīm Ḳulī. He was born about 1196 (1782) in the village of Khūr in the oasis of Djandaḳ or Biyābānak in the middle of the central desert of Persia. He began his life as a camel-herd but by the age of 7 his natural gifts had been noticed by the owner of the oasis, Ismā'īl Khān 'Arab-i 'Āmirī whose secretary (*munshī-bāshī*) he ultimately became. His first nom de plume was Mādjunūn. In 1216 (1802) Ismā'īl Khān after a rising against the government had to flee to Khurāsān, while Djandaḳ was occupied by Dhu 'l-Fikār Khān, representative of the governor of Simnān and Dāmghān. Yaghmā was forcibly conscripted as an ordinary soldier but at Simnān his gifts obtained him the post of secretary to the governor. In 1808 as a result of a false charge, the poet

received the bastinado and his property was handed over to be plundered (*yaghmā*) by the soldiery. The poet's innocence was proved and he regained his freedom but the act of injustice had embittered him. He then assumed the pen-name of *Yaghmā* and composed a satire, *Sardāriya*, on *Dhu 'l-Fikār Khān*, full of coarseness beyond all bounds. Exiled, he wandered in Persia and via *Baghdād* and *Yazd* reached *Teheran* where fortune shone upon him again and he gained the good graces of *Hādjī Mirzā Akāsi*, the first Minister of *Muhammad Shāh*. *Yaghmā* was appointed *wazīr* to the governor of *Kāshān* but a new satire (*Khulāsat al-Iftidāh*) against a family of *Kāshān* nobles made him ostracized again and he was denounced as a *kāfir* from the pulpit of the mosque. His wandering life was resumed. We know that he accompanied *Muhammad Shāh* to *Harāt*. He only returned to his native land as an octogenarian to die at *Khūr* on the 16th Rabi' II 1276 (Nov. 16, 1859) and was buried near the tomb of *Saiyid Dāwūd*.

Yaghmā's works in prose and verse were collected in a *diwān* and published at *Teheran* (?) in 1283 (1886) with a preface by *Hādjī Muhammad Ismā'il* (389 fol. pp.).

Yaghmā practised all varieties of verse and his poems (*ghazal*, elegies, *ḡiṭā*, *tardjīf-band*) show a great mastery of language and form. The most original part perhaps of his work is in the field of funeral chants (*nawha-yi sina-zanī*) which he invented. They were obviously intended for the public lamentations in *Muḥarram* [cf. *TA'ZIYA*]. They are in the form of a *mustazād* in which each line is prolonged by a refrain which the audience is intended to murmur as a spontaneous echo. These *nawha* are composed in simple and unaffected language. E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, iv. 340, mentions the popularity of this genre among the poems of the revolutionary period (1905–1911).

Yaghmā's most characteristic works however are his slanderous and obscene satires. Berthels sees in them a revolt against the political and social iniquities of old Persia but the poet never seems to rise above his own personal grievances. If his wit is exercised even at the expense of his benefactor *Hādjī Mirzā Akāsi* it is because the poet is simply carried away by his satirical humour and too fluent tongue. *Yaghmā* has not yet anything of the revolutionary. His grievances induced fits of pessimism and of piety. The *Gulistan Museum* at *Teheran* possesses a *Qur'an* written on a single sheet of cloth (about 8 feet × 1½ feet) and arranged in complex geometrical figures. This is ascribed to *Yaghmā* (cf. the specimen of his hand in Browne, *op. cit.*, iv. 338).

Yaghmā made little use of Arabic and in several of his letters set himself the task of writing pure Persian. He considerably added by his annotations to the dictionary *Burhān-i kātib*, the manuscript of which is in possession of his grandson.

In the *Grundriss. d. iran. Phil.*, i./2, p. 380, Geiger (following Querry) attributed to *Yaghmā* verses in the dialect of *Simnān*. In reality these verses are by *Na'imā Simnānī* (cf. A. Christensen, *Le dialecte de Sāmnan* (sic?), Copenhagen 1915, p. 291). *Yaghmā* wrote verses in the dialect of *Khūr*; cf. *Yaghmā'i*, *op. cit.*, p. 18. On the dialects of this region cf. *Ivanow* in *J. R. A. S.*, July 1926, p. 405–432.

Bibliography: *Ridā Qulī Khān*, *Madjma'*

al-Fuṣṣṭāṭ, ii. 580; *Ethé*, in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii. 314; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iv. 336–344; Berthels, *Očerki istorii persid. literatury*, Leningrad 1928, p. 94–99; *Ḥabīb Yaghmā'i* (grandson of *Yaghmā*), *Sharḥ-i Ḥāl-i Yaghmā*, *Teheran* (c. 1927), first appeared in the periodical *Armaghān*, v., Nos. 7–9; on p. 31 the author quotes a letter from *Yaghmā* repudiating the authorship of a large number of poems included by his future editor in the collection. This declaration, however, being made by the poet "in his old days" (*dar awākhir-i 'umr*) to escape the denunciation of censors is not very convincing.

(V MINORSKY)

YĀHŪD, the Jews. The message which *Muhammad* as an "admonisher" brought to his people was believed by him to come from the same source of revelation as the *Tora* and the *Gospel*. If the "Arabic version" of the new scriptures was only a confirmation of what preceding "scriptures" taught, the new Prophet was referred for instruction to the Jews and Christians. The idea of the "day of judgment" which continually recurs in the early Meccan period, makes him speak of the 19 guardians of hell in order to convince those "to whom the scripture was given" of the truth of the *Kur'an* (lxix. 30–32), from which it may be deduced that *Muhammad* at the beginning of the first Meccan period was already engaged in trying to win over the Jews. Of them he already knew that they "studied" their scriptures (lxviii. 37: *darasa*). It is in keeping with this that he also speaks of the *ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm wa-Mūsā* (lxxvii. 19), i. e. he knows that Jews and Christians ascribed to Abraham the composition of sacred books (*ṣuḥuf*, xii. 27; *Abōdā-sārā*, 14; Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr. Vet. Test.*, Hamburg 1722, i. 400). Hebrew expressions are already increasing; e. g. *li 'l-ālamīn* = *le'olāmīm*, *al-mu'tafika* for *maḥpēkā* (liii. 54), *'ilīyān* for *'elyōnīm* (lxxxi. 18), *gan* for "garden", *sullam* for "ladder" and *maḥām* (lv. 46), which perhaps corresponds to the Talmudic epithet of God, *hamāḥōm* (*Abōdā-sārā*, 40b).

The desire to produce a book of revelation makes *Muhammad* at the beginning of the second period frequently speak of "books" in which all that has happened is written down (liv. 43, 52–53). The first reference to the "children of *Isrā'il*" whom *Allāh* saved from *Fir'awn* and whom he chose "in his knowledge" in preference to all the world (cf. *Amos*, iii. 2; *Aphraates*, *Hom.*, 16, ed. Wright, p. 331) is in *Sūra* xlv. 29–32. The story of *Mūsā* in *Sūra* xx. which contains Jewish legends (e. g. verses 51–54; cf. *Exod.* i., 5, 18) thrice mentions the "children of *Isrā'il*" (verses 49, 82, 95) whom *Fir'awn* is to release, who received the revelation and of whose sin of the calf *Mūsā* complains to *Hārūn*. *Sūra* xxvi. four times mentions the "children of *Isrā'il*" (verses 16, 21, 59, 197) in connection with the story of *Fir'awn* and the revelation of the *Kur'an* which "the wise men among the children of *Isrā'il*" (*'ulamā' Banī Isrā'il* = *ḥakmē Yisrā'el*) shall recognise. *Sūra* xix. 59 mentions "the descendants of *Ibrāhīm* and *Isrā'il*" whom *Allāh* guided in the right path and in this connection the *millat Ibrāhīm* is put alongside of the revelation as of equal worth. Just as *Fir'awn* and his people are an "example" in the bad sense for later generations (xliii. 56), *'Isā* who desired

to be nothing but a servant of Allāh is an "example" in a good sense for the "children of Isrā'īl" (xlīii. 57, 59). The conception of God, formulated by Muḥammad at this time (xxīii. 117), seems to be of purely Jewish origin and he at this time decisively rejects the idea of Christ being the son of God (xlīii. 59; xxīii. 93; xxi. 26). The story of Ibrāhīm destroying the idols, which is now given in detail (xxi. 59 *sqq.*) and which is also occasionally found among Christians (*Apok. Abrahams*, ed. Bonwetch, p. 10 *sqq.*; Philastrius, *De haeresibus*, p. 97) is therefore rather of Jewish origin (*Gen. r.*, 38, 39). Jewish expressions which now appear are *būr* (xxv. 19), with which we may compare *Ābōt*, ii. 5; *Yōmā*, 37^a. The "children of Isrā'īl" according to the revelation granted them are to recognise none except Allāh (xvii. 2), according to the scripture revealed to them they shall twice cause ruin (verse 4) on the earth, and once live in the holy land (verse 106). Perhaps it was also Jews, who at this time wished to induce Muḥammad to leave his country (verse 78). According to Muḥammad's view however, only the Kur'ān could smooth over the disagreements among the "children of Isrā'īl" (xxvii. 78). It is in keeping with this that the story of Mūsā in this Sūra (verse 7 *sqq.*) has a distinctly Jewish stamp as has the story of Sulaimān (verse 17 *sqq.*; cf. *Targum Shēnī*).

As late as the beginning of the third Meccan period Muḥammad was frequently reminding the "children of Isrā'īl" of the revelation granted them through Mūsā (xxii. 23; xlv. 15). Allāh gave them leaders and preferred them but the Israelites fell out among themselves when the "knowledge" came to them, and now Allāh has placed Muḥammad over them as arbiter in religious matters (xlv. 15—17). Jewish expressions in the story of Yūsuf which (Sūra xii.) like the story of Nūḥ (xi. 27 *sqq.*) can be proved to be of Jewish origin are *ba'ir* for "cattle" (xii. 65, 72) and *Yūsuf aiyuha 'l-ṣiddīk* for *Yōsēf haṣṣiddīk* (xii. 46). The Hebrew word *mishnā* was probably taken over by Muḥammad at this time with the meaning of "story" (xxxix. 24). The Meccans however are still only to dispute "in the best fashion" with the "people of the scriptures" to whom they are so closely bound as regards religion (xxix. 45). Allāh had indeed granted the "children of Isrā'īl" a safe habitation, provided them with all good things (x. 93) and given them, the weak people, "the east and the west of the land" (vii. 133). Muḥammad however now calls himself the *ummī*, the prophet of the *ummōt hā-ʿolām*, whose coming was foretold by Tora and Gospel. He now considers the food prohibitions of the Jews as a punishment for their secession (vi. 147).

The Medīna period made Muḥammad more acquainted with Jews and Jewish conditions and he gradually drew the barriers between the "peoples of the book" and the new community of Islām. Muḥammad then turned to the "children of Isrā'īl" with the demand that they should keep their bond with Allāh (ii. 38 *sqq.*), be conscious of their having been chosen, remember they were saved from the hand of Fir'awn (ii. 46). The Jews, if they only believe in Allāh and the last judgment, are still mentioned along with believing Christians and Sabaeans (ii. 59) but we already have it indicated that their scriptures are forgeries (ii. 70). They write it down with their own hands and say: "it is from Allāh" (ii. 73). But in reality

there are uneducated people among them who do not know their scriptures at all (*ibid.*). The punishment of hell which must overtake them is regarded by them as being only temporary (ii. 74). The "children of Isrā'īl" have broken their bond with Allāh (ii. 77). They drive one another out of the country but on the other hand ransom their prisoners (ii. 79). Mockingly they say of themselves: "our hearts are uncircumcised" (ii. 82). They made ambiguous speeches when against their will they had to accept the Tora (ii. 87: *samīnā wa-ʿasainā* instead of *shāmānū wa-ʿasīnū*). They cling to life and many would like to live a thousand years. Instead of the mocking *raʿinā* with which they address the Prophet, they are to say clearly *unqurnā* (ii. 98). At this time many Jewish ideas came to Muḥammad, e. g. *safaka 'l-dīmā* for *shafak dam* (ii. 28, 78) and *khātāk* for *hēklā 'olām habbā* (ii. 96). The Jews believe, as do the Christians, that they alone will enter Paradise, without being able to prove it (ii. 105). From this time onwards Muḥammad calls the Jews of his time al-Yāhūd, a term by which they were already known before his time (Abū Miḥdjan, ed. Landberg, p. 72; 'Urwa, xii. 1), or uses the root *hāda*, while by "children of Isrā'īl" he means their Old Testament ancestors. Muḥammad noticed how Jews and Christians reproached each other with the worthlessness of their religion (ii. 107) and he sees that neither creed will be satisfied with him until he follows their religion (ii. 114). But they are not to profess Judaism or Christianity but only the "religion of Ibrāhīm", who professed the true religion (ii. 129). But neither Ibrāhīm, Ismā'il, Ishāk, Ya'qūb nor the tribes were Jews or Christians (ii. 134). The Jews now refuse to follow "on the path of Allāh", that is, to fight in battle for him, and the "children of Isrā'īl" acted similarly when they asked for a king after the death of Mūsā (ii. 247). Yet Allāh had always given the "children of Isrā'īl" many clear signs (ii. 207). An expression taken over from the Jews at this time is *furqān* for "distinction" (ii. 181). Muḥammad had heard the Jews boasting of their scriptures although in his opinion they often did not know them (ii. 73). But "the simile" for those who are laden with the Tora and will not carry it is that of an "ass carrying books" (lii. 5 = *hamor nōsē seferim*). The Jews should desire death rather than assert they are the "friends of Allāh" (lxii. 6; cf. i. Chr. xvi. 13 *sqq.*). Tora and Gospel are only confirmed by the Kur'ān which is to be regarded as *furqān* (iii. 2). 'Isā has already taught the children of Isrā'īl Tora and Gospel "book" and "wisdom" (iii. 43) and Muḥammad is the confirmer of the Tora (iii. 44). The dispute about the *millat Ibrāhīm* is therefore meaningless. Tora and Gospel were only revealed after it (iii. 58) and Ibrāhīm was neither Jew nor Christian but a Muslim (iii. 60). His real followers are Muḥammad and his community (iii. 61). The reference is obviously to the Jews in Sūra iii. 69, where there is mention of those among the "people of the scripture" who will not readily give back property entrusted to them, saying "there is no obligation upon us towards the *ummiyyūn* (*ummōt hā-ʿolām*)". It is they also who are represented by Muḥammad as relying upon scriptures which do not belong to the "scripture" at all; the reference is probably to the so-called "oral Tora" (*Tōrā bē'āl pē*) (iii. 72). In reality the prophets have

already solemnly pledged themselves to recognise the "apostle" who will one day appear (iii. 75), and compared with the *millat Ibrāhīm* all previous revelations are alike (iii. 78). In the dispute with the "children of Isrā'īl" regarding what is forbidden or permitted Muḥammad actually challenges them: "Bring the Tora and read it if you are speaking the truth" (iii. 87). The Jews, however, distort the sense of the words of the scriptures (iv. 48), and if the "people of the scripture" demand from Muḥammad as a sign of his mission that he should bring a book down from heaven (iv. 152) their ancestors once asked Mūsā to do an even greater thing as proof of his mission (*ibid.*). The laws regarding food were only given to the Jews because they left Allāh's way and practised usury although it was forbidden them (iv. 158—159). Muḥammad however holds out prospect of a great reward to those among them who believe in Allāh, the last judgment and in the new mission (iv. 160). In this period falls the fighting between Muḥammad and the Jewish tribes in which, in spite of their strongholds, numbers of them were forced to emigrate (lix. 2 *sqq.*) or were taken prisoners (xxxiii. 26). Their land became Muḥammad's booty (xxxiii. 27). After he had laid down the boundaries between the new Islām and the "peoples of the scripture", he mentions as enemies of the believers Jews, Christians, Sabaeans, Magians and polytheists (xxii. 17). Muḥammad in this period attributes hateful things to the Jews. They worship 'Uzair as "Allāh's son" (ix. 30 *sq.*; cf. Ez. xiv. 9, 14), worship their rabbis as the Christians do their monks along with Allāh, who want to "extinguish Allāh's light with their mouth" (ix. 32). Jews and Christians are wrong in saying "we are the children of Allāh and his favourites" (v. 21), since Allāh punishes them for their sins (*ibid.*). The Jews to Muḥammad are "listeners to lies and listeners to others" (v. 45), who falsify the words of their scriptures (*ibid.*) and quote their Tora against Muḥammad's mission (v. 47). But all the apostles of God, who ever legislated truthfully according to the Tora, the prophets, rabbis and teachers, were Muslims (v. 48). Believers should therefore not accept the Jews and Christians as friends (v. 56). The Jews wrongly believe "that Allāh's hand is tied" (v. 69). Muḥammad finally turns to the "peoples of the scripture" and assures them that they have "nothing to stand upon" if they do not recognise the revelation thrice given in the Tora, Gospel and Qur'ān (v. 72). But "the children of Isrā'īl" have always followed the apostles of falsehood (v. 74), even 'Isā to them was only Allāh's servant (v. 76), and the infidels among them were once cursed by Dāwūd (v. 82). Muḥammad finally finds that the Jews and idolators are the greatest enemies of the believers, while the Christians are friendly to Muḥammad and his community (v. 85). — The Hebrew expressions and terms used by Muḥammad in the late Meccan period are: *ḥaddasa* from the Jewish liturgical *ḥiddēsh* (lix. 23); *bahima* from *beḥēmā* (xxii. 35); *aḥbār* for *ḥabērīm* (ix. 31, 34); *minḥādī* for *minḥāg* (v. 25); *kaffāra* for *kappāra* (v. 49, 96); *rabbāniyyūn* for *rabbānīm* (v. 48, 68) and frequently *tawrāt* for *tōrā* (v. 47 *sqq.*). — See also the article *ḌHIMMA*.

Bibliography: A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen?*, Bonn 1833; Hirschfeld, *Jüdische Elemente im Koran*, Berlin 1878; do., *Beiträge zur Erklärung*

des Koran, Leipzig 1886; Schapiro, *Die hag-gadischen Elemente im erzählenden Teile des Koran*, Heft 1, Leipzig 1907; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, i.—ii., Leipzig 1909—1919; Wensinck, *Mohammad en de Joden te Medina*, Leyden 1908; Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Mohammeds*, Berlin 1910; Horowitz, *Jewish proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran* (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii., Cincinnati 1925); do., *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926; Speyer, *Von den biblischen Erzählungen im Koran* (*Korrespondenzblatt der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Berlin 1924) and the work about to be printed by this Academy entitled: *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Koran*. (HEINRICH SPEYER)

YĀHŪDĪ. [See YĀHŪD.]

YAḤYĀ, John the Baptist. This prophet plays a fairly prominent part in the Qur'ān, which mentions him with Jesus, Elijah and other prophets among the just persons who serve as arguments for the oneness of God (Sūra vi. 83). The history in the Gospels of his miraculous birth is twice given (iii. 33—36 and xix. 1 *sq.*): God gives him to his parents Zacharias and Elisabeth in spite of their years. There is a kind of annunciation to Zacharias: "O Zacharias, we announce a son to thee; his name shall be Yaḥyā; no one has borne this name before him" (xix. 7). Yaḥyā speaks in his cradle and, like Jesus, has wisdom from his childhood. God gives him the title of lord (*saiyid*) which according to the commentators means merciful. His characteristic qualities are gentleness and chastity. A point discussed is the phrase in Sūra xix. 13: "O Yaḥyā, take the book with steadfastness", which seems to mean that Muḥammad thought that John had received a revealed book. The commentators, however, do not admit this meaning; they are of the opinion that the book mentioned here is the *Tora*, the Pentateuch, and that Yaḥyā did not receive a special revelation but had as his mission only to "confirm the word of God" (iii. 34). Zamakhsharī simply says that God gave him understanding of the *Tora*. — The Qur'ān does not mention his role of Baptist, and does not tell the story of his death.

The legend of John the Baptist among the Arabs presents different features according to different authors. Ṭabarī says he was the first to believe in Jesus; he makes him survive Jesus and says that he was put to death at the request of Herodias, niece of Herod or daughter of his wife, for having said to the king that he could not marry her. A curious episode developed at length by Ṭabarī, is that of the boiling of the blood of the decapitated Baptist. The blood boils not only in the dish on which the head is presented but on the tomb of the martyred prophet and can only be restored to its normal condition after great calamities. The blood and the decapitated head speak. — The legend is evidently in some way connected with the Neapolitan cult of the blood of St. Januarius.

Mas'ūdī relates of Elisabeth, John's mother, the story of the flight into Egypt which the Gospel tells of Mary. Elisabeth fled with her infant son to escape the wrath of a king. John sent as a prophet to the Jews is disowned by them and put to death. Later his "blood" is avenged by a king named *Kherdūsh* who massacres many

of the Jews. Mas'ūdī knows the episode of the baptism of Jesus by John, the scene of which he puts in the Lake of Tiberias, or in the Jordan. Al-Birūnī mentions among the feasts of the Syrian calendar that of the "beheading" of John the Baptist on the 29th of the month Āb, and he records that, according to al-Harawī, there could be seen in front of the "Pillar Gate" at Jerusalem a pile of stones said to have been thrown by the passers-by to restore John's blood to a normal state, but the blood would not cease boiling and continued to do so until a Persian king had sent a general who put many men to death on the prophet's grave. Al-Birūnī thinks, like Ṭabarī, that this general was an Ashkanian.

At the present day there is still shown a tomb of John the Baptist in the great mosque of Damascus, where is also a tomb of Zacharias mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

As to the "Christians of St. John" or Mandaeans, the Ḳur'ān and the Arab writers hardly know them; if they do refer to them, it is not by these names but as "Ṣābi'a" [q. v.]. They regard them as a sect intermediary between the Jews and the Christians and admit that they have a "book"; they do not however give them John the Baptist as their prophet but Noah.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, indices, s. v.; the Chronicle of Ṭabarī-Bel'āmī, transl. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1867, i. 535, 568; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, s. index; al-Birūnī, *Aḥkār*, ed. Sachau, p. 297, 301; Chwolsohn, *Die Sabier und der Sabismus*, St. Petersburg 1856. (B. CARRA DE VAUX)

YAHYĀ, a Turkish poet of Albanian origin of the time of Soliman. A scion of the noble north Albanian family of Dukagin, to which also belonged the Turkish poet Dukagin-zāde Aḥmad Bey, Yahyā was taken under the *dewshirme* for the Janissaries and brought to Stambul. He himself speaks in his *Gendjine-i Rāz* of his being conscripted in this way, a thing that was only to bring him good and when an old man he still recalls his Albanian origin. In Stambul he was put in the corps of 'Adjemi-Oghlan, in which officers for the Janissaries and Spahis were trained and he attained the rank of Yaya Baṣhī and Bülük Baṣhī of the Spahis. Shihāb al-Dīn, the *Kātib* of the Janissaries, soon recognised his poetic gifts and allowed him a great deal of freedom for his literary inclinations. Later he gained access to the intellectual coteries of Ibn Kemāl, Dja'far Ćelebi, Kadri Efendi and to those of the two great Maecenas Ibrāhīm Paṣha and Iskender Ćelebi. When the latter fell into disgrace the poet boldly interceded for him with the grand vizier Ibrāhīm but could not save him.

Yahyā was a bitter enemy of the court poet Khayālī Bey whom he had first encountered in 943 (1536) and with whom he had a poetical feud as well as with Khaṭṭī. He wrote a *qaṣīda* against Khayālī, which he gave to Soliman on a Persian campaign and it so delighted the grand vizier Rustem Paṣha, the declared enemy of all poets, simply on account of the contempt poured on Khayālī in it, that he made Yahyā administrator of several foundations in Brussa and Stambul. But when Yahyā in his usual fearless fashion endeavoured to save the life of prince Muṣṭafā, who was popular with army and people alike and fell a victim to the intrigues of the grand vizier and

the sultāna Khurram, but without success, and then wrote an elegy on the prince after his execution which was soon on every one's lips, Rustem did all he could to get Yahyā executed but only succeeded in depriving him of his offices. When the grand vizier summoned him and prepared a trap with the question, how could he lament a man condemned by the Pādīshāh, he is said to have replied with great presence of mind, that he condemned him with the Pādīshāh but loved him like the people. When his enemy Rustam died, Yahyā would not lose the opportunity of writing a satirical lament upon him.

The poet later retired to a large fief (*zi'āmet*) of 27,000 akçe annual income, which he had at Lozniča in the sandjaḳ of Zvornik in Bosnia. Here the octogenarian worked at the collection of his *diwān*, at which the historian 'Alī found him engaged in 982 (1572), a year before Yahyā's death (according to others he did not die till 986 or 990). After his death 'Alī was given the preface to the *diwān* to examine, in keeping with a wish of the deceased.

Besides a *diwān* of his *ghazels* which does not rise above the average, Yahyā left five considerable poems, which, following distinguished examples, he placed together in a *khamse*. The five titles are *Shāh ū-Gedā* (on pure love; 4 MSS. in Vienna: Flügel, N^o. 688—691), *Yusuf we-Zuleikḫā* (written on the pilgrimage to Mecca), *Kitāb-i Uṣūl* (or *Uṣūl-nāme*), *Gendjine-i Rāz* (mystical; on this the poet Nūrī Aḳserā'i wrote a *dhail* of 2,000 verses entitled *Sab'a Saiyāra*), *Gülshen-i Anwār*. (There are also attributed to him a *Nāz ū-Niyāz* and an unfinished *Sulaimān-nāme* in 2,000 verses). The three last parts of the *khamse* are not romances but consist of moral aphorisms on morality and rules of life, etc. The two first which were published at Stambul in 1284 have only the title in common with the works of Hilālī and Djāmī of the same name, and, besides, treat their subjects in quite an individual and independent fashion. Yahyā himself on one occasion says that he has no wish to eat *helwa* from the dead Persians. This independence along with his frankness and courage is the most notable trait of our Albanian and makes him an attractive figure to us. These qualities are also in keeping with his bravery as a soldier which was celebrated, and which he displayed for example in the fighting at Temesvár, and the Turkish literary historians mention him as representative of a type which admirably combined the sword with the pen. For him the frequently much abused *dewshirme* was the cause of his rise to fame in these days when birth counted for nothing, and good luck and particularly tact meant everything.

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Kāmūs al-ʿAlām, vi. 4793; Brusali M. Ṭāhir, *ʿOṭhmānī? Miwālīfī*, ii. 297 sq.; Fāṭik Reshād, *Ṭarīkh-i Edebiyāt-i ʿoṭhmāniye*, i. 336—346; Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 32—42; do., *G.O.R.*, iii. 318; do., *Constantinopel und der Bosphorus*, i. 6; Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii. 116—132. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

YAḤYĀ B. ĀDAM B. SULAIMĀN, a Muslim student of religion. His full name was ABŪ ZAKARĪYĀ; as mawlā of a descendant of ʿUḡba b. Abī Muʾaith he bore the *nisba*'s al-Ḳuraṣhī and al-Umawī (al-Makhzūmī in al-Nawawī is a mistake); his other *nisba* al-Kūfī shows that he belonged to or lived in Kūfa. His father is mentioned among the traditionists of Kūfa (Ibn Saʿd, vi. 133; al-Nawawī). Nothing is known of his career except the statement that he never studied under his father. To judge from the dates of death of his oldest *ṣhāikh*s he must have been born about 140 or soon afterwards. This agrees with the statement that he did not live to a very great age. He died about the middle of Rabīʿ I of the year 203 (middle of September 818) in Fam al-Silḥ near Wāsiṭ. Among his *ṣhāikh*s may be mentioned: Abū Bakr b. ʿAiyāsh, al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, Sufyān al-Ṭhawrī, Sufyān b. ʿUyaina, Sharik b. ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (fuller lists confirmed by the *Kitāb al-Kharājī* are in al-Dhahabī and al-Nawawī); among others who studied under him were Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Abī Shaiba and Yahyā b. Maʿīn. He is usually said by the critics to be reliable.

Nothing has survived directly of Yahyā's work on the Ḳurʾān, which was apparently an important part of his activity. The *Fihrist* mentions him as transmitter of a small portion of al-Kisāʾī's reading of the Ḳurʾān (p. 30, l. 10) and mentions by him a *Kitāb al-Kirāʾāt* (p. 35, l. 17) and a *Kitāb Muḍjarrad Ahkām al-Ḳurʾān* (p. 38, l. 7). Ḥādjdjī Khalifa also mentions him among the authors of works on *Kirāʾāt* (v. 136). Yahyā however was primarily a traditionist and legist of the orthodox school (as the *Fihrist* and Ibn Ḳutaiba already say). The *Fihrist* mentions as further works of his a large *Kitāb al-Farāʾīd*, the *Kitāb al-Kharājī* and a *Kitāb al-Zawāl* of unknown content. Of these only the *Kitāb al-Kharājī* has survived in a unique manuscript. It never seems to have been widely known and Ḥādjdjī Khalifa did not know it; but it was used by several writers, notably al-Balādhurī. Yahyā's *Kitāb al-Kharājī* is a polemic against the book of the same name by Abū Yūsuf in which great stress is laid on the traditions; even the opinions of his teachers are given second place to tradition. Yahyā's work is therefore important for the history of the land tax in Islām. It is not limited to the *kharājī* in the later sense but includes all kinds of taxes on land, including the *ʿuskr* in so far as it is levied on immobilia. Yahyā's own position in *Fiqh* may be judged by his approving verdict on al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād, a companion of Abū Ḥanīfa, as well as by his high opinion of tradition (*Fihrist*, p. 204, l. 26).

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, p. 227, l. 4; Ibn Saʿd, vi. 281; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Bitāb al-Maʿārif*, p. 258; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*; Ibn Ḥādjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*; al-Dhahabī, *Tahdhīrat al-Huf-faḥ*; *Le Livre de l'Impôt foncier de Yahyā ibn Adam*, ed. by Th. W. Junybolli, Leyden 1896; new ed. with introduction, notes and indices by Aḥmad Muḥammad Ṣhākīr, Cairo 1347; F.

Plaff, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen zu dem Grundsteuerbuch des Jahyā ibn Adam* (Diss. Erlangen), 1917. (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

YAḤYĀ B. ʿALĪ B. YAḤYĀ B. ABĪ MAṢʾŪR AL-MUNADJIDIM, ABŪ AḤMAD, was one of the best known theorists of music of the old Arabian (classical) school. He belonged to a learned family who were authors, several of whom wrote on, or were interested in music. His grandfather (d. c. 831) was the famous astronomer at the court of al-Maʾmūn [q. v.]. His father (d. 888) had "particular skill in music (*ghināʾ*)" says Ibn Khallikān, having been taught by the celebrated Ishāq al-Mawṣilī [q. v.], and wrote a book entitled *Kitāb Akhbār Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm [al-Mawṣilī]*. That ʿAlī was also acquainted with the theory of music is evident from the fact that so eminent a theorist as Ṭhābit b. Ḳurra [q. v.] consulted him on the *ʿilm al-mūsīqī*. His uncle, Muḥammad, was also commended for his "knowledge of music (*ghināʾ*)". Yahyā b. ʿAlī was born in the year 856 and, like his father, became a "boon companion" of the caliphs, beginning this career in the service of al-Muwaffaq, the brother of the Caliph al-Muʾtamid [q. v.]. He is praised by most biographers on account of his knowledge of the literature and sciences of the Greeks (*awāʾil*). This evidently gave him his pronounced taste for philosophy, in which sphere he shone as an exponent of the Muʾtazali school. He was also a gifted poet and an accepted theorist of music. He died in the year 912.

According to the *Fihrist*, the best known book of Yahyā b. ʿAlī was the *Kitāb al-Bāhir* ("Book of the Illuminating"), which dealt with the poets who were half-castes. He left it unfinished, but his son completed it. Specimens of his poetry delivered before the caliphs al-Muʾtaḍid [q. v.] and al-Muktafi [q. v.] have been preserved by al-Masʿūdī. Abu ʿl-Faraj al-Isfahānī [q. v.] quotes a treatise on music by Yahyā entitled the *Kitāb al-Naḡham* ("Book of Melodies [or Notes]") in an authoritative sort of way. This is probably the work that has come down to us in the solitary exemplar in the British Museum bearing the title *Risāla fi ʿl-Mūsīqī* (Treatise concerning Music). This latter is, with the *Risāla fi l-Ḍajāʾ khabariyat al-Mūsīqī* of al-Kindī in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, the only work that throws any light on the music theory of the old Arabian (classical) school, the technical phraseology of which crowds the pages of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abu ʿl-Faraj. This treatise, which is of the utmost importance, is being edited by the present writer, and will form a volume of his *Collection of Oriental Writers on Music*. In its pages will be found a complete explanation of the so-called "Finger Modes" (*aṣābīʿ*), with their "Courses" (*maḍjārī*), and divisions (*ṭarāʾīq*), in which the melodies (*alḥān*) of the various vocal pieces (*aṣwāt*) were composed [see the article MŪSIQĪ].

His son, Abu ʿl-Ḥasan Aḥmad, a *faḳīh* (lawyer) of the school of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭabarī [q. v.], was famed as a writer. A nephew, ʿAlī b. Ḥarūn (d. 963), wrote a *Risāla fi ʿl-Farq bain Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī wa-Ishāq al-Mawṣilī fi ʿl-Ghināʾ* (Concerning the Difference between Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and Ishāq al-Mawṣilī concerning Music), whilst a son of the latter compiled a *Kitāb Mukhtār fi ʿl-Aghānī* (Book of Choice Songs).

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Būlak,

viii. 26—27; ix. 26; xv. 159; xviii. 175—176; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 143—144; Ibn al-Kiṣṭī, ed. Lippert, p. 122, 364; Ibn Khallikān, *Biog. Dict.*, ii. 312; *Wafayāt*, ed. Būlāḳ (1882), i. 506; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 206, 222, 238; Collangettes, *Étude sur la musique arabe* (J. A., Nov.—Dec., 1904), p. 405; (July—Aug., 1906), p. 162—168; Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, see Index; do., *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, see Index.

(H. G. FARMER)

YAḤYĀ B. KHĀLID, a Barmakid. In the 'Abbāsīd caliphate we find Yahyā already prominent in the reign of al-Manṣūr, who in 158 (774—775) appointed him governor of Ādharbāidjān or, according to another account, Armenia. Three years later, the caliph al-Mahdī appointed him tutor to his son, the young Hārūn, and in 163 (779—780) the latter was appointed governor of the western half of the empire, i. e. of all the provinces west of the Euphrates, with the addition of Armenia and Ādharbāidjān, and Yahyā was put at the head of his chancellery. According to al-Mahdī's original arrangements, his older son Mūsā was to succeed him on the throne and Hārūn only to be considered in the second line of succession. Shortly before his death however, he decided to make a change in favour of Hārūn. Mūsā however was not satisfied; after the death of al-Mahdī in 169 (Aug. 785), Yahyā gave his protégé Hārūn the wise advice to retire voluntarily and pay homage to his brother whereupon Mūsā was acknowledged as caliph with the name al-Hādī. Nevertheless relations between the latter and Yahyā were very strained. The new caliph was thinking of cutting Hārūn completely out of the succession and having homage paid to his own son Dja'far as the successor designate. This plan however met with vigorous opposition from Yahyā which went so far that al-Hādī had him imprisoned. According to the usual story, he was kept in prison until the caliph died in Rabī' I, 170 (Sept. 786). When Hārūn had ascended the throne, he appointed Yahyā as vizier with unlimited power in all branches of the government. Yahyā's period of office lasted seventeen years, then the catastrophe — probably long planned — came like a flash of lightning from a clear sky. At the end of Muḥarram or in the first night of Šafar 187 (Jan. 23, 803) (or according to another statement, probably due to a copyist's error, 188), the caliph had his till then practically all-powerful favourite Dja'far b. Yahyā suddenly executed without legal proceedings. Soon afterwards Yahyā and his other sons were arrested and their property confiscated. Yahyā was kept in prison till his death on the 3rd Muḥarram 190 (Nov. 29, 805) in al-Raṣīḳa at the age of 70 (or 74). Cf. the article BARMAKIDS.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N^o. 816; transl. by de Slane, iv. 103; al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), iii., see index; Ibn al-Aṭhīr (ed. Tornberg), vi., *passim*; Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 490, 506, 510—512; al-Mas'ūdī (ed. Paris), vi., *passim*; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Ṭīḡaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), see index; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 65, 99 sq., 120 sq., 134 sqq., 144 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 465, 475 sqq., 483 sq.; Bouvat, *Les Barmécides d'après les historiens arabes et persans*. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

YAḤYĀ B. PĪR 'ALĪ. [See NEW'Ī.]

YAḤYĀ B. ZAID AL-ḤUSAINĪ, son of Zaid b. 'Alī [q. v.]. After his father had fallen in the rising (122 = 740) into which he had been dragged by the Shī'a of Kūfa, the young Yahyā was no longer safe in Kūfa. The reports differ as to whether he at once left the town (Ṭabarī, ii. 1710) or whether he was kept in concealment there for a time until the search for him was abandoned (*ibid.*, ii. 1713 sq.). He finally escaped to Khurāsān with a few followers.

According to the *Maḳātil al-Ṭalibīyīn*, Yahyā went from al-Madā'in to Raiy and then to Sarakhs where he stayed six months with a certain Yazid b. 'Amr al-Taimī (*Umdat al-Ṭalib*: b. 'Umar al-Tamīmī). *Muḥakkima* (Khāridjīs) are said to have sought to make common cause with him but on Yazid's advice he would not join them. He came from Sarakhs to Balkh where he found a welcome with al-Ḥarīsh b. 'Amr b. Dāwūd (*Maḳātil*, p. 62; *al-Ifāda*, fol. 12^b: al-Djarīsh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Shaibānī).

Learning of Yahyā's activities, Yūsuf b. 'Umar ordered the governor of Khurāsān Naṣr b. Saiyār to take him prisoner. The governor of Balkh thereupon brought the 'Alid from his hiding-place and sent him to Naṣr who imprisoned him in Marw. The caliph al-Walīd II, to whom the matter of Yahyā was referred by Ibn 'Umar, wrote to Naṣr to grant immunity to Yahyā and his friends and to release them. With a warning against any attempts at rebellion and orders to go to the caliph, Naṣr dismissed him and gave him money and animals for his journey. In keeping with Naṣr's orders, the governors of Sarakhs, Ṭūs and Abrušahr (i. e. Naisābūr) would not allow the 'Alid to stop there. Yahyā thus came to the frontier town of Baiḥaḳ. Probably from fear of Ibn 'Umar, he preferred not to go further west. According to *al-Ifāda* (fol. 13^a below), from here he published an appeal (*da'wa*) to follow him. 70 men are said to have acknowledged him. With his little force, he turned against the commander of Abrušahr, 'Amr b. Zurāra, after demanding their mounts from a caravan on the way. In spite of the superior force of the enemy, he was able to fight successfully. Ibn Zurāra fell, according to Yāqūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 630), in the village of Bushtanikān near Naisābūr and in his camp Yahyā seized many riding-animals. He then succeeded in fighting his way through the district of Herāt into al-Djūzadjān, where he gained some adherents. But soon after this a strong body of cavalry under Salm b. Aḥwaz sent by Naṣr overtook him. After three days desperate fighting in the village of Arghuwa (?) he was killed with his followers (probably in Ramaḍān 125 = June 743).

According to the *Umdat al-Ṭalib*, Yahyā was 18 years of age at his death; other sources say 28. His head was sent to Damascus and put up there and his body placed over the gate of the capital of al-Djūzadjān, Anbār (Anbār; cf. Yāqūt, i. 370, 367) until followers of Abū Muslim [q. v.] took it down and buried it. His tomb became a place of pilgrimage.

Yahyā's death and the shameful treatment of his body deeply affected the Shī'a of Khurāsān. Vengeance for Yahyā became the watchword of the followers of Abū Muslim, who executed those concerned in his death.

The Zaidis regard Yahyā as one of their imāms.

Bibliography: al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, see Indices; al-Yaʿqubī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 392, 397 sq.; do., *Kitāb al-Buldān*, in *B. G. A.*, vii. 302; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 111; al-Masʿūdī, ed. Paris, vi. 2-4, 79; Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibīyīn* (lith. Teheran 1307), p. 61-64 (on margin of Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nadjaḥī, *al-Muntaḥab fi 'l-Marāthi wa 'l-Khuṭab*, lith. Bombay 1311, p. 182-191); Ibn Muḥanna' al-Ḥasanī, *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib fi Ansāb Al Abi Ṭālib* (lith. Bombay 1318), p. 230 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrikh-i Gūzida*, in *G. M. S.*, xvi/ii. London 1910, p. 283 sq.; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī, *Kitāb al-Maṣābiḥ*, Cod. Ambr., N. S., A 55, fol. 51a-52b; Abū Ṭālib al-Baḥānī, *al-ʿIṣāda fi Taʾrikh al-Aʿimma al-Sāda*, MS. Leyden, Or. 1974, fol. 12a-14b; Ḥamid b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī, *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-warḍiyya fi Manāḳib Aʿimmat al-Zaidiyya*, MS. Munich, Ar. 86, fol. 82 sq.; G. van Vloten, *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasān*, Diss. Leyden 1890, p. 60-62; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. S., v. 3, Berlin 1901), p. 97 sq.; do., *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 211, 311; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, p. 74, 107; C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidetische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, p. 30 sq., 32, 37. (C. VAN ARENDONK)

YAILA (East. Turk. *yailak*, from *yai* "summer" and the suffix *lak*) "summer encampment", usually situated in the mountains, to which people resort to in order to avoid the heat of summer; opp. *kishlā* (*kishlak*, from *kish* "winter" and the suffix *lak*), "dwelling-place in winter" (whence in Osmanli Turkish the meaning "barracks"). When the hot summer days approach, the inhabitants of the villages take their cattle with them to the highlands (cf. the Swiss *matten*). When the *kishlak* of Adjwān near Tabriz was left by its inhabitants who went to the *yailak* of the Ḳara-Bagh, fire was put to all the huts (ʿAini, *Maṣālik al-Aṣṣār*, as cited by Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, i. 21, No. 27).

Bibliography: Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Klein-asien*, Berlin, 1896, p. 75, 90, 136; Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i. 101. (CL. HUART)

YAʿQUB, the patriarch, the son of Isaac in the Bible, is in the early Meccan Sūras (vi. 84; xix. 50; xxi. 72; xxix. 26) the brother of Ishāq, son of Ibrāhīm; the genealogy: Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿil, Ishāq, Yaʿqub, the (12) tribes (ii. 130, 134), is more true to the Bible. Yaʿqub is numbered among the Prophets (xix. 50). He is once or twice mentioned in the Yūsuf Sūra: Yaʿqub orders his sons not to go through a door (xii. 93); he becomes blind through sorrow and regains his sight when Joseph's coat touches his eye (xii. 93, 94).

Post-Kurʾānic legend relates that Yaʿqub and Esau fought already in their mother's womb, that Yaʿqub was to be born first but to spare his mother took second place: Yaʿqub was really entitled to the rights of the first-born (Ṭabari, i. 350). Yaʿqub's journey to Haran and his stay with Laban are told as in the Bible but in several versions Yaʿqub only marries Rāḥil after Leah's death. The Yūsuf Sūra receives many embellishments. On hearing that a wolf has torn Yūsuf to pieces, Yaʿqub wishes to see the wolf; the brothers bring

the first wolf they can find but this beast miraculously begins to speak and exposes their deceit. Many reasons are given as to why Yaʿqub has to suffer. Yaʿqub writes a letter to the king of Egypt. After eighty years of separation, Yaʿqub recognises at a distance of 80 parasangs the heavenly aura of Yūsuf. The haggada is known according to which Esau and Yaʿqub dispute about the burial-place in Machpelah: "thou hast made me lose the blessing, thou shall not make me lose the tomb" (Ṭabari, i. 359, very similarly *Sōṭa* 13a; later parallels in Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, v. 371, 422).

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YAʿQUB B. AL-LATH. [See ŠAFFĀRIDS.]

YAʿQUB BEY. [See GERMĪĀN OĖHLU.]

AL-YAʿQUBĪ AḤMAD B. ABĪ YAʿQUB B. DJAʿFAR B. WAḤB B. WĀḌĪḤ AL-KĀTIB AL-ʿABBĀSĪ, an Arab historian and geographer, a descendant of the Wāḍiḥ, a freedman of Šālih and later of his father, the Caliph al-Manṣūr, after whom the family takes the name al-ʿAbbāsī. Like his ancestor, who as governor of Egypt paid with his life for the protection which he gave to Idris b. ʿAbd Allāh on his flight after his defeat at al-Fakhkh in 169 (785), our author was also a Šhiʿi of the moderate Mūsawiyya who belong to the Imāmis. He spent his youth in Armenia and in the service of the Tāhirids in Ḳhurasān, whose doings he celebrated in a special work (*Hist.*, ii. 537, 5). He seems to have written his history of the world which he brought down to the year 259 (872) while still in the east. It begins with the history of the patriarchs of Israel, then gives the story of the Messiah and the Apostles, of the rulers of Syria, Assyria and Babylon, the Indians, Greeks and Romans, Persians, northern peoples including the Turks, Chinese, Egyptians, Berbers, Abyssinians, Bedjā and negroes and lastly the pre-Islāmic Arabs. The second part, almost twice as long, begins with the birth of the Prophet and brings the history of Islām down to 259 (872). Besides the Šhiʿa tendency, which however never influences him sufficiently to present a false view, his fondness for astrology is apparent, for he gives at the beginning of each reign the exact constellation. His work is of importance as a check on the tradition which is otherwise almost entirely dependent on Ṭabari, although his interest in speeches and letters often leads him to digressions. He also hardly ever mentions his sources and his account of contemporary events is confined to few brief references. In addition to the Cambridge MS. from which M. Th. Houtsma edited the work (*Ibn Wāḍih qui dicitur al-ʿġābī historiae*, 2 vols., Leyden 1883), another is now known in Topkapu (*R. S. O.*, iv. 708); cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Über die Geschichte der Abbasiden von al-ʿġābī, in Travaux de la 3ème session du congr. internat. des or.*, St. Petersburg and Leyden 1879, ii. 153-166; M. Klamroth, *Der Auszug aus den Evangelien bei dem arab. Historiker Jaqubi, in Festschr. zur Einweihung des Wilhelmsgymnasiums in Hamburg*, 1885; do., *Über die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern*

bei al-Ja'qubī, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. 189—233, 612—838; xli. 415—442.

After the fall of the Tāhirids, Ya'qubī went to Egypt where he died in 284 (897). In 278 (891) he wrote there his geographical work *Kitāb al-Buldān*, for which he had been collecting material by research in literature and making enquiries of travellers. His interests are predominantly statistical and topographical; he gives the distances only roughly in days' journeys and lays special weight on giving the yields of taxation. He begins with a detailed description of Baghdad and Samarra, then goes on to Iran and Tūrān with northern Afghanistan. Kūfa with west and south Arabia follow, then Basra with Central Arabia, but this part with the description of India, China and the Byzantine Empire is now lost. The description of Syria with its military colonies was followed by that of Egypt, Nubia and the Maghrib. The concluding part is a section on the governors of Sidjistan down to the death of al-Manṣūr, with which this province lost its independence and became amalgamated with Khurāsān, and of Khurāsān to the end of the Tāhirids. His style is simple and his text free from the fables so beloved by the geographers of the time. See M. J. de Goeje, *Specimen e literis orientaliibus exhibens descriptionem al-Maghribi sumtam e libro regionum al-Jaqubii*, Leyden 1860; *Kitāb al-buldān auctore Ahmed ibn abi Ja'qub ibn Wādhīh al-Kātib al-Ja'qubī*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, vii.; *ibid.* 1892. His works quoted on the Geography of the Byzantine Empire and on the history of the conquest of Africa are lost.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, ii. 156; D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, Calcutta 1930, p. 125 sq. (C. BROCKELMANN)

YĀQŪT AL-RŪMĪ, or, according to a genealogy which he assumed later, **SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH YA'QŪB B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-ĤAMAWĪ**, the famous Arab encyclopaedist. Born in 575 (1179) in Byzantine territory of non-Arab parents (hence his ethnic *al-Rūmī*), he was captured when a boy, sold as a slave in Baghdad and purchased by a certain 'Askar b. Ibrāhīm al-Ĥamawī, a merchant in the capital of the caliphs. 'Askar gave Yāqūt, who added to his name his master's ethnic, a good education and a few years later sent him to trade in the Persian Gulf in the island of Kishm [q. v.], 'Umān and Syria. Manumitted in 596 (1199) and estranged for a time from 'Askar, Yāqūt took to copying for a living, attended the lectures of the grammarian al-'Ukbarī (d. 616 = 1219), became reconciled with his old master and resumed his trading journeys for him, settled in Baghdad on his death and became a bookseller. In 610 (1213) however, he again resumed his life of travel. We now find him in Tabriz, next year in Syria or Egypt, and in 612 (1215) at Damascus again where he was nearly lynched for his anti-'Alid views but he escaped to Aleppo, Mōṣul, Khurāsān and Marw. He spent nearly 2 years in this town, ransacking the libraries. He now began to put together the material for his principal books. At the end of 615 (1218) he left his studious retirement and visited Khwārizm (the modern Khiwa). Hearing however of the coming of the Mongol hordes led by Čingiz-Khān in 616 (1219) he fled hurriedly, abandoning all his property, to Mōṣul where he arrived completely destitute in Rajjab 617 (Sept. 1220). He wrote a

letter seeking assistance from the vizier Ibn al-Kifṭī [q. v.] then in Aleppo. The latter supplied him with means of rejoining him in 619 (1222). But two years later, Yāqūt returned to Mōṣul and settled down to finish his geographical dictionary, which he completed on 20th Šafar 621 (March 13, 1224). However he did not stay long here, but went to Egypt at the end of this year, returned to Aleppo at the beginning of 625 (1228), and had put the finishing touches to his geographical compilations when he died on 20th Ramaḍān 626 (Aug. 20, 1229).

A certain number of Yāqūt's works seem now to be lost. This is the case with the *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa 'l-Ma'āl* and *Kitāb al-Duwal*, on history, the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Mutanabbī* and the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Shu'arā'*, the *Mu'djam al-Udabā'* and the *Mu'djam al-Shu'arā'*, on biography, the *Kitāb 'Urwān al-Aghānī*, perhaps extracted from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. Of Yāqūt's work we have only the following: 1. *Kitāb al-Mukhtaḍab fi 'l-Ansāb*, on the Arab genealogies (Mss. in Cairo). 2. *Kitāb Irshād al-Arib ila Ma'rifat al-Adīb* (in Ibn Khallikān: *Irshād al-Atibbā' ila Ma'rifat al-Udabā'*), better known as *Mu'djam al-Udabā'* or *Tabaḥūt al-Udabā'* (ed. by Margoliouth, in *G. M. S.*, Leyden 1907—1931, 6 vols.). This considerable work contains, in alphabetical order, biographies of grammarians, philologists, calligraphers, men of letters, poets and in a general way all those who have dealt with *adab*. It has not come down to us in its entirety. 3. The *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, on which Yāqūt worked from 1212 till his death (see Wüstenfeld, *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1866—1873, 6 vols.; 2nd ed., 1924; Cairo 1906—1907, with a modern supplement for Europe, America, etc. 10 vols.). This dictionary contains not only geographical information but also under each place-name astrological and historical data, quotations from poems and a list of eminent natives of the place. This mixture of history and geography, which is by no means peculiar to Yāqūt, led another compiler, 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḥḥ (d. 735 = 1339), to prepare an abridgment entitled *Marāsid al-Iṭṭilā' 'alā Asmā' al-Amkina wa 'l-Bikā'* (ed. by Juynboll, Leyden 1851—1864, 4 vols.) containing only the geographical matter of the *Mu'djam al-Buldān*. 4. *Kitāb al-Mushtarik waḍ'an wa 'l-Mukhtalif ṣaḥ'an*, composed in 623 (1226), remodelled in 626 (1229) (ed. by Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1846, 1 vol.). It is a dictionary of place-names of the same spelling which are applied to several different places.

Yāqūt is closely connected with the school of compilers who, like Ibn al-Kifṭī, al-Kazwīnī, Ibn Khallikān, without producing any original work, extracted with remarkable skill the essentials from the work of their predecessors, completed and corrected in detail the information found in books and presented the whole in accessible and handy fashion. Yāqūt in a general way confines himself to quoting the actual words of the authors from whom he borrows, not omitting to give the source. In this way there have been preserved for us numerous fragments of works now lost.

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Orientaux, preface to the *Géographie d'Aboul-féda* (Paris 1848), i., cxxix. sqq.; do., in *J.A.*, 1860; Herr, *Die histor. und geogr. Quellen in Jaqut's geogr. Wörterbuch* (Strassburg 1898); Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 479—481; Huart, *Litt. arabe*, p. 301—303. (R. BLACHÈRE)

YĀḲŪṬ AL-MUSTA'ŠIMĪ, **DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MADJID B. 'ABD ALLĀH**, a famous calligrapher, was a slave of the last 'Abbāsīd caliph of Baghdad, al-Musta'šim, who had him brought up and educated, whence his surname. His origin is unknown; some say he was a Greek from Amasia; he was probably carried off on a razzia while still very young. He was a eunuch. He died at Baghdad in 698 (1298) at the age of 80 (lunar years) which would make him born in 618 (1221). The continuer of Ibn al-Bawwāb, he was called *Kiblat al-Kuttāb*, "model of calligraphers", and was head of a school; he also wrote in prose and verse; we have by him a *Kitāb Akhbār*, an anthology written in 662 (1264) and the *Afkār al-Hukamā'*, a collection of aphorisms (printed at Constantinople in 1300). *Qur'āns*, said to be copied by him, are in the following libraries: St. Sofia, 654 (1256); *Hamidiya türbe* at Bāghçe-Kapu (Constantinople), 662 (1264); Cairo (Moritz, N^o. 89); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds arabe, N^o. 6082; Peytel Collection, 681 (1282); etc.

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YĀM. 1. Name of a tribe belonging to Hamdān in South Arabia, described by Ibn al-Mudjāwir as the Banū Yām b. Aṣḥā' living in al-Qadīm and in the wādīs of al-Ḥanīk and al-Ḥuḳka. Al-Hamdānī numbers the Banū Yām among the tribes who speak a pure Arabic but E. Glaser established the fact that their dialect is different from the Arabic which is spoken in the Yaman highlands. The Banū Yām are, according to Passama, the finest type of men among the southern Arabs, of fine physique, proud and warlike. They live in Najdīrān and belong to the sect of the Ismā'īliya which is found not only in Najdīrān and Hamdān but also in Ṭaiba, Ḥarāz, Ṣa'fān and several places in Yerim and is under the leadership of the Dā'ī Ḳabā'il Yām, who lives at Bedr. Since about 1760 this dignity has been hereditary in the al-Makramī family, the founder of which extended the power of the tribe in 1763 beyond Najdīrān to Ṣa'fān, Ḥarāz, Menākha and Ṭaiba and thrust their plundering raids into towns on the coast. They were able to retain their power and prestige afterwards. The tribe of Yām was represented in the embassy to the Prophet, which adopted Islām in the year 10 under the leadership of Mālik b. Namaṭ. When Sulṭān Selim conquered the Yemen, the Yām assisted the Turks and were rewarded with the right to levy tribute on the tribes subdued by the Turks. This of course did not prevent them supporting the Imām Kāsim about 1640 in driving the Turks out of the Yaman. The Dā'ī of Yām was however able to re-establish good relations with Constantinople in 1834 and his successors also were friendly

with the Turks so long as the latter held firm control of the Yaman.

2. Name of a Mikhlaḥ in the Yaman, which included the sphere of influence of the tribe of Yām.

3. Name of a mountain in the Yaman Djawf between the wādīs of Khārid and al-Ferḍa.

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YAMAK. [See JANISSARIES.]

AL-YAMĀMA, a district in Central Arabia, which was originally called Djaww ("the bottom of a valley"). The name of Yamāma is said to go back to the seceress Zarkā' al-Yamāma, who plays a prominent part in the story of the decline of the tribes of Ṭasm and Djadis. The district was first of all called after her Djaww al-Yamāma, then simply al-Yamāma. The statement that al-Yamāma lies on the long ridge of the 'Arid, to which belongs its chief wādī 'Ird, which runs through the district, shows, like the long list of place-names and not least the very considerable yield in taxation, 510,000 dinārs according to Ḳudāma b. Dja'far, that it must have been an extensive area, which included a considerable portion of the range now called Djebel Ṭuwaik. The boundaries given by Jomard, who understands the statements of Idrīsī and Abu 'l-Fida' to mean that al-Yamāma included the provinces of al-'Arid and al-Khardj, are probably too extensive. It is not however possible to define exactly the limits of this region which was very important in ancient Arabia; the Dahna however was the frontier on the east.

The name al-Yamāma is now given to an oasis in the Wādī 'Adjaimī on the southeastern slope of the Djebel Ṭuwaik, which consists of a palm-grove, a mile square with four villages, in front of which lies an extensive area covered with the ruins of palaces and dwelling-houses. Philby therefore seeks to locate the ancient Yamāma in the angle formed by the Wādīs Ḥanifa and Nisāh. Its first capital was al-Khidrīma in the Wādī 'l-'Ird (or Wādī Bani Ḥanifa), later in the second half of the fourth century A. H. the market town of Ḥadjr al-Yamāma or al-Ḥadjr, which was however already in ruins in the time of Idrīsī. The following places in it are also mentioned:

Manfuḥa, Wabra, al-ʿAwḩa, Ghabrāʾ, Muḩaṣṣhama, al-ʿAmmāriya, Faishān, al-Haddār, Ḍāḩik, Tudiḩ, al-Mikrāt, al-Sāl, Salamīya, al-Ḳuraiya, al-Madīja, Maʿwān and al-Naḩb. Al-*Khidrima* is described as an important town, smaller than al-Madīna, but rich in palms and fruit-trees. Among the crops the most important was wheat, which was even sent to the caliph's table (it was known as *Baiḑāʾ al-Yamāma*), there was also excellent fruit and dates. The beef was well flavoured as there were fine pastures and the drinking-water excellent. A speciality of al-Yamāma was the slave girls who fetched high prices for their complexion — up to as much as 100,000 dirhams.

In the pre-Islamic period al-Yamāma was inhabited by the *Djadīs*, who had their strongholds in the *Irḑ* valley and along with the *Tasm* whose army they destroyed here, were under *Ḩimyarite* rule. After their decline, which South Arabian legend narrates fully, we find the *Banū Ḩanifa* b. *Ludjaim* who, after being almost annihilated in the battle against the rival prophet *Musailima* b. *Thumāma* (12 A.H.) submitted to Islām. At a later period al-Yamāma was settled by the *Numair* b. *ʿAmīr* and *Bāhila* b. *Yaʿsur* as well as by the *Tamīm* and their clients of other tribes. At the present day the district belongs to the *Wahhābī* kingdom, has about 2,000 inhabitants and has sunk to a low level. Philby no doubt rightly ascribes the destruction of the old cultivated land to a disastrous flood in the valley of the *Ḩanifa*.

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AL-YAMAN, formerly a province, now an imāmate in the southwest of the Arabian peninsula. The name is variously explained; some say it was given because the Yaman lies to the right of the Kaʿba or to the right of the sun (al-Bakrī, ii. 856), others because *Yuktan* b. *ʿĀbir* and his companions turned right on separating from the other Arabs (*B.G.A.*, v. 33; *Yāḩūt*, iv. 1034), while others again derive the name from the eponymous hero Yaman b. *Ḳaḩṭān* (cf. al-Wāsiʿi, p. 281). Sprenger thinks the Greeks and Romans translated *Teman* and Yaman by “eudaemon” and “felix” and included under Arabia Felix all the land south of *Shām*. This coincides roughly with the delimitation of the Yaman attributed to Muḩammad, who is said to have climbed a mound at *Tabūk* and pointing to the north said “All this is al-*Shām*” and turning to the south “All this is al-Yaman” (Sprenger, p. 9). The greatest extension of the Yaman to the north

actually corresponds very well with the boundary of Arabia Felix which, according to Ptolemy, vi. 7, 2, 27, begins about 6 miles south of al-*Aḩaba* and the northern frontier of which runs from there northeastwards to the foot of the *Sharāʾ* range and then turning east, crossing the northern edge of the desert of al-Nufūd, ends at al-Nedjef. Al-Wāsiʿi (p. 282) also represents al-Yaman as bounded in the east by the Persian Gulf, in the south by the Arabian Sea, in the west by the Red Sea and in the north by the Gulf of *Ḳulzum*, the Syrian desert and the *ʿIrāḩ*. The frontiers given by the Arab geographers are considerably narrower. According to Ibn *Khurdādhbih* (p. 135, 137, 189) and *Idrisī* (p. 143 sq.), the northern frontier of the Yaman ends at the tree called *Talḩat* al-Malik between al-Muḩḑjira and *Sarūm Rāḩ* south of Mecca. According to others, it begins below *Tathlith*, while al-*Aṣmaʿi* (*Yāḩūt*, iv. 1035) makes the northern boundary run from ʿOmān through *Nadīrān*; *Hamdānī* (p. 51; *Yāḩūt*, iv. 1035) more accurately lays it through *Yabrin*, south of al-Yamāma, via al-*Hudjaira*, *Tathlith*, *Djurash* and *Kutna* to the coast towards *Kudummul* near *ḩamiḑa* (17° 52'). Ibn Ḩawḩal (p. 18) who includes two thirds of the *Ḍiyār al-ʿArab* in the Yaman, puts the northern limit at al-Sirrain, *Yalamam*, al-*Tāʿif* and makes it run through the highlands to the Persian Gulf; this makes it intelligible why some geographers even include Mecca in the Yaman *Tihāma*. Towards the east the Yaman extends over *ḩaḑramūt*, al-*Shiḩr* (*Mahra*), *Zafār* (*Ḍofār*); even ʿOmān is sometimes included in the Yaman when it is not (as e.g. in *Maḩdisī*, p. 68) made a separate province. The whole of this extensive territory, which al-*Dimashḩī* (p. 216) divides into 24 administrative districts (*mikhḩāṣ*), was in the early days of Islām divided into three: *Ṣanʿāʾ*, al-*Djanad* and *ḩaḑramūt* (or *Zafār*) under separate governors. The taxes under the ʿAbbāsids yielded 600,000 *dīnārs* (*B.G.A.*, vi. 144, 249, 251). After the Yaman broke off from the ʿAbbāsīd empire its area diminished considerably and its administrative divisions varied substantially; sometimes the *Sunni Tihāma* with its capital *Zabīd* was actually independent of the *Zaidī* highlands with *Ṣanʿāʾ* as capital. When C. Niebuhr travelled in the Yaman he ascertained that the following districts were independent:

1. Yaman in the narrower sense with *Ṣanʿāʾ*;
2. ʿAden with its hinterland;
3. *Kawkabān*;
4. *Hāshid* and *Bakil*;
5. *Abū ʿArish*;
6. the lands lying between this and the *Hidjāz*;
7. *Ḵhawḩān*;
8. *Sahān* with *Ṣaʿda*;
9. *Nadīrān*;
10. *Ḵaḩṭān*;
11. al-*Djāwf* with *Mārib*;
12. *Nihm*;
13. *Ḵhawḩān*,
14. *Yāfiʿ*.

The geographical definition of the Yaman becomes still narrower under Turkish rule. The wilāyet according to the provincial law of 10th *Rabʿ* II, 1331 comprised the sandjak of *Ṣanʿāʾ* with the *qaḑās* of *ḩarāz*, *Kawkabān*, *ʿAnīs*, *ḩadje*, *Dhamār*, *Yarīm*, *Redāʿ* and ʿAmrān, the sandjak of al-*Hudāida* with the *qaḑās* of *Zabīd*, *Luhāiya*, *Zaidiya*, *Djabal Rēma*, *ḩadīr*, *Bēt al-Faḩīḩ* and *Bādīl*, and the sandjak of *Taʿizz* with the *qaḑās* of *Ibb*, ʿUdain, *Ḵaṭaba*, *Hudjariya*, *Mukḩā* and *Ḵamaʿira*. In the north it was adjoined towards 18° N. Lat. by the independent districts of *Abū ʿArish*, *Ḵaḩṭān*, *Wāḑaʿa*, *Bilād Yām* (*Nadīrān*), in the east by the *Balad Kṭāf*, *Barat*, the oasis of *Ḵhabb*, al-*Djāwf* with *Arḩab* and *Nihm* and also *Mārib*, *Ḵhawḩān*, *ḩarīb*, *Baiḩān* and *Yāfiʿ* as well as the *Faḑlī* region, and

in the south by the hinterland of 'Aden, which is under the protectorate of England and since the Anglo-Turkish frontier adjustment of 1902—1905 has endeavoured to push its boundary northwards, which tendency has been repeatedly opposed by the Imām Yaḥyā b. Ḥamid al-Dīn in recent years; his kingdom is bounded in the north by the Ḥidjāz and Naǧd, and in the east in about 46° Long. by Ḥaḍramūt which the Imām regards as within his sphere of influence. The official Turkish estimate of the area of the wilāyet of Yaman is 191,100 sq. km. but both higher and lower estimates are given. If we include the hinterland of Aden as well as the islands of Kamarān, Perim, Soḳoṭrā and Khūryān-Muryān, which belong to India (Bombay), we get roughly 195,000 sq. km. The estimates of the population vary quite as much. The English figure is 1,000,000 for the Yaman, and 100,000 for the protectorate of 'Aden. E. Glaser (*Tagebuch*, viii., 1886, p. 45) gives the Turkish Yaman 1,800,000 inhabitants, al-Wāsi'ī, 5,000,000. The population of the Yaman is, apart from about 60,000 Jews and a few Christians and Parsees, entirely Muslim, but of different schools. The highlands between Ṣa'da, Yarīm and 'Athḥāra and the whole of the east including al-Djawf are Zaidī, the Tihāma, Ta'izzīya and Ḥaḍramūt, Shāfi'ī. The Ismā'īliya includes among its followers the districts of Naǧrān, Hamdān, Ṭaiba, Ḥarāz, Ṣa'fān and the neighbourhood of Yarīm. The Ya'kūbī sect has followers in the vicinity of Menākha.

The anthropological classification of the population is not yet settled. There is undoubtedly a strong Hamitic element of the same type as in North Africa, alongside of which the dolichocephalous Semitic race of northern Arabia and the short and high headed, large-nosed race of hither Asia, not to mention a negro element, form a strong component in the racial mixture of South Arabia, at the basis of which there is probably an ancient pigmy people.

The sharp distinction between the low lying coast-lands and the highlands of the Yaman had already been noticed by the Arab geographers. The former, 25—45 miles in breadth, passes into an undulating area of sandy, hilly country with occasional ridges and cones standing out like islands, which is succeeded by the bordering echelon of foot hills, then an outer trench-zone, on which abuts the curved and broken edge of the Arabian plateau. An inner trench-zone follows, and forms the transition to the eastern highlands. The Yaman highlands, the scene of a great upheaval, in the angle of two great depressions, has thus become a great mountain area which contains the highest peaks in Arabia (about 10,000 feet) and has towns (Mārib, Ṣan'a') at a level of 3,500 to 7,000 feet. The extensive desert known as Rub' al-Khālī which bounds the Yaman on the east and stretches in the form of a wide valley between Naǧd and Ḥaḍramūt, has only been made better known recently through the explorations of B. Thomas and Philby. Al-Yaman has not unjustly been called the "Green" (al-Khaḍra'). A fairly intensive system of agriculture is possible not only in the plains of the coast (especially producing millet and maize) but also in the bordering foot-hills, which are very favoured climatically and have a luxurious vegetation. An arduous but intensive system of cultivation is carried on artificial terraces. The most valuable article of

cultivation is the coffee plant; the eastern slopes of the inner hills are permanently cultivated since perennial streams and springs secure irrigation and wells make possible an intensive oasis-cultivation. The healthy climate of these inner valleys has in places led to a denser population than on the outer hills. On the edge of the eastern highlands at the mouths of the valleys there are extensive oases which grow dates (Djawf, Mārib). That the centres of culture in ancient Arabia (Saba', Ma'in) grew up here is due to the great skill in irrigation works, of which the dam at Mārib is an example. Among the articles grown may be mentioned wheat from very early times; it does well at a medium height of 4,000 feet; millet, sorghum, maize and oats are also grown. The chief centres for cereals were Dhū Djura, Khawlān, Ḍhamār, Ru'ain and al-Saḥl. The Tihāma still produces 50—400 fold crops and wide stretches e.g. in the plain of Mārib could be cultivated if they had a better system of irrigation. Numerous fruits (apples, quinces, bananas, lemons, apricots, peaches, plums and oranges etc.) grow in the Yaman, especially in the Wādī Ḍahr at Ṣan'a'; the date and vine have also been cultivated since ancient times. Vineyards are often mentioned in the early south Arabian inscriptions and the geographers mention them in Sarūm Rāḥ, Khaiwān, Athāfī and in the Wādī Ḍahr. Among dye-yielding plants are indigo found particularly at Zabīd, wārs in Bilād Ḥobesh, 'Udain, Djible, Ibb etc., madder, safflower and hennā. A widely distributed plant the leaves of which are used for chewing is *kāt* (*Catha edulis* Forsk.). The trees and shrubs which produced drugs and gums were of special importance in antiquity, especially frankincense and myrrh. The export of their resins laid the foundation for the prosperity of South Arabia; there was also the aloe, an especially fine quality of which was found in Soḳoṭrā. Mineral wealth is also to be found in the Yaman. Gold is obtained in considerable quantities from the sands of the rivers and from mines; among jewels varieties of onyx and cornelians were esteemed. The high degree of culture also raised the level of local industries. The weaving was particularly good; high prices were paid for striped cloaks from Saḥūl and Ḥibara. Cotton was made as early as the sixth century A.D. Tanning and the manufacture of leather was general and increased considerably in the period of Persian rule. Yaman leather and book-bindings were greatly appreciated. The chief manufacturing towns were Ṣa'da, Zabīd, Djuraṣh and Naǧrān. The manufacture of weapons was also a flourishing one; swords and cuirasses from the Yaman were highly prized as were the safety-locks still manufactured there. Other products of the Yaman which were exported were drinking vessels from Ḥalī, palm leaf baskets from 'Athḥar, rope from Muḥdjira (*B. G. A.*, iii. 98). The favoured position of the Yaman as a centre of trade for Indian products and valuable perfumes, which it held down to the middle ages, is now lost, probably for ever. Coffee, hides, drugs and resins and salt still have some importance in its export trade. The most important harbours are 'Aden, al-Ḥudaida, Mukḥā, Luḥaiya, Mukallā and al-Shīr. The internal trade is still mainly conducted by caravans. The building of the first railway in the Yaman from al-Ḥudaida to Ṣan'a' (begun in 1912) was stopped by the Great War in 1915; the railway from 'Aden via Laḥaǧj has only reached

Habil al-Ḥamrā'. The difficulties in the internal transport of goods occasionally lead to disastrous famines but the economic development of the country is probably only a matter of time.

It is not possible here to trace the varied history of the Yaman through all the stages of its development from the conversion of the land to Islām which began as early as 9 A.H. (cf. the articles ṢAN'Ā and ZABĪD and the short sketch of "Jemen im Islām" in M. Hartmann, *Die arabishe Frage*, p. 530—547). On the other hand, since conditions in the Yaman are much involved in general questions of eastern politics, it seems advisable to give an outline of events since the reconquest of the Yaman by the Turks. The incentive to more energetic action against the Yaman, which had been again administered as a wilāyet by the Turks since 1849, was given by the opening of the Suez Canal and the desire to command the E. coast of the Red Sea. In 1870 the Wālī Ḥalebli 'Alī Paṣha defeated the emir of 'Asīr Muḥammad b. 'Ā'id, who was threatening al-Ḥudaida. At this time the Turks held only al-Ḥudaida, Luḥaiya, Zabīd, Bēt el-Faḥīh, Bādīl, Mukhā, Dījizān, and half of Djabal Rēma. The Turkish force set out from Kunfuda against Suḳā and Reida in 'Asīr where 'Ā'id had established himself but he had to surrender after a six days' siege. The Turkish commander Redif Paṣha had him put to death immediately after his surrender. 'Asīr was now occupied by the Turks. Aḥmad Mukhtār Paṣha who had taken command after Redif Paṣha's illness advanced via Bādīl, 'Aththāra to Ṣan'ā' (1871). 'Amrān, Kawkabān and Shībām were taken; the Turkish advance was only checked before Ṣarāra. In the south the Djabal Rēma and the Ta'izzīya were occupied, a road made from al-Ḥudaida to Ṣan'ā' and the post to 'Aden instituted. Aḥmad Aiyūb Paṣha became governor of the wilāyet in place of Aḥmad Mukhtār Paṣha who had been summoned to Constantinople to a seat in the cabinet in May 1873. Arḥab, Ḥāshid and the Bilād Sanḥān were taken and his successor Muṣṭafā 'Āsim Paṣha advanced as far as Sūda and Shāhāra. In spite of these successes, the risings of the Yamanīs against the Turks continued to flare up. Ḥāfiz Ismā'il Ḥaḳḳī Paṣha, the successor of Muṣṭafā 'Āsim, had to fight in Hamdān, Ḥāshid and at Luḥaiya, not always with success, also in Ḥadā, Dhamār and al-Ḥodjeriya. In March 1882, he was succeeded by Muḥammad 'Izzet Paṣha whose diplomacy won over the Dā'ī of Yām to drive back the Imām Sharaf al-Dīn who had advanced on 'Amrān and to obtain the recognition of Turkish suzerainty in Ḥabūr, Shāhāra and Ṣa'da and extend Turkish rule in the south as far as Bāb al-Mandab. Risings, which occasionally took place when the garrisons were weakened, were easily suppressed. There was however a more dangerous one in 1892: Ṣan'ā' was besieged by the Arabs, Menākha, Dījible, Yarim and Ta'izz passed to the Imām. Faiḍī Paṣha put down the rebellion but in 1895—1896 war broke out again in the north, and the two following years there was considerable unrest in the land; piracy in the Red Sea even led to a demonstration by Italian cruisers before al-Ḥudaida (1902). The chain of isolated actions only produced a serious movement when the present Imām Maḥmūd Yaḥyā b. Ḥamid al-Dīn, a farseeing and vigorous man, undertook the leadership in 1904 and proclaimed the *djihad*

against the Turks. Ṣan'ā' was invested by the forces of the Imām; the fighting outside the town went against the Turks and in April 1905 an agreement was reached by which Ṣan'ā' and the vicinity passed into the hands of the Imām and the Turks agreed to withdraw. Menākha, Ta'izz, Ibb, Makhāṭir, Ḳaṭaba and Redā' alone remained in Turkish hands; the Porte however did not approve of the conditions of the peace but decided to send Aḥmad Faiḍī Paṣha to reconquer the lost territory; he retook Ṣan'ā' after a march right across Arabia but lost it again after fierce fighting. The losses in men in this, the most serious rising, were so considerable that they were forced to negotiate with the Imām, missions being sent from Constantinople to the Yaman and *vice-versa*. In the meanwhile the governor Aḥmad Faiḍī Paṣha was replaced by the politic Ḥasan Taḥsīn Paṣha who endeavoured to come to a satisfactory agreement with the Imām. At the Sulṭān's request a deputation of Yaman notables came to Constantinople; the very excited negotiations however came to nothing in spite of the willingness to consider the Imām's claims to independence. After the victory of the Young Turks (1909) they appeared to be ready in Constantinople to carry through a complete reorganisation of the Yaman.

The province was to be divided into two separate wilāyets: the one comprising the highlands with 'Amrān, Ḥadje, Tawīla, Dhamār and Yarim, was to be directly administered by the Imām, the other part including the coast to be put under a new wālī. The two governors were to be independent and rule with the assistance of *qādis* and native gendarmerie according to the *Sharī'a*; the net yield from taxation was to be taken to Constantinople and separate accounts kept. Menākha was to be the main Turkish garrison town. The scheme of reform was upset by new risings in Ṣa'da, which although put down by the son of the Imām Sharaf al-Dīn, Muḥammad Abū Naiba, gave a pretext to the Turks to resort to force once more. The policy of violence pursued by Muḥammad 'Alī Paṣha had a disastrous effect for it produced a general rising, which became all the more dangerous when Saiyid Idris of 'Asīr also attacked the Turks (1910). The struggle was finally concluded by the agreement of Da'ān in 1911, which was concluded between 'Izzet Paṣha and Imām Yaḥyā and contained 20 articles (Wāsi'ī, p. 236—239; Stuhlmann, p. 96 *sq.*). In this, the territorial status quo under Aḥmad Mukhtār Paṣha was recognised, the appointment of Zaidī judges by the Imām and the establishment of a court of appeal recognised; the Imām handed over a tenth to the government according to the *Sharī'a*, while his territory was recognised as autonomous. The war between the Porte and Italy led to the blockade of the Yaman coast and the bombardment of al-Ḥudaida, but the military assistance given by the Imām strengthened his relations with the Turks. Saiyid Muḥammad al-Idrisī, the ally of Italy, was defeated by the Imām's troops. This alliance was further strengthened by the World War. In 1915 (or even 1914?) Turkish troops and Yaman volunteers led by Sa'īd Paṣha attacked Laḥadī and drove the English back to 'Aden. In 1915 'Aden was cut off for a considerable time by land. The unfortunate result of the war in Palestine however affected the situation in the Yaman and in 1918 the Turks left the country by order of the Sulṭān. The Imām moved

his capital first to al-Rawḍa (Aug. 1918) and then to Ṣan'ā'. The English bombarded al-Ḥudaida which they gave to their friend Saiyid Idris. The Imām then attacked 'Aden and took several places in the hinterland, but an arrangement was soon come to. In 1924 there was fighting in Dījawf with 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd, but Yaḥyā succeeded in taking al-Ḥudaida and al-Tihāma, and in the following year a treaty was concluded by Sir Gilbert Clayton between England and the Imām. More recently Italy's active policy has involved the Imām in her sphere of interest and this has been emphasised by a visit of Yamani notables to Italy.

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YAMBU^c. [See YANBU^c.]

YAMĪN, the most usual Muslim term for oath, from the meaning "the right hand", according to al-Dījawharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, s.v., because those swearing take one another's right hands but rather because participants in an oath in general use the right hand in the ceremony; cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, xvii. 356, 7. On the oath s. HILF and KASAM. On particular expressions like *Yamīn al-Hinṭh*, *Yamīn al-Ṣabr*, *Yamīn al-Kaḍā'* etc. s. *Corpus Iuris dī Zaid Ibn 'Alī*, ed. Griffini, Indices; *II Muḥtaṣar o Sommario del Diritto Malechita dī Ḥalīl Ibn Ishāq*, transl. Guidi and Santillana, i. p. XL. (JOHS. PEDERSEN)

YANBU^c (YAMBO^c), a little port and also a town some distance inland on the west coast of Arabia; the former is also called Yanbu' al-Baḥr or Sherm Yanbu' and the latter, 6—7 hours journey N. E. of it, is called Yanbu' al-Nakhl. The port, which has now replaced the old harbour of al-Dījar as the port of al-Madīna, lies on a shallow but wide bay with good anchorage, protected from the winds by an island lying outside it. The town is divided by an arm of the sea into two parts and defended on the land side by a wall with towers, which has two gates, the Bāb al-Madīna on the east and the Bāb Maṣr on the north, as well as several others on the sea side. The houses are badly built and the mosques insignificant. The harbour lives mainly by the trade of al-Madīna which goes through it and does a busy traffic with Suwēs, Kuṣair and Kēne in Upper Egypt by native sailing ships. The inland town of Yanbu', written al-Yanbū' in Ibn Dīubair, is an old settlement and probably identical with the *Ἰαμβύα νέμυ* of Ptolemy. The town, which was celebrated for its *ḥennā'*, is described by the geographers al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawkal and al-Mukaddasī as large, well populated and rich in palms and had a strong castle. It was inhabited by Anṣār, members of the Banū Dīuhaina and Laith; the Prophet is said to have conducted the *ṣalāt* in its mosque. The oasis lies at the foot of a row of hills and owes its prosperity to a stream coming from them. Vegetables, dhura and tobacco are grown; the greatest care is devoted to the date-palm groves which have been celebrated since these ancient times; the houses lie scattered among them. The tradition that the harbour of Yanbu' is a later foundation from Yanbu' al-Nakhl, where leading Yambawīs have date-groves and country houses, still survives among the people. The name Yanbu' or Yanbū' (spring) is attributed to the wealth of the place in springs.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

YARBŪ^c, an important group of the tribe of Tamīm [q.v.] Genealogy: Yarbū^c b. Ḥanzala b. Mālik b. Zaid Manāt b. Tamīm (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, K 13). The same name is borne by other ethnic groups not only Tamīmī (e.g. Yarbū^c b. Mālik b. Ḥanzala [K 14 and cf. *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 122, 18 and parallel passages] and also Yarbū^c b. Tamīm in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*), but also of other tribes, of the south (Kalb, Sa'd Hudhain, Djuhaina) and of the north (Ghatafan, Thakīf, Ghani, Sulaim, Hanifa, 'Amir b. Ṣaṣa'a; we also find among the Kuraish a Yarbū^c b. 'Ankathā b. 'Amir b. Makḥ-zūm). Yarbū^c being the name of a rodent widely distributed in Arabia, its application to the tribe has been taken as an example of totemism (W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*², p. 235), a theory which however is now abandoned. Mythological legend which has survived to a greater extent in this connection than elsewhere among the traditions of the Tamīm, dwells on the mother of Yarbū^c, Djandala bint Fihir, of the Kināna, who is said to have been violated one stormy night, and later married, by Mālik b. 'Amr b. Tamīm (*Djamhara*, Brit. Mus. MS. fol. 62r; *Naḩā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 225, note 1; this is perhaps an etiological myth, formed to explain certain connections between neighbouring clans). Compared with the other groups descended from Ḥanzala, reunited under the name of al-Barāḍim, the Yarbū^c appear isolated, probably because they were powerful enough to do without a federative alliance. Indeed we find that even some of the sub-groups of the Yarbū^c enjoy a certain autonomy, like the Riyāh, the Kulaib, the Salīḥ, the Tha'laba, and the Ghudāna. They are divided into two sections, the exact nature of which we do not know: al-Aḥmāl (Tha'laba, 'Amr, Subaira and al-Ḥārīth) and al-Uḩā (Kulaib, Ghudāna and al-'Anbar). Their territory was very extensive, for we find them practically throughout the whole extent of the territory of the Tamīm, from Yamāma to below the Euphrates; but their centre was the valley of al-Hazn of remarkable fertility, (cf. Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 261 and iii. 870; the name of one of their oases was Firdaws al-Iyād). Although tradition mentions "towns" belonging to them (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 254) they led a nomadic life, like most of the Tamīm.

The history of the Yarbū^c during the Djahiliya is closely connected with that of the rest of the Tamīm, and on several occasions they took command in the wars of the latter. Sometimes however we find them engaged by themselves in war with one or other of the neighbouring tribes; for example they fought several battles alone with the Banū Shaibān, the best known being those of Dhū Tulūk (*Naḩā'id*, p. 45—59, 73) and of al-Iyād (*ibid.*, p. 580—587, also known by other names), in which they took prisoner the famous Shaibānī leader Bisṭām b. Kais (cf. E. Bräunlich, *Bisṭām ibn Qais, ein vorislamischer Beduinenfürst und Held*, Leipzig 1923, *passim*) in spite of the support given to the latter by the Persian governor of 'Ain Tamar.

At the beginning of Islām, the attitude of the Yarbū^c was that of hostile reserve. They did not dare declare openly against the powerful prophet of Madīna but on his death they were the first to rebel. The prophetess Sadjāh [q.v.] was one of them (the tradition which makes her belong to the Taghlib seems to have little authority). To the Yarbū^c also belonged the two brothers Mālik and Mutammim b. Nuwaira whose relations with Khālīd b. al-Walīd made such a stir. After the suppression of the *rida*, however, the Yarbū^c like the rest of the Tamīm proved faithful to Islām and took an active part in the conquests: but their turbulent and rebellious nature was revealed in the considerable support they gave to the Khāridjis; in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vi. 4, it is noted that at the battle of Dawlab, in 65, where the forces of the Azraḩis were crushed, the leaders of the two parties, 'Ubaid Allāh b. Bashīr al-Salīḥī and al-Rabī' b. 'Amr al-Ghudānī were both of Yarbū^c.

The many details that we possess of the deeds of the Yarbū^c during the wars of the Djahiliya and even of those of the tribal wars of the Islāmic period, have survived mainly because these wars are mentioned in the verses of Djarīr (who belonged to the clan of the Kulaib b. Yarbū^c) and because his commentators discuss them fully. — The Yarbū^c moreover gave to the poetry of the pre-Muḩammadan period and of the first century A.H. quite a number of remarkable poets: in addition to those given at the end of the article TAMīm we may mention Suḩaim b. Waṭṭil al-Riyāhī (cf. especially *Aṣma'īyāt*, ed. Ahlwardt, N^o. 76), Ḥārītha b. Badr al-Ghudānī, al-Shamardal b. Sharīk, of the Banū Tha'laba b. Yarbū^c.

Bibliography: see the article TAMīm.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-YARMŪK, a river in Syria, now called Sharī'at al-Manāḍira (from the Beduin tribe 'Arab al-Manāḍira). It rises in the Ḥawrān, flows west through a deeply cut valley of erosion, the Wādī al-Ramād, which describes a flat curve open to the south, to the Ḩawr, where it flows into the Nahr al-Urdunn (the Jordan) below Lake Gennesareth at Djisr al-Mudjāmi'. Pliny calls it (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 74) Hieromix or Hieromices (*Gadara Hieromice praefluente*, var. *Hieromiace*; the now so popular form "*Hieromax*" is not recorded).

On the 12th Rajab 15 (Aug. 20, 636 A.D.) in the celebrated battle on the Yarmūk an army of some 50,000 Byzantines was decisively defeated by an Arab force, probably half as strong, under Khālīd b. al-Walīd. The battlefield lay near the junction of the Nahr al-Ruḩḩād and the Yarmūk not far from al-Wākūsa (the modern al-Yākūsa). According to Theophanes (*Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 332), the disaster to the Byzantine army took place *κατὰ τὸ Γαβιάζ* (al-Djābiya, now Djābiye [q.v.]) καὶ Ἰερμουχάν. This battle was sometimes confused with that of Adjnādāin [q.v.] of 28th Djumādā I, 13 (July 30, 634), perhaps because the battlefield lay not far from Khirbet Yarmūk, this Biblical Yarmūth (Ἰερμούθ, north of Wādī 'l-Šamt; cf. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, Leyden 1900, p. 59 sqq.). Caetani explains the confusion in the accounts of the battles as a result of the erroneous assumption that Abū 'Ubaida was present as early as the first siege of Damascus and proposes, following Mēdnikov, to emend the otherwise unknown Adjnādāin to Djannābatāin. The accounts of the two battles are fully treated

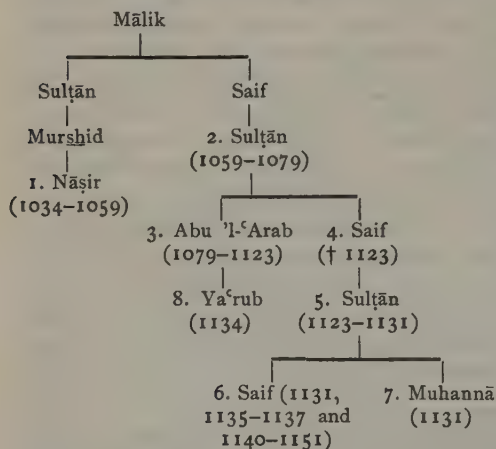
and analysed in his *Annali dell' Islām*, III/i., p. 24—81, § 17—67 (Adjnādain); III/ii., p. 499—613, § 11—124 (al-Yarmūk). — Near the battlefield lay Dair al-Khill, where the Arabs encamped on the day of the battle (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 658; Šafī al-Dīn, *Marāsid*, i. 428).

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(E. HONIGMANN)

YA'RUB, 1. Ya'rub b. Kaḥṭān b. Hūd, the grandson of the prophet Hūd, who is also regarded as the ancestor of the Ḥimyar kings, is one of the mythical rulers of the Yaman. He is said to have conquered the 'Ādites who occupied Ma'rib and thus to have become the founder of the Sabaean kingdom. His name is derived by the genealogists from *a'raba* "to speak correct Arabic (i. e. with the *ir'āb*)" as he is also said to have been the first to speak Arabic, for his father Kaḥṭān still spoke the original language of Sām b. Nūḥ.

2. Ya'rub b. Mālik, the ancestor of the Ya'rubid dynasty of 'Umān whose capitals were al-Rustāḳ, Yabrin and al-Ḥazm; they ruled from 1034—1154 (1624—1741). They succeeded one another as follows:



The last member of the dynasty, Sultān b. Murshid, was set up as a pretender against Saif b. Sultān with the help of Aḥmad b. Sa'īd and chosen imām. The greater part of 'Umān fell to him and Saif b. Sultān could only held out in Maṣṣaṭ which lost much of its importance to the rival port of Maṭraḥ favoured by Sultān b. Murshid. In fighting with the Persians who came to his help, his opponent Sultān b. Murshid was slain and after Saif's death which took place soon after, the governor of Ṣuḥār, Aḥmad b. Sa'īd, who had

married a daughter of Saif b. Sultān, became Imām of 'Umān (1154 = 1741).

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(A. GROHMANN)

YATHRIB. [See AL-MADĪNA.]

YATĪM (A.), the orphan, i. e. fatherless minor child. The improvement of the social position of orphans, who were particularly numerous in ancient Arabia, played a large part in Muḥammad's scheme of social reforms. The vigour with which the Prophet had to intervene on their behalf is significant of the conditions which he found. When relations did not take charge of them, the care of orphans fell upon the *sayyid* of the tribe (Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 246); this obligation was also put upon the Prophet as leader of the community (Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, p. 153). In Sūra xciii. 6, 9 (of the first Meccan period) the Prophet is reminded that he himself as an orphan was protected by Allāh and admonished on his part not to oppress the orphan. The Qur'ānic passages which make good treatment of orphans a duty and forbid their oppression cover a long period: Sūra cvii. 2; xc. 15; lxxxix. 18 (also of the first Meccan period); xvii. 36; lxxvi. 8; xviii. 81 (of the second Meccan period); vi. 153 (of the third Meccan period); ii. 77, 172, 211, 218 sq. (of the year 2); iv. 9—11, 40 (of the years 3—5). In Sūra viii. 42, and lix. 7 (of the years 2 and 4 respectively) the orphans are allotted a share in the fifth part of the *ghanima* [q. v.] or in the *fai'* [q. v.]. Illegal appropriation of the property of an orphan — apparently by his guardian — is specially condemned and in Sūra iv. 11 even threatened with the punishment of hell. Sūra iv. 2—7, 126 (also of the years 3—5) is particularly directed against such crimes; here we have the fullest reference to orphans: "2. And give to orphans their property; substitute not worthless things in place of their valuable ones, and devour not their property after adding it to your own; for this is a great crime. 3. And if ye are apprehensive that ye shall not deal fairly with orphans, then, of women who seem good in your eyes, marry by twos, or threes, or fours; and if ye still fear that ye shall not act equitably, then one only; or the slaves whom ye have acquired: this will make justice on your part easier... 5. And make trial of orphans until they reach the age of marriage; and if ye perceive in them a sound judgment, then hand over their substance to them; but consume ye it not wastefully, 6. or in order to anticipate them before they grow up. And let the rich guardian not even touch it; and let him who is poor eat of it with discretion. 7. And when ye make over their substance to them, then take witnesses in their presence; Allāh also maketh a sufficient account". Verse 126 apparently refers to verse 3: "Moreover, they will consult thee in regard to women; say:

Allāh shall instruct you about them; and His will is rehearsed to you in the Book, concerning female orphans to whom ye give not their legal due, and whom ye refuse to marry; also with regard to weak children; and that ye deal with fairness towards orphans. Whatsoever ye do of good, verily God knoweth it". It is probable from this that verse 3 also deals with orphan girls, where marriage with their guardian is in prospect; the exact interpretation is uncertain. The two verses are interpreted in this sense in a tradition ascribed to 'A'isha; but the details are not reliable. Another tradition not dependent in wording on the Qur'ān (in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) forbids the guardian to force an orphan girl who is his ward to marry him. Other traditions simply repeat the substance of the Qur'ānic prescriptions; for example paradise is promised as a reward for conscientious performance of one's duties as a guardian, or dishonest administration of the property of an orphan is numbered among the "grave sins". The idea of protecting the orphan is also at the basis of a *ḥadīth*, which makes the Prophet dissuade Abū Dharr as the type of the pious and experienced man from undertaking a guardianship. In two points the tradition shows a development of the doctrine. In the first place the question is raised when the position of being an orphan may be considered to end (it is out of this that the conception of attaining years of discretion developed; cf. BULUGH); various answers, some emphasizing age, others discretion, are put in the mouth of Ibn 'Abbās and 'Alī; of the later law schools the Mālikis and Shāfi'is make the power of disposing of his own affairs in one who has attained his majority dependent on his *ruṣūd*, while the Ḥanafis drop this condition after his 25th year. There were also differences of opinion as to whether the money of orphans (and especially of minors) was liable to *zakāt* or not; the latter view is still held by the Ḥanafis and the former by the other schools; it is justified not only by the direct statement that 'A'isha in such a case paid *zakāt* but also by the demand attributed to the Prophet or to 'Omar that the guardian should trade with his ward's money so that the *zakāt* should not gradually consume it. On the doctrines of the *fiqh* on orphans cf. the article WAṢĪ. It is worth noting that the right of the poor guardian to use the orphan's estate is limited to receiving compensation for his trouble. The Qur'ānic command to produce witnesses of character has lost its *raison d'être* through the fact that the guardian must be a trustworthy person (*amīn*).

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(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

YAZD, a town in Persia, in the province of 'Irāk 'Adjamī, formerly called Kāthā. It has taken the name of the area of which it was the capital. This area was formerly in the district of Iṣṭakhr in the province of Fārs (Ibn Hawkal, Yāqūt). Kāthā had a citadel and a suburb on the edge of the desert. It had two iron gates, the Gate of Izid (Izad) and the "gate of the mosque", so-called because it was near the cathedral mosque which was in the suburb. It is surrounded by subterranean channels bringing water into cisterns and reservoirs of remarkable workmanship. It has a temperate climate; the town is very clean, because

the refuse is removed daily and taken to the fields as manure. The inhabitants, formerly Shāfi'is, were almost all weavers. Cotton garments used to be exported. At the present day it still produces highly esteemed brocades (Polak, *Persien*, i. 103). Saiyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Alī, minister of Shāh Abū Ishāk Indjū (d. in 752 = 1351), and Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī, author of the *Zafar-nāme*, were natives of Yazd.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 1017; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 475, 611; B. G. A., i. 116, 125; ii. 182, 187, 196; iii. 437; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 74, 188 = transl., p. 77, 178; Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Voyages*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 68. (CL. HUART)

YAZDĀN (P.), God. This word comes from the sphere of Zoroastrian ideas (cf. Avestan *yazata*, Sanskrit *yajata* = "worthy of reverence", a Vedic epithet of gods, e.g. Agni, Indra, Savitar, and also of objects). Old Persian used for "god" the word *baga* (cf. Avestan *bagha*, Sanskrit *bhaga*, Pahlavi *bagh*). The Avestan *yazata* as an adjective means "worthy of reverence" and as a substantive "god"; it is used of Ahuramazda himself (he is called the "Greatest of the *yazatas*") as well as of the divine beings subordinate to him, like Mithra, Sraosha etc. (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, col. 1279 sq.). In Pahlavi *yazdān* (the plural; this form corresponding to the modern Persian is also to be found in the later Sāsānian period) means: "the gods, the good powers, who are under Ōhrmazd": i.e. the same significance as in Avestan. Cf., e.g., from the beginning of the *Pandnāmak-i Zartusht* the sentences: *Ōhrmazd khwēsh hom ayāw Ahraman? Yazdān khwēsh hom ayāw dēwān?* = "Am I Ōhrmazd's or Ahraman's?; am I the gods 'or the demons'?" The singular of the word also is found in Pahlavi and survives in the modern Persian *izad* and in proper names like *Yazdīdjird*. The Pahlavi pronunciation of this singular form at the end of the Sāsānian period was probably also *izad*; the *yazd* in some proper names must represent an older form.

The meaning of *yazdān*, in the modern Persian literary language, "God" in the sense of the one God, must have developed already in Pahlavi. The transition in meaning probably took place through the aspects of the powers of the divine beings becoming comprised under *yazdān*; at least it is very improbable that in the final syllable of the modern Persian word we have a suffix other than the usual Pahlavi and modern Persian plural. The word *yazdān* in the meaning "God" is already connected with the Maḍjūs [q. v.] of the middle ages in *Shahrestāni (Kitāb al-Milāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 181 sq.); according to this author, Yazdān is the name of the principle of light in contrast to that of darkness, the Ahramanic. The term is therefore synonymous with Ōhrmazd. The Kayūmarthiya sect of the Magians assumed that the principle of good, Yazdān, was uncreated (*ibid.*, p. 182) while the Zoroastrian sect taught that both Yazdān (= Ōhrmazd) and Ahraman were created, so that darkness (Ahraman) had to be understood not as a principle but as a necessary consequence of the existence of light (*ibid.*, p. 186).

In the *Lexicon Shāhnamianum* of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghādī (ed. Salemann, p. 244 sq.) the opposites Yazdān and Ahraman are also attributed to the Manichaean system. The passage from a lexicographer in Vullers, *Lexicon*, ii. 1515^a, perhaps

goes back to the same source. The Īrānian Manichaeans actually used the word *yazd*, plural *yazdān* for the "gods" of their system. We also find *bag*, plur. *bagān*. In proper names borne by Manichaeans we find the singular *yazd* (e. g. in Yazdāmad, name of a Manichaean priest; cf. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch*, p. 16 and 17) as well as the plural (e.g. Yazdānbukht, the name of a Manichaean teacher; cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i. 334, 337, 338).

In the modern Persian literary language, *yazdān* means, as already mentioned, God and is synonymous with *khudā*. 'Abd al-Kādir (*op. cit.*) glosses the word *khālik we-yarādīdī* and *īsed-i wādījib al-wuḍūd* and Allāh. In the language of the epic (Firdawsī and his imitators), *yazdān* is the most usual term for God, often with the epithet *pāk*. In poetry other than epic the word is used along with other names signifying the deity.

Bibliography: References in the article.

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

YAZĪD B. 'ABD AL-MALIK, Omayyad Caliph, who came to the throne in Feb. 720. The reign of this prince so devoid of energy is a striking contrast to that of his immediate predecessor, the conscientious 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz [q. v.]. Son of 'Abd al-Malik, grandson of Yazīd I through his mother 'Ātika, he had inherited none of the qualities of his Sufyānid ancestors which had made them popular in Syria. His brother, the caliph Sulaimān, had favoured the Yamanis. Yazīd was imprudent enough to declare for the Kaisīs and by this tactless step attracted the hostility of the Yamanis, i. e. the great majority of the Syrians. The rising of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [q. v.] forced Maslama, brother of the caliph, and the Syrian troops to leave for the 'Irāk. While they were putting down the rebellion, the impressionable caliph fell under the influence of two women musicians of Medina, Sallāma and Ḥabāba. To escape remonstrances, Yazīd withdrew to the district of Balḳā' east of Jordan. The death of his favourite Ḥabāba broke his heart. Yazīd followed her to the grave a week later, at Bait Rās [q. v.] after a reign of four years. He died on Jan. 26, 724 and was still under 40.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1372—1463; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj* (Paris), V, 445—464; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xiii. 157—166; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 194—203; H. Lammens, *La Bādiya et la Hira sous les Omayyades*, p. 108—111 (in *M. F. O. B.*, iv.). (H. LAMMENS)

YAZĪD B. MU'ĀWIYA, second Omayyad Caliph and successor of Mu'āwiya, born about 642. As a prince he had commanded the Arab army at the siege of Constantinople. Immediately after his accession (April 680) there broke out in the Ḥidjāz the rising which the genius of Mu'āwiya had so long prevented. At Medina, Ḥusain b. 'Ali and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair refused to recognise the new caliph and took refuge in the inviolable territory of Mecca. Very soon letters from old partisans of 'Ali and from the chiefs of the 'Irāk, jealous of the hegemony of Syria, decided his son Ḥusain to leave his asylum in Mecca and set out for Kūfa with about a hundred relatives and friends. Yazīd had ordered the governor of this town, 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād, to take steps to disarm them and prevent them entering the 'Irāk and stirring up trouble there. No one stirred

among the 'Alid partisans in Kūfa. Ḥusain and his handful of devoted followers foolhardily attacked the very superior forces sent to disarm them; the latter then manoeuvred to surround them and force them to lay down their arms. The son of 'Ali and the more stubborn of his companions only succeeded in meeting their deaths (Oct. 10, 680). This is the tragedy of Karbalā' [q. v.] annually commemorated by the Shī'is.

Medina no less than Kūfa disliked Syria; it accused the latter of depriving her of her title as capital. In a great assembly in the chief mosque the Medinese proclaimed Yazīd deposed. After having vainly tried negotiations, the caliph had to have recourse to arms. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Muslim b. 'Uḳba [q. v.]. This general encamped before Medina in the Ḥarra, a plain covered with volcanic debris; hence the battle was known as that of al-Ḥarra [q. v.]. The Medinese were having the best of it at first when a detachment of Syrian cavalry going round the town attacked them in the rear. This was the signal for the collapse of the defence (Aug. 26, 683). The Syrians entered Medina. The three days of loot promised by Yazīd and the horrible scenes invented by hostile tradition belong to the domain of legend. Next day, Muslim assembled the citizens to make them renew the oath of loyalty. He then went on to Mecca to suppress Ibn al-Zubair. On the way the illness which had been troubling him since he left Syria, took a turn for the worse and he died at Mushallal, where his tomb long continued to be stoned. His successor, Ḥusain b. al-Numair, led the army against Mecca and began the attack on it.

The inhabitants soon found themselves shut up in the town. Siege-artillery was placed on the surrounding hills and hurled a continuous shower of stones on the town. Ibn al-Zubair had made his headquarters in the courtyard of the great mosque. A wooden structure covered with mattresses protected the Ka'ba. The carelessness of a Meccan soldier set this on fire. The burning of the Ka'ba did not interrupt the siege. It had lasted for two months when Yazīd died at Ḥuwwārīn, in Nov. 11, 683. Ibn al-Numair led his men back to Syria.

Yazīd was not the frivolous prince, the thoughtless ruler depicted by the historians who are inspired with the rancour of the Shī'a, or the political feuds of the 'Irāk and the Ḥidjāz, or who are too much impressed by the catastrophes of his very short reign. He tried to continue the policy of Mu'āwiya and retained his surviving collaborators. A poet himself, and fond of music, he was a Maecenas of poets and artists. He completed the administrative organisation and the military defences of Syria by creating the *djund* of Kinnasrīn [q. v.] in the north of the country. He reorganised the finances, lightened the taxation on the Christians of Nadjrān [q. v.] who had been arbitrarily expelled from Arabia by the caliph 'Omar. On the other hand, he abolished the exemption from taxes granted to the Samaritans as a reward for the services they had rendered at the time of the Arab conquest. He was interested in agriculture and completed the system of irrigation of the *Ghūṭa* [q. v.], the oasis of Damascus, where he dug the upper canal which waters the suburb of Šālīhiya, and is called Nahr Yazīd after him. Alone among the caliphs he earned the title of *muhandis* "water engineer". The author of the *Continuatio byzantino-arabica*

gives a far from commonplace picture of him: *Yazīd... jucundissimus et cunctis nationibus regni ejus subditis vir gratissime habitus, qui nullam unquam sibi regaliter fastigiū causa gloriam appetiuit sed communis cum omnibus civiliter vixit*. Extremely affable, quite devoid of conceit, loved by all those under his authority, hating the pomp of royalty, living like a private citizen, *civiliter*...! "No caliph", says Wellhausen, "received such a panegyric; it comes from the heart".

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, ii. 196—427; Mas'ūdi (Paris), v. 126—165; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xiv. 122; xvi. 70; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 88—105; Lammens, *Le chantre des Omayyades; notes biographiques et littéraires sur le poète arabe chrétien Aḥḥāl* (in *J. A.*, 1895, p. 38—47). The remainder of the bibliographical material is detailed and utilised in Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'āwīya Ier* (dealing with the youth of Yazīd), p. 266—448 (extract from *M. F. O. B.*, i.—iii.); do., *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, p. 1—528 (extract from *M. F. O. B.*, iv.—vii.). (H. LAMMENS)

YAZĪD B. AL-MUHALLAB B. ABĪ ŠUFRA AL-AZDĪ, governor of *Khurāsān*. Yazīd was born in 53 (672—673) and after the death of his father al-Muhallab [q. v.] at the end of 82 (702) was appointed governor of *Khurāsān*. With his brother-in-law, the powerful al-Ḥadjdjadī b. Yūsuf [q. v.], his relations were strained and in 85 (704) the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, after some hesitation, was persuaded by the latter to remove Yazīd from his office which was given first to his brother al-Mu'addal b. al-Muhallab and a few months later to the able *Ḳutaiba b. Muslim* [q. v.]. In the following year the caliph died and was succeeded by his son al-Walid. In the same year al-Ḥadjdjadī had Yazīd thrown into prison where he was exposed to all kinds of humiliation and when his sister Hind, wife of al-Ḥadjdjadī, showed sympathy for him she was divorced by her husband. It was not till 90 (708—709) that Yazīd succeeded in escaping and went to al-Ramla where Sulaimān, the caliph's brother, lived. The latter afforded him protection and interceded for him with al-Walid so that al-Ḥadjdjadī had to leave him in peace. After the accession of Sulaimān in 96 (715) Yazīd was appointed governor of the *Irāk* and settled in Wāsiṭ. The supporters of Ḥadjdjadī, who had died in the meanwhile, had now to pay for the cruelty with which he had treated Yazīd. But when Yazīd asked the caliph to relieve him of the administration of the taxation, Sulaimān placed an official of the chancellery named Šāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān at the head of the finance department and the latter refused to satisfy Yazīd's extravagant demands on the treasury, so that Yazīd began to turn his eyes towards the adjoining province of *Khurāsān*. He succeeded in being appointed governor of *Khurāsān* while retaining the supreme command in the *Irāk* (97 = 715—716). Shortly after his arrival in this province, he permitted all kinds of cruelty to be practised on the relations of *Ḳutaiba* and the officials appointed by him. In the following year he undertook a campaign against *Djurdjān* and *Tabaristān*; the people of *Djurdjān* escaped on paying a sum of money. But when Yazīd later suffered heavy losses, they rebelled and fell upon the Muslim garrisons which he had left. He had as a result to conclude peace with the lord of

Tabaristān and turning against *Djurdjān* wreaked a bloody vengeance on its people. He made himself generally hated by his extortions in his province and Sulaimān is said, just before he died, to have been thinking of sending some one to *Khurāsān* to have a reckoning with him. After 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ascended the throne in *Šafar* 99 (Sept.—Oct. 717) he had Yazīd arrested because the latter could not produce the fifth of the booty from *Djurdjān* and *Tabaristān* the amount of which he had much exaggerated out of vanity; shortly before or after the death of the caliph, he escaped from prison and went with a small body of followers to al-Bašra. When the negotiations which he began with the governor 'Adī b. Arṭāt al-Fazārī came to nothing, the decision had to be left to force of arms. In the first encounter 'Adī fled and took refuge in the citadel. This was stormed and 'Adī taken prisoner (Ramaḍān 101 = March—April 720). Yazīd then began to preach open war on the Omayyads; the rebellion spread and in a short time Yazīd seized Wāsiṭ but was defeated on 14th (or 12th) *Šafar* 102 (Aug. 24, or 22, 720) at al-'Akr near Wāsiṭ by Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, who had come with a large army from Syria. Yazīd himself fell and his relations were everywhere persecuted with the greatest vigour.

Bibliography: Ibn Khalikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N^o. 826 (transl. de Slane, iv. 164); al-Tabari (ed. de Goeje), ii., see Index; Ibn al-Aṭḥir (ed. Tornberg), iv., v., *passim*; al-Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 330, 341, 344 sq., 353—355, 362, 370, 372; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), v. 411, 453 sq., 506; al-Balādhuri, (ed. de Goeje), p. 168, 231, 335—338, 365, 367, 369, 417, 425 sq.; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i., see Index; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 338, 342, 374 sq., 364, sqq., 372, sq., 375 sqq., 392, 419; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 150, 156, 157, 161—164, 168, 195—199. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

YAZĪDĪ, YAZĪDĪYA, the name of a Kurd tribal group and of their peculiar religion which shows ancient characteristics.

Area of Distribution. The Yazidis are found scattered over a wide area usually leading a settled life but also split up into nomadic clans: 1. in the district of Mōsul in the northern *Irāk*, in Assyria proper, in the district of *Šaikhān*. Special mention may be made of: Bā'adhri (Bā'idhri, Bā'idhri) about 40 miles N. of Mōsul, the residence of the chief emir, their political head; three hours to the north at Lālesh in the valley *Šaikh* 'Adī is the tomb of their chief saint *Šaikh* 'Adī, their national sanctuary and the centre of their national and religious life; Baḥazaniye, north of Alkoṣh at the foot of the hill on which is the Chaldaean monastery of Rabbān Hormuzd; and also Bā'ashikā (Bā'ashikā, Ba Heshike) N. E. of Mōsul, the centre of the tombs of the *shaikhs*; 2. on the *Djebel Sindjār*, 100 miles west of Mōsul, a range of hills in the middle of the desert, which is the great bulwark of their efforts for freedom and independence. The chief *Sindjār-Shaikh* lives in the Beled *Sindjār* (picture of the citadel in P. Schütz, *Zwischen Nil und Kaukasus*, p. 135); formerly his residence was in Milik (Mirik); 3. in the district of *Diyārbakr*, N. and N. E. of the *Tigris*; 4. in the district of *Aleppo*, W. of the *Euphrates*, at *Killīs* and 'Aintāb; 5. in

Russian Armenia (Kars, Eriwan) and in the Caucasus (at Tiflis) — There are also Yazīdīs in Persia.

Numbers. The total number can only be approximately estimated; there can hardly be more than 60,000—70,000 altogether, while only half a century ago they numbered 120,000—150,000. According to the 'Irāk census of 1922—1924 (apparently exclusive of Sindjār which was only joined to the 'Irāk at the end of 1932) they numbered 26,257 in the 'Irāk, while the Turkish census of 1923, which deliberately emphasised the Muḥammadan element, only gave 18,000 Yazīdīs, compared with 264,000, or 450,000 Kurds, which corresponds to the English figures. In 1912 the Turkish statistics for the 6 wilāyets in question gave 37,000 Yazīdīs. Nūri in 1905 estimated 35,000 Yazīdīs for *Shaikhān* and *Sindjār* (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 169). According to figures which are undoubtedly exaggerated, *Sindjār* which is now joined to the 'Irāk contains 36,000 Yazīdīs (*O. M.*, xii. 502). There are only a few hundreds in Persia.

The Russian census of Dec. 17, 1926 gave for the Caucasus (Tiflis, Eriwan and Kars) 14,522 Yazīdīs compared with 54,600 Kurds. In spite of the accessions during the war their number has fallen compared with that of the Russian census of Feb. 9, 1897: 14,726 Yazīdīs and 85,175 Kurds while in 1901 in Russian territory there were 25,000 Yazīdīs compared with 125,000 Kurds.

As to their numbers at an earlier date, Karczew in 1884 gave exact figures based on quite reliable statements of the *ḥawwāls* (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 116).

Name. The name Yazīdī, which the Yazīdīs themselves feel to be modern, seems to have nothing to do with Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya or with Yazīd b. Unaisa, with whom it is connected, and as little with the name of the Persian city of Yazd. It probably comes from the modern Persian *īzed* (angel, deity), Avestan *yazata* (being worthy of worship), Pahlavi *yazd*, Sanskr. *yajātā*, cf. modern Persian *yazdān* [q.v.] God, Avestan *yazatanam*, Pahlavi *yaztān*, *yazdān* of which *īzed* is the natural phonetic development while *yazdān* represents an Avestan word brought through ritual into modern Persian.

The Azīdi, Izīdi, Izēdi or Izdi would therefore be as they themselves say "worshippers of God", an etymology known to the Yazīdīs, and quoted as early as Campanile, *Storia della regione del Kurdistan*, Naples 1818, p. 148, as *Seguace di Fazad* (*Iddio*). The Yazīdī popular etymology of the name from *aez da* (for *dām*) *khudā* ("God created me") is useless, as *aez* or *ez* is not used in Yazīdī, only *men* ("I").

Evolved from the name Yazīd we find in legend an angel *ezdā* and a *yazdān* among the ancestors of the Yazīdīs as well as the term *yazdānī* for the first Yazīdīs.

With this we may perhaps connect *Izdai*, the name of a sandjak in the form of a man made from grapes (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 184).

According to Marr (*Zapiski Vost. Otd. Arch. Obshch.*, xx. 99), Čelebi was the former name of the Yazīdīs (cf. Barthold, above i., p. 833). In Niebuhr also Čelebi is given as "devil".

The Yazīdīs call themselves Dāsīn, Dasnī, Dasenī, plur. Dawāsīn, Duāsīn, Dawāshīm, probably from the name of an old Nestorian diocese. In 941 (1534) Sultān Sulaimān gave the Yazīdī chief

Ḥusain Beg Dasinī, who was later executed, the sandjak of Arbil and the wilāyet of Sohrān. Among the Syrians, the Yazīdīs are called Dasnāyē (not to be confused with Daysānāyē, the followers of Bardesane of Edessa; cf. Furlani, in *R.S.O.*, xiii. 97), among the Armenians, Thondracians and Polichaeans. Before the days of Christianity they were called *putperest* (idol-worshippers) according to the *Maḥṣaf rāsh*.

The defamatory name given them quite unjustly is *shaiṭān-perest* or *'abede-i Iblīs* ("devil-worshipper") although they should rather be called "angel-worshippers", and *ġragh sōndīren* ("light-extinguishers"). Another term of abuse for them is the Turkish *halta* ("dog-collar").

Tribes. Although the Yazīdīs hold no communion with the neighbouring tribes and in particular do not intermarry with them, they look exactly like Kurds, even those who live in Syria in the centre of an Arabic speaking area, although two types are to be distinguished among them: one, their own traditional type, Assyrian-Semitic with particularly thick hair and beard and the other more an Indo-Germanic type. In any case traces of the early inhabitants of the country still survive in them. They have some physiological similarities with the earlier Wan Armenians: an Armenian intermixture is not to be denied.

Their thick hair earned them from the Turks the nickname *saillī Kurd* ("hairy Kurds") and *sekiz bīyıklī* ("eightfold bearded") because hair grows on the lips, eye brows, nostrils and ears.

The Yazīdīs are a handsome, long-haired, proud type, with the feeling of independence characteristic of the mountain-dweller, and usually of powerful physique. The unveiled women have remarkably regular features. The Yazīdīs were formerly dreaded rebels and brigands who resisted fearlessly all attacks and onslaughts by their neighbours. Their faithfulness to their word and their loyalty was recognised even by their enemies. They are industrious tillers of the soil and cattle-rearers, who are superior to their neighbours in skill and activity. Special mention may be made of the meticulous cleanliness of their persons and houses, which is in great contrast to the filth of the other Kurds.

They are organised like the Kurdish tribes, with an emir or chief of the tribe (*agha-e ele*) at the head. According to Karczew, the tribe is divided into bodies of elders (*ruspiti*). Every family or sept forms a unit by itself. On the tribal organisation, the taxes and labour given to the chiefs, on the law of inheritance (primogeniture, but restricted by the condition of worthiness), on the patriarchal life of the tribes, settled and nomadic, see Jegiazarow, *Kratkij etnografičeskij očerk Kur-dov*, in *Zapiski*, xiii., Tiflis 1891, who gives very full data (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 108); also Minorsky, above s. v. *KURDS*, Isya Joseph and Empson.

Language. The language of the Yazīdīs is almost without exception Kurdish, an idiom related to Persian, with a number of dialects which are particularly closely related to Kurmandjī Kurdish. But the differences are often so great that another language has to be called in to make the parties intelligible to one another, for example Turkish in the case of Gokčai Yazīdīs in intercourse with the Ararat and Bāyazīd Kurds (Wagner). In consequence of their distinct religion they form a people sharply distinguished from the Kurds. The Yazīdīs of the *Sindjār* also speak Arabic. The supposition that

at least a portion of the Yazīdīs formerly spoke Arabic and migrated from Syria and Babylonia, as tradition has it, is not to be rejected offhand.

Religion. The origin and evolution of their peculiar synthetic religion have not yet been fully explained but it seems to include old pagan elements (but no worship of the sun and moon), Iranian-Zoroastrian elements (echoes of Persian dualism), Manichaean (the Persian gnosis), Jewish elements (prohibition of certain foods), features from Christian sects, especially the Nestorians (baptism, a kind of eucharist, breaking of bread, visiting of Christian churches at weddings, permission to drink wine), also Muslim elements (circumcision, fasting, sacrifice, pilgrimage, Muslim inscriptions on tombs), Šufī-Rāfiḏī features (secrecy of doctrine, ecstasy, reverence for a large number of Šufī-*Shaiḫs*), Sabaeen (transmigration of souls) and Shamanistic features (burial, interpretation of dreams, dances).

Sacred Books. The spoken language is used throughout in worship. It is therefore all the more remarkable that the text of the two sacred books, said to have been in existence before the Creation and to have been learned from the original copies, was in Arabic, although only the priests and the *ḳawwāl*s learned some Arabic. These are the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* [q. v.] (*Kitāb-i Djilwā*) "the Book of Revelation" and the *Maṣḥaf rāṣḥ* [q. v.] "the Black Book". "Black" seems to imply worthy of veneration.

One cannot conceal a certain disappointment on becoming acquainted with the sacred books. A hymn in praise of *Shaiḫ* 'Adī [see 'ADĪ] in 80 verses of considerable theological merit, written in Arabic, is also regarded as a kind of sacred book.

Religion. Whether, though it is very improbable, there has survived to the present day in Yazīdism a remnant of the old Iranian Zoroastrianism, whose views have been in course of time fundamentally altered by the adoption of foreign elements, or whether the Yazīdīs are former Manichaeans or Nestorians and Jacobites or survivors of the old Syrian community, which settled on the *Sindjār* and in their isolation became contaminated by Muslim and other ideas, is uncertain.

According to Spiro, Yazīdism is descended from Manichaeism, which has been affected by Assyrian, Persian, Christian and Muslim elements. In any case, the Iranian element plays a considerable part for it appears to be the main basis for the development of Yazīdī doctrine, which in many points approximates to Christianity and still more to Islām.

In the actual doctrinal system, the six minor deities seem to disappear completely and to be replaced by the dualism between God and Malak Tā'ūs, the peacock angel. God is only the Creator, not the preserver of the world. He is passive and does not trouble about the world. The active, executive organ of the divine will is Malak Tā'ūs, with whom *Shaiḫ* 'Adī who has risen to divinity through transmigration, seems to form one. Malak Tā'ūs is God's *alter ego* and is the active aspect of God's being. He is one with God and inseparably bound up with him. To this extent Yazīdism is monotheistic but there are also semi-divine and divine beings, intermediate between God and man.

According to Horten, the religion of the Yazīdīs is a pure worship of light and represents a victory over the old Persian dualism. Malak Tā'ūs is not the principle of evil but on the contrary the denial of evil at all, which forms an indis-

pensable portion of the divine plan of the world and in a proper conception of the relativity and subjectivity of evil is recognised as necessary.

Malak Tā'ūs is a good deity. Yazīdism does not countenance the worship of Satan. *Shaiṭān* = Malak Tā'ūs is regarded as an angel who has fallen into disgrace and, according to the legend, for his repentance has been restored or will be restored to God's favour. The Yazīdīs do not appear to believe in a hell, in a devil in our sense or in the punishment of hell, which would be an incorporation of the principle of evil. Evil is denied. According to legend, Malak Tā'ūs with his tears of repentance in hell filled 7 jars in 7,000 years and with them the fires of hell were extinguished. The triumph over hell by this theory of redemption is found in several variants in Yazīdī legend. Corresponding to the non-existence of an eternal hell is the belief in transmigration, which makes possible a gradual purification through continual rebirths. It is strictly forbidden to pronounce the name of Malak Tā'ūs: *Shaiṭān* even as the name of the deity (art. 5 of the creed). The white pearl is of the same nature and identical with the peacock. The peacock also plays a part in early Christian and other religions as a symbol of the sun and of immortality, as its flesh is said not to decay.

The view held by Chwolsohn and Lidzbarski that Tā'ūs corresponds to the Babylonian-Assyrian divine name *Tamūz*, Aram. *Tamūzā*: *تاموز = تاموز* = *تاوز* is untenable. Yazīdism has nothing to do with the god *Tamūz*. Similarly Tā'ūs = *ταύς* is to be rejected while Tā'ūs seems to be the same as *ταύς*.

The problem of the origin and nature of the worship of the divine angel Malak Tā'ūs, who is represented in the form of a bird, as a cock or peacock, is not yet solved.

Sanḍjak. The most concrete expressions of Yazīdism are the figures of peacocks made of bronze or iron, the so-called *sanḍjak* (Yaz. *sindjak*) pl. *sanḍjāk*, sometimes quite crude figures, sometimes very fine products of Persian art. Pictures of them may be found in Layard, Menant, Guerinal, Isya Joseph, *Anthropos* VI, Empson, Ḥusnī etc.

There are seven *sanḍjak*, corresponding to the number of the angels who took part in the creation of the world; they have particular names, being called after individuals who have attained divinity through transmigration: Dāwūd, *Shaiḫ* Shams al-Dīn, Yazīd (b. Mu'awiya), *Shaiḫ* 'Adī, *Shaiḫ* Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Maṣṣūr (al-Ḥallādī). The last named is the oldest *sanḍjak*, weighs 679 lbs. and is called "caliph of the *sanḍjak*". It remains always at the tomb of *Shaiḫ* 'Adī. The seventh *sanḍjak* is lacking in all the illustrations. The *sanḍjak* Izdai has been mentioned above.

Six *sanḍjaks* make the round of the various Yazīdī lands yearly: 1. in Mōsul and *Shaiḫkhān* thrice yearly; 2. in *Sindjār* and in Mesopotamia twice a year; 3. in Aleppo once; 4. in *Diyr Bakr* once; 5. in Takrit, Sāmarrā etc. once; 6. in Nisibīn, Bāyazīd, Wan and Caucasus once.

The travelling *sanḍjaks* are taken by the *ḳawwāl* and *Koṭak* in their own simple receptacles on the dangerous journey. If lost they seem to be replaced at once. They are kept in the treasury *Khazīnat al-Raḥmān* in *Shaiḫ* 'Adī.

Here one may deal with the often mentioned snake, of the height of a man, painted black, which

is cut into the wall at the entrance door of the sanctuary. On the same wall are carved a number of peculiar figures: rings, daggers, a peculiar kind of crozier or seven armed sceptre, hands, spoons, croziers, combs. They are probably family or tribal marks, as the little houses for pilgrims scattered all over the valley bear the same marks on the walls.

It is significant that at the present day in Sindjār the quarrels of the emirs for power seem to concentrate around the possession of a *sandjak* guaranteeing a regular income.

Exclusiveness. The idea of their complete separation from the rest of mankind held by the Yazidis is remarkable. They are convinced that they are descended from a child (*Shahid* b. *Djaiyār*) or twins, developed from the seed of Adam only in a jar which was kept closed for nine months, while the jar with the seed of Eve who was disputing for priority produced only vermin. On this is based the belief of the Yazidis in their unique position which does not allow them to mix with the rest of mankind who are descended from Adam of Eve. One cannot become a Yazidi, one must be born one. This strict isolation is intensified by a rigid caste system within the Yazidis.

The most dreadful punishment for a Yazidi, which can only be completely realised when we remember this fact, is excommunication, expulsion from his people, because this also settles the fate of his soul.

Morals, religious usages. In spite of all the slanders of their neighbours, the Yazidis are really on a much higher level of morality than their Christian and Muslim neighbours. The superstitious anxiety of the Yazidis to have a circle described around them by which one can put them on oath seems to be a fact (cf. Goldziher, *Zauberkerse*, in the *Kuhn-Festschrift* and *Z.D.M.* G., lxx. [1916]).

The prayers consist of a Kurdish main prayer and a morning prayer at sunrise, which has to be said at a distance from members of other creeds, and turned towards the sun (Creed, art. 3). They ought at the same time to walk round a stone put up for the purpose. The principal prayer is addressed to Malak Tā'ūs and shows that the latter is regarded as identical with the Christian and Muslim God. The seven divine angels are addressed. The erroneous view that the sun and moon are worshipped arose from the fact that the supreme deity (= Malak Tā'ūs) is called "Lord of the moon and of the darkness" and "Lord of the Sun and Light".

A three days' fast (سی روز سه روز) is observed in December, the fast being broken by drinking wine with the proper *Shaiikh* or *Pir*. The performance of prayer, however, is — apparently under Šūfi influence — not regarded as a strict duty.

According to the Yazidi catechism, Saturday is the day of rest and Wednesday the holy day. Once to three times yearly the Yazidi villages are visited by the *sandjak* amid great celebrations.

The annual pilgrimage to the tomb of *Shaiikh* 'Adi on Sept. 15—20 of the Greek-Julian calendar is a strict religious duty. This pilgrimage to the national sanctuary is the principal expression of the national and religious isolation of the Yazidis. The feast of the pilgrimage is celebrated with ritual ablutions by bathing in the river, by washing or

dipping the *sandjaks*, with processions, music (flute, drum and tambourine), hymns, ecstatic songs and dances by the priests, which recall the Šūfi *dhikr* and Shamanistic rites, the lighting of hundreds of sesame oil-lamps at all the saints' graves, by offerings and special foods (*harisa*, *sawik*), the cooking of a sacrificed ox (*kaldūsh*).

The blessing of *Shaiikh* 'Adi is important for the rites, i.e. little balls of earth or clay from the tomb of the saint, and consecrated water from the water in which the *sandjak* has been dipped for the living and the dead.

The little balls of earth are used as talismans and as a medicine and as extreme unction for the dying. All eyewitnesses agree as to the devoutness and dignity of all these ceremonies in the outer court of the sanctuary. The ceremonies within the sanctuary, which seem to include the reading of sacred books, have never been witnessed by an outsider.

Trees, at the sanctuary mulberry trees, are also honoured, surrounded with walls and visited by the sick. These trees have their own personal names.

Non-obligatory pilgrimages are made to the tombs of several other saints, mostly Šūfi *shaiikhs*.

The most important festival of the year, the feast of the New Year: *sar-i sāl*, *sarsalī*, *sarsaliye* on the first Wednesday in April, is celebrated with great solemnity, as among the Harranians, at the tomb of *Shaiikh* 'Adi but without music. An attempt has been made to trace this to the Assyrian festival of *zagmuk*. Red flowers over the doors play a great part in it.

The obligatory institution of the brotherhood of the next world, which corresponds to our system of godfathers (each Yazidi must have a brother and sister of the next world), binds one to a daily kiss of the hand and presence in the dying hour. The collar of the new shirt, which unlike other eastern shirts is always buttoned behind, must in any case be opened by a sister of the next world.

In marriage, endogamy is strictly observed and the limitations imposed by the caste system are very marked. Marriage is as a rule monogamous, except in the case of the emir, who is allowed several wives. It is marriage by purchase with simple ceremonies performed by the local *shaiikh* or *pir*, who breaks a loaf in two and gives it to the two parties. The bride wears red clothes and has to visit all the places of worship including the Christian churches on the way. The bridegroom on her entering the house gives her a blow with a stone as a sign of her subjection. Drums and fifes are necessary. Here and there the old system of marriage by capture survives, but it is now forbidden.

The punishment for adultery used to be death. Divorce is rendered difficult through the necessity of having three witnesses. The widow may be remarried six times. If a Yazidi remains more than a year abroad, he cannot live with his wife again nor can he receive another Yazidi woman to wife.

Baptism is a characteristic ceremony: it is performed by a *shaiikh* or *pir* plunging the child three times into the zemzem in a dark vault of the sanctuary in the first week after birth. In the case of Yazidis living at some distance away, consecrated water brought by the *ḡawwāl*s is used.

Circumcision, which takes place soon after baptism, seems to be more a matter of choice. In

some Yazidî tribes it is said to have fallen into disuse some time ago, probably to escape military service.

The burial ceremonies are peculiar. The corpse is buried immediately after death with arms crossed and pointing to the east. In the case of persons of rank, a rough wooden figure is hung with the deceased's clothes and carried for three days in procession with music. The tomb is repeatedly visited by the mourners. On the 3rd, 7th and 40th day and the anniversary memorial services are held.

After death an answer to the question of the rebirth of the soul of the deceased is sought from the interpretation of a dream of a priest or *koçak*. The Kurdish system of blood vengeance exists to the present day in a somewhat milder form among the Yazidîs.

Theocratic structure of society: The whole structure of this people, small and scattered but extremely well organised, is theocratic. The Yazidîs fall into two very distinct classes:

I. The laity (*murid*) who form one great caste without consideration of position or wealth and among whose members there is no distinction in principle, in spite of the division into common Yazidîs and notables (*emirs*), so that marriage between them is possible and frequent. Every Yazidî is the novice or disciple of a definite *shaikh* or *pir*, whose hand he must kiss every day, with whom he must break his fast by drinking wine and who has to perform the various rites of worship for him. On the institution of brotherhood of the next world, see above.

II. The clergy, priests, *rûhân*, *kahana*, who enjoy extraordinary respect and reverence. The cleric must not cut his beard nor crop his hair. As regards duties the clergy are divided into six classes and as regards exclusiveness into three rigidly marked classes. It is impossible to move from one caste to another and marriages between the different castes are forbidden. Still more unimaginable is it for a layman to enter the clerical class and vice versa. This rigidity is a dogma of belief as the Yazidîs rely upon it for the purity of their sects. Every one must live and die in the caste in which he is born. In certain cases the priesthood may pass by inheritance to women.

The *rûhân* are divided into the following classes:

1. The *shaikhs* who are descended from only five families in all are believed to be descended from pupils or brothers of *Shaikh* 'Adî. Their dress is white with a black wound turban; a red and yellow or orange cloth is flung round the body. The houses of the *shaikhs* serve as the places of worship of their charges.

2. The *pirs*, priests of less exalted descent. Their dress is black, the turban white with black feather or wound round with red.

The *shaikhs* and *pirs* are the regular clergy and pastors, they enjoy immunity of person and various privileges. It is their duty to teach their charges good and restrain them from evil. They have to perform religious duties on festival days, at fasts, at marriages, births, circumcisions, in illness (treatment with sacred earth), at death and at auguries, for which regular fees (*zykat*) are due them.

The so-called *mollâ* or *imâm*, who claims descent from *Hasan al-Baṣrî*, is said alone to have the right to read and write. At one time he had charge

of the sacred books but they are now kept for safety in *Sindjâr*.

Writing is strictly forbidden to the common Yazidîs by custom, probably in order not to profane it, since according to the *Maṣḥaf*, xxxi., God himself puts creation on record.

3. The *faḳîrs* or *karabash* ("blackheads", on account of their black headgear), a kind of order, a voluntary brotherhood, recruited from the *shaikhs* and *pirs* and under a head called *kāk* "master", who lives in Aleppo and receives the income of the *sandjak* Yazidî. They wear a black garment of hair and a turban with red band. They live on alms and play a part as negotiators and peace-makers. A *faḳîr* is said to act as deputy of the chief *emir*. There is also said to be a sisterhood called *faḳraya*, the head of which is called *kabana*.

4. The *ḳawwāl*s: singers, clergy of minor rank. There is a gild of musicians said to number 50 men, which has to take part in all religious festivals by singing hymns (we have two of these hymns with the music), playing the flute, tambourine or drum. They also act as *missi dominici* of the chief *shaikh* and chief *emir*. They are farmers of the sacred images, the *sandjak*, for which they had to pay an annual rent (before the war about £T 6,000) and with which they went regular definite circuits through the different Yazidî districts in order to strengthen the faith of the Yazidîs and keep them together and to collect offerings. An undeniable similarity to the pardoners is found in the trade which they carry on in balls of earth from the tomb of *Shaikh* 'Adî and in holy water. Of the contributions levied on behalf of the *emir* half goes to the tomb of 'Adî, a quarter to the *emir* and a quarter to the *ḳawwāl*s.

They wear white, rarely coloured, dress and black turbans. Many Yazidîs consider it meritorious to sanctify their new clothes by giving them to the *ḳawwāl*s for a time.

5. The *koçak*, dancers, who serve in considerable numbers at the tomb of *Shaikh* 'Adî (the estimates vary between 30 and 300) and as ministrants of the *ḳawwāl*s carry the *sandjaks* to the villages on their circuits and dance at festivals in frenzied ecstasy with their long hair unbound.

Not to be confused with them are the *koçak*, who have the same name and crop up occasionally; they were a kind of Mahdî, usually religious fanatics of the nomadic Yazidî tribes, who endeavoured to influence and impress those around them by interpreting dreams, falling into trances and seeing visions and believed they were called upon to play the part of religious leaders. In drought and famine they acted as rain-makers, in rebellions and military enterprises they sought like the old prophets to inflame their people and assume the leadership. At the same time they used to their own advantage the belief that *Shaikh* 'Adî will appear once again in a rebirth. For this reason therefore they were hated not only by the Turkish Government but also by the Yazidî chiefs themselves and not infrequently betrayed to the Turks who disposed of them without mercy.

6. The lowest class of clergy: the *awhân* or *awân* (deacons) and *ghulâm-e odjakh-e Shêkh* 'Adî, the servants at the tomb of *Shaikh* 'Adî, together with a *ferrâsh* (sacristan to look after the oil-lamps) and 4 or 5 *shâwîsh* (*ḳawsh*): doorkeepers who serve in the sanctuary. Each Yazidî village

also has a *shāwīsh* to maintain order. The head of the servants at the tomb is the *ikḥtiyār* of Merke (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 147, note 1).

At the top of this theocratic organisation there are a religious and a secular head:

1. The chief *Shaikh*: *mīr-i shaikhān*, known as *Shaikh Nāṣir*, who is said to be descended from the family of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī or from a brother of *Shaikh* 'Adi and lives in Lālesh. He takes precedence of every one and the supreme spiritual power is in him. He is infallible on questions of belief. He is the chief authority on and expositor of the holy scriptures; he alone gives legal decisions, and — with the approval of the chief of the tribe — sentences to the severest punishment, excommunication. He can summon to the holy war — this recalls the *ḡihād* — but the leadership devolves on the chief emir. The *Mīr-i Shaikhān* has a claim to tithes but their place is taken by voluntary offerings. He wears white and a black turban. Only the daughters of a family descended from 'Abd al-Ḳādir Gīlānī are considered his equals in rank. His house is the most venerated *odjak* of the Yazīdīs next to the tomb of *Shaikh* 'Adi.

2. The *Mīrzā Beg* or *emīr al-umarā'*, the prince of the Yazīdīs, who according to the *Maṣḥaf* is regarded as a descendant of *Shāpūr* but is usually called a descendant of Yazīd and exercises the highest political and secular power. He lives in Bā'adri. His person enjoys immunity and he receives voluntary offerings (according to Browski £T 8,000 a year). His word is final on all secular matters. He alone represents the Yazīdīs to the outer world. He occupies the same position with respect to all Yazīdī tribes that the tribal chief has to the individual Yazīdī.

Since the loss of independence in 1832 the emīr has to obtain recognition from the Turkish Government. The present emīr of the Yazīdīs is Sa'īd Beg, son of 'Alī Beg, murdered in 1913, who was the son of Ḥusain Beg (d. 1878), son of 'Alī Beg murdered in 1832.

History. We are quite in the dark regarding the first appearance and early history of this people who reveal so many diverse elements. According to the chief *shaikh*, the Yazīdīs, Layard tells us, have a chronology of their own, an era beginning in 292 A. D. which could without difficulty be connected with the year of Mani's death (276). But as we have no further confirmation and no historical records or annals of the Yazīdīs are known which might throw some light on the point, the correctness of the statement may legitimately be doubted.

It is not clear what part the caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya (60—64 = 680—683) really plays in Yazīdism; according to the origin of the name already given, he can have had nothing to do directly with their foundation. Guidi however holds — in contrast to the views hitherto held by European scholars — that the connection of Yazīdism with Yazīd can no longer be doubted, and regards the Yazīdīs as having at one time been Muslims, a view which has always been held by Muḥammadan theologians.

According to the Yazīdī view, Yazīd was not the real founder of the Yazīdiyya, but only the restorer of the original sect, founded by Shāhid b. Ḍjarrāh, the only son of Adam. According to the legend, Yazīd abandoned Islām to devote him-

self exclusively in Syria to the sect named after him. It cannot be denied that there are historical relations in this connection between Syria and the 'Irāk and the Kurdish movement. There are still villages of Yazīdīs who speak Kurdish near Aleppo. By transmigration Yazīd became *Shaikh* 'Adi, who will come to earth again and again. In *Maṣḥaf* xv., 'Adi alone is mentioned, whom God sends from Syria to Lālesh, but not Yazīd.

An attempt has been made to dispose of the difficulties which arise out of the caliph Yazīd by making the Yazīdīs disciples of Yazīd b. Unaisa, on the authority of a statement in Shahrastānī's (469—548 = 1071—1153) *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, mainly because a prophet from Persia was expected by the Ibādī sect of the Yazīdiyya founded by Yazīd b. Unaisa. But even this does not remove the difficulty.

It seems no less peculiar that the Yazīdīs should have chosen as a national saint a Ṣūfī *Shaikh* like 'Adi b. Muṣāfir [q.v.] recognised without qualification throughout the whole Muḥammadan world, whose orthodoxy, as we find it in his works, could hardly have led to the foundation of a sect so heterodox and foreign to the nature of Islām as Yazīdism actually is. It appears impossible that a Muslim Ṣūfī order could degenerate into a religion so different from Islām as Yazīdism is.

In any case, the Yazīdī movement seems to have begun in the time of the Omayyads in Syria. According to the tradition still alive among them, they came from Baṣra and the lower Euphrates in the time of Timūr at the end of the xivth century and gradually advanced into the Sinḡār which they did not inhabit before the xvth century, and into Kurdistān and there became kurdicised.

As, strange to say, unlike Muslims, the Yazīdīs never laid stress on their possession of sacred books, they were not regarded as privileged *Ahl al-Kitāb*. Down to recent times, they were connected from their name with the hated caliph Yazīd and branded as Muslim heretics.

It was from this point of view that the various authoritative *fatwās* were issued which unanimously declared the land of the Yazīdīs *dār al-ḥarb* and proclaimed the destruction of the Yazīdīs and the confiscation of all their property permitted and meritorious from the religious point of view. These served as justification for the numerous attempts at conversion and extermination by the Turkish pāshās and the Kurdish tribes. I may mention the *fatwā*, published by Sharaf al-Dīn, of Mewlānā Ṣāliḥ for *Shaikh* 'Abd Allāh al-Rubtakī (?) of the year 1159 (1746) and the *fatwā* of 'Abd al-Salām and that of Muḥammad al-Barklā'ī al-Kurdī.

The memory of these atrocities, which are unparalleled even in the bloody history of Kurdistān, may have played a part in the final separation of the Mōsul territory from Turkey. For the Yazīdīs were as determined as the eastern Christians to migrate if the disputed area became Turkish again. The union with the 'Irāk was therefore hailed with all the more enthusiasm.

The resolution and strength of character of the Yazīdīs is remarkable; in spite of centuries of persecution they have never abandoned their identity nor their faith.

Bibliography: I refer the reader to my Yazīdī-Bibliography, published in my work *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Yaziden*, in H. Grothe's

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AL-YĀZIDJĪ, I. AL-SHAikh Nāṣif B. 'ABD ALLĀh, an Arab poet and philologist of the 16th century, born March 25, 1800 in Kafr Šimā (Lebanon, near Bairūt; see Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*, seventh ed., p. 266 and map at p. 263), d. on 8th (not 5th as *G. A. L.*, ii. 494) February 1871 in Bairūt. Members of his family, mainly of the Greek orthodox confession, are mentioned as early as the 17th century in northern Syria, especially in Hims, Ṭarābulus etc. as capable secretaries of Turkish officials and the higher clergy, whence their family name *Kātib*, Turk. *Yāzıdjı* (see 'I. I. al-Ma'lūf, *Dawānī 'l-Ḳuṭūf fī Tārīkh Bani 'l-Ma'lūf*, Ba'abdā-Lubnān 1907—1908, p. 199—200). The family later moved to the Lebanon where the father enjoyed a considerable practice as an old-fashioned physician of the school of Avicenna (see *Mach.*, xxvii., 1929, p. 363). Nāṣif received no regular education; when a child he had some lessons from a monk named Matthew at Bait-Šhabāb. He very early displayed a great love for books and poetry; in boyhood he had already learned the *Qur'ān* and the *Dīwān* of Mutanabbī by heart. His younger brother Rādjī (1803—1857) also left a *Dīwān* in MS. (see Cheikho, *La littérature arabe au XIX^{ème} siècle*², Bairūt 1926, ii. 43). From 1816—1818, Nāṣif was secretary to the Greek Catholic patriarch at Dair Ḳarkafa; his odes (from the year 1824 onwards) attracted the attention of the celebrated emir Bašīr [q. v.] to him and from 1828—1840 he was employed in his secretariat at Bteddīn. It was probably he who was described by Lamartine in his travels in the east as one of the court-poets (see *Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages pendant un voyage en Orient*, Leipzig and Stuttgart 1835, i. 242). After Bašīr's banishment to Malta, al-Yāzidjī went to Bairūt where he became very active as a writer and teacher. He remained quite free from foreign influences of every kind; he knew no European languages. Nevertheless he assisted the American missionaries in their translation of the Bible, was a member of the Society of Syrian Scholars and taught in nearly all the larger and better schools. A number of schoolbooks (no less than 15) were composed and printed by him, particularly on grammar, rhetoric, poetics, logic (a carefully prepared list by F. A. al-Bustānī, *al-Shaikh Nāṣif al-Yāzidjī*, Bairūt 1929, pp. nūn-rā); several of these are still in use in old-fashioned schools.

As a poet al-Yāzidjī followed exclusively the classical tradition, especially under the influence of al-Mutanabbī [q. v.], to whose popularity in Syria in the 16th century he contributed not a little. All his life he collected material for a commentary on al-Mutanabbī, which was edited after his death by his son Ibrāhīm (*al-'Arf al-ṭayyib fī Dīwān Abi 'l-Ṭayyib*, Bairūt 1882). Al-Yāzidjī's odes are in form and matter modelled exactly on well known classical metres; even the *muwashshah* type was foreign to him. The elegies are full of stock sentiments. He was particularly fond of chronograms and plays on words in which he could display his extraordinary command of language and form. His poems were collected in three volumes (on the first see Fleischer, in *Z. D. M. G.*, vii., 1853, p. 279); the best edition is that by his son Ibrāhīm (1. *al-Nubdhāt al-ula*, Ḥadath 1904, with the biography written by his grandson Amin al-Ḥaddād; 2. *Nafhat al-Raiḥān*, Bairūt 1898; 3. *Ṭhālith al-Ḳamarain*, Bairūt 1903, not mentioned in F. al-Bustānī, *op. cit.*, p. *shūn*).

Al-Yāzidjī acquired particular fame in the east and in Europe as the last great representative of the writers of maḳāmas [q. v.]. His collection of 60 maḳāmas, *Madjma' al-Baḥrain*, still enjoys great popularity in Syria (first edition, Bairūt 1856, the best that by his son Ibrāhīm of 1872 and often reprinted). It arose gradually. Following a suggestion of the French consul in Bairūt he began to study the *Maḳāmas* of Ḥariri in Silvestre de Sacy's edition (1821—1822) and as a result put together his emendations (ed. by A. F. Mehren as *Epistola critica Nasifi al-Yazigi Berytensis ad De Sacyum*, Leipzig 1848; s. also Reinaud and Derenbourg, *Les séances de Hariri*², 1853, ii. 72 sq.; cf. V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, ix., Liège 1905, p. 105, 130). In the early fifties he began to write maḳāmas of his own; the whole collection was finished in 1855 and was very well received in Europe (Chauvin, *op. cit.*, p. 123, 234); one of them had been translated by Fleischer as early as 1851 (*Z. D. M. G.*, v. 1851, p. 96—103; also Russian translations by A. Krymsky, *Die arabische Poesie*, Moscow 1906, p. 322—328 and Ign. Kračkovsky, in the periodical *Wostok*, ii., 1923, p. 31—34). Like those of Ḥariri his maḳāmas are not only of linguistic and lexicographical interest but they also contain much material of ethnographical value (see also Th. Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri*, London 1837, i. 98—101).

Although his own outlook and works were very conservative and traditional, al-Yāzidjī nevertheless exercised a very great influence on modern Arabic literature. He is with justice reckoned with his younger contemporary Buṭrūs al-Bustānī [q. v.] among the founders of the new movement in Syria. He was not a populariser of European knowledge or European methods like the latter or Rifā'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī; language only in the wide sense was his field. By a masterly command of language, by his verses, maḳāmas and schoolbooks, he showed and taught that the old saying *al-'arabiya tā tatanaṣṣur* (the Arabic language cannot be christianised) no longer held true. Every Arabic speaking Christian must as a member of the Arab race play his part in the renaissance of his fatherland. In this respect al-Yāzidjī did a great deal to pave the way for the later Arab nationalist movement.

2. Several members of the numerous family of

Shaikh Nāṣif attained a literary reputation. His son Ibrāhīm (b. March 2, 1847; d. Dec. 28, 1906) is specially celebrated as a sound philologist and a purist who did a great deal for modern Arabic terminology. He revised or edited many of his father's works and published a number of articles, mainly of a linguistic nature, in the periodicals edited by him in Syria and Egypt (e.g. *al-Tabīb*, 1884—1888; the article on Dozy's *Supplément* was translated by Fleischer in 1881, see *Kleinere Schriften*, iii. 605—641; especially *al-Bayān*, 1897—1898, see M. Hartmann, *The Arabic Press of Egypt*, London 1899, p. 36 sq., 60 sq. and *O. L. Z.*, i., 1898, col. 225; *al-Diyā*, 1898—1906, s. M. Hartmann, *O. L. Z.*, ii., 1899, col. 57—59; iii., 1900, col. 311—316, 340—346); a number of his letters on literary matters and chronograms were collected by his friends (*Rasā'il al-Yāzidjī*, Cairo 1920) as were his poems (*al-'Iqd*, *ibid.*, n. d., publ. in a facsimile of the original MS.). Most of his larger works were unfinished. He took a great interest in Arabic printing and even invented new types and signs. A monument was put up to him in Bairūt in 1924 (see *Mach.*, xxii., 1924, p. 637—638; a description with photograph in the magazine *al-Mar'at al-djadida*, iv., No. 8, p. 336).

3. The youngest son Khalil (b. 1858, d. Jan. 23, 1889) is best known as the author of one of the first original tragedies in Arabic with a subject from ancient Arabia, *al-Murūwwat wa 'l-Wafā* (written in 1876; first produced in 1878; first edition 1884; second Cairo 1902); a second was never printed (see Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1333). In 1881 for a time he edited in Cairo the *Mir'at al-Sharḥ*, later went back to his native land where he taught and prepared a new school edition of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (1885). He is known as a poet from his collection *Nasamāt al-Awrāk* (Cairo 1888 — not 1880 as in *G. A. L.*, ii. 495 note — and 1908). His great dictionary of the spoken language was never finished.

4. A daughter of Shaikh Nāṣif named Warda (b. 1838, d. Jan. 28, 1924) was one of the first women writers in Arabic of the sixteenth century. She married Francis Shimūn in 1866 and lived most of her life in Egypt. Her collection of poems (*Ḥadiqat al-Ward*, Bairūt 1867, 1887, Cairo, n. d. [1332 = 1913]) shows considerable fluency in the style of her father but of course without his power; as regards subject-matter they are mainly *vers d'occasion* which are of no little value for the chronicles of the Yāzidjī family.

5. The Shaikh's eldest son Ḥabīb (b. Feb. 15, 1833, d. Dec. 31, 1870), author of a commentary on one of his father's books, was a translator; his death was the occasion of the last elegy written by his father, now crippled with age.

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2. Ibrāhīm: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 485, No. 2; M. Hartmann, *O. L. Z.*, vii., 1905, col. 138—143 and do., *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 586, No. 210; Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 750; Kampffmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 203; Kračkovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Zaidān, *Tarāḡim*, ii. 3, p. 106—120; Cheikho, *La littérature*, ii. 2, p. 38—43; do., *Catalogue*, p. 106, 212, No. 824; do., *Ta'rikh al-Adāb al-'arabiya fi 'l-Raw' al-awwal min al-Karn al-'ishrin*, Bairūt 1926, p. 23; Tarrāzī, *op. cit.*, ii. 88—98; Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1927—1930; al-Zurukli, *op. cit.*, i. 25.

3. Khalil: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 495, note; Kračkovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 63—64; Zaidān, *Tarāḡim*, ii. 3, 266—271; do., *Ta'rikh*, iv. 240—241; Cheikho, *La littérature*, ii. 2, 36—38; do., *Catalogue*, p. 212, No. 826; al-Zurukli, *op. cit.*, i. 299; Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1932—1933.

4. Warda: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 495, note; Cheikho, *Ta'rikh*, p. 415—416; do., *Catalogue*, p. 213, No. 829; al-Zurukli, *op. cit.*, iii. 1134; Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1939—1940. The public lecture devoted to her by Mayy (Maryam Ziyāde) in May 1924 was printed in the same year in Cairo by Maṭba'at al-Balāgh (62 pp. with portrait, not mentioned in Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1607).

5. Ḥabīb: Cheikho, *La littérature*, ii. 2, 31, 35—36; do., *Catalogue*, p. 212, No. 825; Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1931—1932.

(IGN. KRATSKHOKOWSKY)

YĀZIDJĪ-OGHLU or YĀZIDJĪ-ZĀDE, the epithet of two early Ottoman poets and mystics, both sons of a certain yāzidjī (i.e. *kātib*) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He is said to have come from Boli and spent most of his later life in Angora. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn wrote in addition to works on mysticism, a treatise on medicine called *Shemsiye* and a poetical calendar of 5,000 couplets of no literary value, but perhaps of linguistic interest, on the omens of certain phenomena in the heavens such as rainbows, eclipses, lunar rings, falling stars etc. The work was published in 841 (1412) and dedicated to a certain Kaṣṣāb 'Alī. The author mentions the celebrated physician Ḥādījī Pāshā as his patron. It seems to be better known under the title *Mulhime*; manuscripts are rather rare (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, i. 73 sqq. with details of contents). There are old and good copies in Berlin,

Staatsbibliothek, fols. 3128 and 3397. The poet Djewrī rewrote it in 1045 (1635) to suit the taste of his time; cf. Rieu, *Catalogue Turk. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 93 sq.; other copies of this version are in Dresden, Gotha and Leipzig. Cf. on Yāzīdjī Šalāh al-Dīn also Brūsālī Mehmed Tāhir, *‘Othmānī? Mü‘ellifler?*, i. 194, note. He seems to have lived for a time in Kādī Köyi near Malghara in Thrace where his eldest son Mehmed was born.

1. Yāzīdjī-Oghlu Mehmed, the elder of the two brothers, was born at Kādī Köyi but seems to have been educated in Persia and Transoxania and to have completed his studies with Hādīdjī Bairām in Angora. He retired into the solitude of a cell (*sāwīya*) built by himself at Gallipoli where he died in 855 (1451). His tomb is still pointed out and revered as a holy place. Yāzīdjī-Oghlu Mehmed is still known everywhere as the author of the celebrated *Risāle-i Mehmedīye*, or briefly *Mehmedīye*. This long didactic poem contains a lengthy exposition of the doctrines and traditions of Islām based on the Kūrān and Hādīth. Considerable space is devoted to Muḥammad's divine mission, his life, the end of the world, paradise, hell etc. (cf. the full account of the contents in J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, i. 128—143). The epilogue contains a description of the visions in which Muḥammad and his teacher Hādīdjī Bairām appeared to him in a dream, also panegyrics of the sultāns Murād II and Mehmed II and of his patron, the grand-vizier Maḥmūd, known as Kaşşāb-zāde. It was completed at the end of Djumādā II, 853, i.e. middle of August 1449. The *Mehmedīye* is exceedingly common in manuscript, which suggests that it was once extremely popular. Since 1261 (1845) when Mirzā Kāzimbeg printed it in Kazan, the poem has been several times lithographed (e.g. Sтамbul 1258 and 1270; cf. *J. A.*, ser. iv., vol. iii., p. 223 and *S. B. Ak. Wien*, xvii. 169). The commentary by Ismā‘il Hākki entitled *Farḥ al-Rūḥ* (first edition Būlak 1252, second edition in two vols. *ibid.* 1258, with text of the work and life of the author at the end of the second volume) is famous. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad known as Muşannifek (cf. *M. O. G.*, ii. 244) translated the *Mehmedīye* into Persian (cf. G. Flügel, in *Jahrbücher der Litteratur*, vol. 47, *Anzeigenblatt*, p. 21). As is known from the appendix to the *Anwār al-‘Ashīkīn* of his brother Aḥmad, Mehmed prepared at the latter's request under the title *Magḥarīb al-Zamān* a comprehensive exposition of the truths of religion in Arabic, which Aḥmad then translated into Turkish as *Anwār al-‘Ashīkīn*, while Mehmed put it into Turkish verse under the title *Mehmedīye*. On other works of Yāzīdjī-Oghlu Mehmed cf. Brūsālī Mehmed Tāhir, *‘Othmānī? Mü‘ellifler?*, i. 194 sqq. No trace is to be found of other works attributed to him such as an *Oghuz-nāma* and a *Salṭik-nāma*.

2. Yāzīdjī-Oghlu Aḥmad, usually called Aḥmad Bīdjān (on account of his excessive thinness), was the younger brother of Mehmed. Of his career we only know that he lived with his brother in Gallipoli and died there. His death must have taken place about 860 (1456); the date 855 often given is that of the death of his brother. Aḥmad Bīdjān was the author of several much esteemed mystical works of which the most important are: 1. *Durr-i meknūn*, a cosmographical work in 18 *bāb*, which deals with the wonders of creation. It exists only in MSS. which are not rare (e.g. Dresden, Gotha, Leyden, London, Paris, where

there is also a French MS. translation, and Vienna). 2. *Anwār al-‘Ashīkīn* completed at the beginning of Muḥarram 855 (Feb. 1451) in Gallipoli, a Turkish prose version of his brother's Arabic *Magḥarīb al-Zamān* (see above). The work has been repeatedly printed: Sтамbul 1261, Kazan 1861, Sтамbul (1291 lith.) and Būlak 1300. A detailed account of its contents is given by J. v. Hammer in the *S. B. Ak. Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl., iii. 129—133. 3. *‘Adjā‘ib al-Maḥlūkāt*, dealing with the wonders of creation. In the introduction the author says that in the time of Alexander the Great, the wise men of the earth arranged to describe the wonders of the universe. In the time of the Imām Šāfi‘ī this book was translated from Hebrew into Arabic. He himself at the suggestion of Hādīdjī Bairām translated it, he says, into Turkish for the benefit of his countrymen who did not know Arabic, at the time when Sultān Mehmed captured Sтамbul, i.e. 857 (1453). A superficial comparison with Kaẓwīnī's book of the same name shows its complete dependence on it, as Rieu has clearly shown (*Cat. of Turkish MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 106 sq.). The book is quite common in MS. e.g. in Dresden, Leipzig, London, Upsala and Vienna. 4. *Muntahā*, a mystical work on the exact content of which nothing has been published. There was a manuscript in the bookshop of Khālīš Efendi in Sтамbul.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, i. 127 sqq.; *do.*, *G. O. R.*, i. 497, 601; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, i. 391 sqq. and 395 sqq. (with further references and many extracts from ‘Alī's *Kunh al-Akhbār*); Taşköprüzāde, *Şakā‘ik al-Nuḥmāniya*, Turk. transl. of Mejdī, i. 127 sq. and 128 sq.; Sa‘d al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, ii. 460 and the sources mentioned in the text.

(FRANZ BABINGER).

YĀZŪRĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. ‘ALĪ, vizier and chief kādī of the Fātimid caliph al-Mustanşir bi ‘llāh. His father was a citizen in comfortable circumstances of Yāzūr, a little town in Palestine near Ramla. It was in his native town that he began his administrative career in the office of kādī. In this capacity he attracted the attention of an officer in the service of al-Mustanşir's mother, by reporting to him an injustice done by the chief kādī of Egypt and it was probably as a result of this that he was transferred to the capital with a post in the official hierarchy.

After the assassination of the Jew Abū Sa‘d al-Tustarī, superintendent of the estates of the caliph's mother, in 439 (1047), Yāzūrī was appointed to succeed him. His ambition seems now to have been apparent, for the grand vizier Abū ‘l-Barakāt al-Ḥusain Djarjarāyī appointed him in 441 (1049) chief kādī purposely to exclude him from the vizierate. Yāzūrī retained his post as superintendent, the duties of which were performed by his eldest son Muḥammad.

In the following year the caliph gave him the vizierate, which he was to hold for eight years. This period was marked by important events in foreign politics. The year 443 (1051) saw the breach between the Zirids and the Fātimid empire. Yāzūrī in revenge sent the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaim to ravage North Africa. A rising of the tribes of the Buḥaira was suppressed. In the east there was the rising of Arslān al-Basāsirī against the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Kā‘im, to which Yāzūrī gave considerable financial assistance. These events are related elsewhere; we need only mention that

the taking of Baghdād by the Turkish adventurer caused the authorities in Cairo to lose their heads. To receive the captive 'Abbāsīd in the Egyptian capital, the caliph Mustanşir hurriedly had a new palace built. This unfortunate step was to have serious consequences for the Shī'ī lords of Egypt. The Saldjūks were not content with reestablishing the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in Mesopotamia but a few years later extended the boundaries of the empire as far as Damascus.

This affair also had a more direct result, the execution of Yāzūrī; did he put to his own use a part of the considerable sums allotted to the enterprise or did he perhaps play a double game by conducting secret negotiations with sultān Tuğhril Beg in spite of his official position? Both charges weigh upon his memory. The caliph threw him into prison with all his family in Muḥarram 450 (March 1058), and the following month the former vizier was executed at Tinnīs.

The rise to power of Yāzūrī marks the first disastrous stage in the reign of Mustanşir which began so well: cf. for example the enthusiastic descriptions by Nāsīr-i Khusraw who spent the first year of Yāzūrī's vizierate in Cairo. Yāzūrī exhausted the resources of the state, as we have seen. The year 446 (1054) was also marked by a serious famine.

The Arab historians say that Yāzūrī's name was put on the coins but so far no such coin has been found. On the other hand, his name appears on a piece of cloth in the Elsberg collection, as [A]bū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd [al-] Ra[ḥmān] (J.R.A.S., 1930, p. 765 and pl. xii).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Sāirafī, *Ishāra*, in *B. I. F. A. O.*, xxv. 68—73; Ibn Muyassar, *An-nāles*, p. 2—9; *C. I. A.*, *Égypte*, *M. I. F. A. O.*, lii. 279, index, with a full bibliography; Wiet, in *Précis d'Histoire d'Égypte*, ii. 184, 191, 207—208. (G. WIET)

YENİÇERİ. [see JANISSARIES.]

YESHİL-IRMAK (T., "green river"), a river in Asia Minor (the ancient Iris) formed by the combination of the Gilgit coming from Kāra-Ḥişār-Sharkī and Nigīsār and the Tūzānli from the west, i.e. from the direction of Amasia. It runs straight north, enters the sandjaq of Djānīk (wilāyet of Trebizond) and flows into the Black Sea opposite Sāmsūn. Its length is about 60 miles from the confluence of the two rivers.

Bibliography: Sāmī-Bey, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, vi. 4799. (CL. HUART)

YEZDEGERD. [see SĀSĀNIANS.]

YILDIZ KÖSHKÜ (T.), Yıldiz Kiosk, properly the "Kiosk of the Star" or more popularly in Turkish usage, *Yıldız Sarayı* "Palace of the Star", or simply Yıldız, the imperial residence consisting of a vast and somewhat chaotic agglomeration of pavilions and gardens situated in the northeast of Istanbul (Constantinople) on the heights which command Beshiktash (Beşiktaş) and Ortaköy.

The surrounding wall is adjoined in the east by the Ortaköy quarters, in the south by the Çeraghan (Çeragan) quarter and in the west by the slopes known as *Serendjī Bey yokushu*. Yıldiz may be reached from above by the west (gates: *Kolluk kapısı*, *Salṭanat k.*, *Harem* or *Wālide k.*), passing the Hamidiye mosque, which belongs to the palace, on the right, or from below (gate: *Meḍjidiye kapısı*), by the gardens which run down almost to the road run-

ning along the European bank of the Bosphorus between Beshiktash and Ortaköy. For the topography see the map of Dolma-Baghçe in Baedeker, *Konstantinopel und Klein-Asien*, Leipzig 1905, p. 84—5.

It was under Sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamid II that Yıldiz attained its greatest development and its greatest renown (up to 12,000 occupants), but at the beginning of the xixth century it was already a park as is evident from a fountain bearing the *tughra* [q.v.] of Sultān Selim III (1789—1807) (information supplied by Selim Nüzhet Bey).

The earliest buildings date from Sultān Maḥmūd II who surrounded them with a garden. According to Dorys, they were built in 1832, but in reality they are before 1826, for Andréossy mentions "Yildizkioski" (as served by the Baghçe-Köy aqueduct) in his work *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace pendant les années 1812, 1813 et 1814 et pendant l'année 1826*, Paris 1828, p. 424.

Maḥmūd II's kiosk was demolished by his son and successor 'Abd al-Maḍjid (1839—61) and replaced by others which were called *Malta köşkü*, *Çadır k.* (Kiosk of the Tent) and *Adjem k.* (Persian Kiosk) or *Yeni köşk* (New Kiosk). According to Dorys and 'Osmān Nūri who wrongly followed him, the *Malta k.* and the *Çadır k.* were only built under 'Abd al-'Azīz; according to the *Guide Joanne*, the same is true of the *Yeni köşk*.

Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz (1861—76) built the palace of *Mābeyn* (the Court). It was he also who joined the Çeraghan palace built in 1874 to the Yıldiz park by a bridge over the Beshiktash-Ortaköy road ('Osmān Nūri, ii. 450).

All the other buildings belong to 'Abd al-Ḥamid II (1876—1909). This ruler, who never built a palace in the proper sense of the word, delighted in multiplying light buildings, often of cement, and these pavilions, chalets and kiosks were sometimes run up very quickly.

Before his time, Yıldiz was a pleasure resort: only the mother of 'Abd al-Maḍjid, the Wālide Sultān Bezm-i 'Ālem (d. 1853), seems to have lived there regularly (Moritz Busch, *Die Türkei*, in *Lloyd's Reisebibliothek*, vi., Trieste 1860, p. 199).

'Abd al-Ḥamid II moved there soon after the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war. He gradually stayed there more and more until he finally never left it and made a fortified camp and a regular town out of it. The park was extended and the surrounding wall raised (in 1898). The name of Yıldiz contrasted or superimposed on that of Sublime Porte, became a synonym for the government of the Palace and the Ḥamīdian régime.

Three main portions of Yıldiz are distinguished: 1. the Palace proper with its immediate annexes, 2. the Inner Garden (or Park) (*iṣṣ baghçe*) and 3. the Outer Garden (or Park) (*dış baghçe*).

1. The buildings of the Palace in the strict sense comprise:

Mābeyn, already mentioned, an elegant building, the largest in the Yıldiz (whence its name of *Büyük Mābeyn*), situated outside the walls so that it is seen in its entirety on arriving from the west, on the left of the Ḥamīdiye mosque. 'Abd al-Ḥamid set it aside for the private secretaries (*mābeyndjī*) of the Palace. It was also called the "Ambassadors' pavilion" or Yıldiz par excellence (see illustration).

Selāmlik, private apartments of the sultān (*hünkār*).

Haremlik or *Harem dâireleri* "women's apartments".

Shehâde dâireleri "apartments of the imperial princes", each of whom had a separate civil and military establishment (the private apartments of the sultân, his wives and princes were included in the "small enclosure" surrounded by a wall 12 feet thick).

Theatre (*tiyatro*).

Library (*kütüb-khâne*), containing important manuscripts and Museum of antiquities and curiosities, with drawing-room, music room, photographic studio, museum of natural history (coleoptera) (the manuscripts have now been removed to the National Library; some of the bookcases are now being used by the Library of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara).

Silah-khâne "arsenal or armoury", also a museum of arms, a long, low pavilion, adorned with columns.

Çit köşkü ("Kiosk of the Hedge"); here the ambassadors used to be received after the Friday ceremony of the Selâmlık (*salât* at the *Hamidiye* mosque to which the sultân went ceremonially in a victoria driving in front of the terrace, under the *Mâbeyn*, on which stood the ambassadors and other distinguished guests); it was the place of meeting of the *Komisyon-u askeri* "military commission"; here also took place in *Ramağan* the *huzur dersleri* "religious instruction in presence of the sultân" (Taḥsin Pasha, p. 16, 21, 95 and 129).

Kaşat köşkü "Kiosk of the Waterfall".

Various offices: *bash kâtibin dâiresi* "offices of the First Secretary of the Palace" (Taḥsin Pasha), *kâtib-i sâninin d.* "office of the second secretary (Arap 'İzzet Pasha)", *teshrifat nâgirinin d.* "office of the master of ceremonies", *yâverân d.* "office of the aides de camp", *müdiriyyet* "administration of the palace", *Sertüfengi Tâhir pashanın dâiresi* "offices of the T. P., commander of the fusiliers, bodyguard", *terdjeme odası* "office of the translators", *khazine-i ewrak* "archives", *mâbak* "kitchen" (list taken from 'Osmân Nûri; in Taḥsin Pasha, p. 18 sqq. will be found an account of the distribution of the various offices, fifteen in number).

2. The Inner Garden possessed a *Djihan-nümâ köşkü* or "Belvedere" from which the sultân had a very extensive view.

3. The Outer Garden comprised:

Malta köşkü in which Murâd V was imprisoned for some time and Midhat Pasha was tried.

The *Çadîr köşkü*, in which Prince Henry stayed; the commissions of the *Hidjâz* and of finance used to meet here; offices for the judicial enquiries and examinations conducted by Râghib Pasha.

Adjem köşkü or *Yeni köşk* (these three, the oldest, kiosks have already been mentioned; the last was raised in height by 'Abd al-Ḥamid).

Merâsim köşkü "Kiosk of the Ceremonies" or *Shale köşkü* "Kiosk of the (Swiss) Chalet", in two stories, the largest in the Outer Park (cost £T 75,000), where the emperor William II and Alexander (Battenberg), king of Serbia, stayed; it was connected with the "little enclosure" and rooms were set aside in it for the chamberlains and for the meetings of the Council of ministers; the princes had their music lessons there.

Ta'im-khâne köşkü, built (of cement) in three days to enable the emperor William II to see a military review.

Çinî fabrikası "porcelain works".

Marangoz-khâne "furniture factory" which em-

ployed 60 workmen and produced most of the furniture of Yildiz kiosk ('Abd al-Ḥamid had a passion for carpentry at which he himself worked).

İştabl-i 'amire "imperial stables"; there were five (*khâss akhîr köşkləri*) at Yildiz ('Abd al-Ḥamid had a passion for horses).

Museum of (stuffed) animals, near the *Merâsim köşkü*, dovecots, poultry houses, not to mention greenhouses, menagerie, bird cages, kennels, hospital for dogs, horse training ground, *hammâm*.

The palace had two mosques, a large work department (*ta'mir-khâne*), with saw-mill, foundry, locksmiths' shops etc. which employed 300 workmen not counting the foremen; the princes used to work there sometimes.

The domestic staff (*bendeğiân*, *khademe*) lived near the palace, but outside the walls.

Independent of the buildings above mentioned there were two which we have not identified: *Ferhan köşkü* and the Little Trianon.

There were two ponds in the Outer Park, one called *Dere havuzu*, "pond of the valley" (between *Beshiktash* and *Ortaköy*), 500 feet long and 30—100 broad; the other near *Çadîr köşkü*, about 5,000 sq. yards.

In the Inner Garden is a pond or rather an artificial stream, 300 yards long and 80 broad.

Yildiz now belongs to the prefecture of Istanbul (I. *Shehremâneti*) which has leased a part of it (*Merâsim köşkü*) to a casino.

There is some talk of the resumption of the *Merâsim Köşkü* again by the municipality to give it to the National Assembly of Turkey which would make it a meeting-place for international conferences (*Akşam* of May 10, 1933). Several schools are established in the old buildings or annexes of Yildiz: *Harp akademisi* "Military school", *Milkiye mektebi* "School of political sciences" (in the old *seyisler dairesi* "grooms' lodgings"), *Polis mektebi* "Police-school", *Harimiyeti millîye yaft mektebi* "Boarding-school of national sovereignty".

Bibliography: P. de Réglâ, *La Turquie officielle*, Paris 1889, p. 41—59; G. Dorys, *Abdul-Hamid intime*, Paris 1907 (7th edition), p. 101—141: Yildiz, with numerous illustrations (some reproduced in: G. Rizas, *Les Mystères de Yildiz ou Abdul-Hamid*, Constantinople, Palamary Press, 1909); 'Osmân Nûri, 'Abd ül-Ḥamid-i sâni we-Dewr-i Saltaneti, "Abd. II and his Reign", Istanbul, *Kitâbkhâne-i Islâm we-faskeri*, 1327, ii. 449 sqq.: *Yıldız Sarayı*; Guides-Joanne, *De Paris à Constantinople*, Paris; Taḥsin Pasha, *Abdülhamit we-Yıldız Hatıraları*, "Abd. and the souvenirs of Yildiz", Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, Istanbul, p. 18—24: *Yıldızda Teskilât*; Sefer Bey, *Yıldiz*, in *La Revue* (formerly "*Revue des Revues*") of Oct. 1, 1907, p. 351—63 (of no interest); Ch. de Mouy, *Lettres du Bosphore*, Paris 1879, p. 240—50; *Catalogue des perles, pierreries, bijoux et objets d'art précieux, le tout ayant appartenu à S. M. le Sultan Abdul-Ḥamid II et dont la vente aura lieu à Paris . . . les lundi 27 . . . novembre 1911 . . .*

The melancholy reputation of Yildiz has produced several novels and pamphlets which however contain no information of definite value: Paul de Réglâ, *Les secrets d'Yildiz*, novel in-8, 2nd édition; Mourad-Bey, former imperial commissioner of the Ottoman Public Debt, *Le Palais de Yildiz et la Sublime Porte*; — *Le véritable*

mal d'Orient, Paris 1895, 27 pages in-8°; 'Ali Kemāl, *Yıldız Khaṣīrāt-i elimesi* "Tragic memories of Yıldız", Istanbul, İkbāl-i Millet Matba'ası, 1326, 33 pages in-12; Morālī-zāde Waṣṣāf, *Yıldız Fadı'aları* "The crimes of Yıldız", drama in 4 acts, Istanbul 1327, 80 pages in-8°.

(J. DENY)

YOGHURT (T., *yoghur-*, to "knead"), a preparation of soured milk made by heating. After putting into the heated milk a certain quantity of a *yoghurt* already made, which curdles it, it is left to cool slowly until it is solid. This is called *māst* in Persian and *laban* in Syrian Arabic. Various dishes are prepared by mixing it with vegetables, e. g. with cucumber: *māst-khiyār* is much esteemed by the Persians (E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, p. 175—178).

Bibliography: Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i. 118; Radlof, *Opyt*, iii. 412; Aḥmad Wafīk Pasha, *Lehdje*, Constantinople 1293, ii. 1265; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, ii. 892. (CL. HUART)

YORGAN LADİK. [see LADHIK.]

YÜNUS AL-KĀTIB or **AL-MUGHANNĪ**, whose full name was YÜNUS B. SULAIMĀN B. KURD B. SHAHRİYĀR ABŪ SULAIMĀN, was a well known musician and writer on music in the iind (viiith) century. He was the first to make a collection of Arabic songs (*ghinā'*). He was a *mawlā* of al-Zubair b. al-'Awwām or of 'Amr b. al-Zubair, his father being a lawyer (*faqīh*) of Persian origin. Settling in Madīna, Yūnus entered the municipal administration as a scribe, hence his surname al-Kātib. Early in life however, he was attracted by music, and took lessons from the "four great singers", Ma'bad [q. v.], Ibn Suraidj [q. v.], Ibn Muḥriz and al-Gharidj, as well as from Muḥammad b. 'Abbād, and soon became esteemed both as a musician and poet. Whilst on a visit to Syria during the reign of Hishām (724—742 A. D.) his fame in music and poetry brought him the patronage of the Amir al-Walid b. Yazid who detained him three days and suitably rewarded him. This event forms the basis of a highly coloured story in the 684th night of the *Alf Laila wa-Laila*. Returning to Madīna, Yūnus was unfortunate enough to get into trouble. A poet-friend named Ibn Ruhaima had composed some verses extolling the beauty of a young lady named Zainab, the daughter of 'Ikrima b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām. These songs, which Yūnus set to music, were originally sung at private *soirées musicales*, but they soon spread to a wider circle and became the rage under the name of the *Zayānib*. This publicity greatly offended the lady's family and the Caliph was appealed to. The result was that the governor of Madīna was ordered to inflict 500 strokes of the lash on the shoulders of the musician and the poet. Being forewarned of the impending punishment they fled from the city, and did not return until the death of the Caliph. On the accession of al-Walid II (743—744), Yūnus was summoned to the Damascus court where he was treated with "high honour and munificence", as Yūnus himself is said to have stated. Here his "wealth increased" sufficient not only for his own needs, but for his heirs after him. He remained at court until the death of this pleasure-loving ruler. After this we have little information about Yūnus, save that he was alive under the early 'Abbāsids. Both Siyāṭ (d. 785)

and Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 804) are said to have been his pupils. Among his books were a *Kitāb muḥjarad Yūnus* ("The Unique Book of Yūnus"), a *Kitāb al-Kiyan* ("Book of Singing Girls"), and a *Kitāb al-Naghām* ("Book of Melodies").

As a composer, Yūnus has a place among the great musicians of the classical era, as we know from the high esteem accorded his *Zayānib*. As a singer, he must have had considerable ability to have roused the jealousy of so great a performer as Ibn 'A'īsha. It is however rather on account of his "famous books on songs and singers" as the author of the *Fihrist* says, that Yūnus deserves particular praise. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, testifies that Yūnus' book concerning the songs was one of his chief sources of information. It was, in fact, the first attempt made to collect the Arabic verses which had been set to music, together with particulars of authors and composers, as well as information concerning the modes (*tarā'ik*) in which the melodies (*alḥān*) and rhythms (*īkzā'āt*) were sung.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Būlāk, iv. 114—118; vi. 7, 15; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 145; *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ed. Macnaghten, iii. 379; al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (1923), iv. 285; Kosegarten, *Liber cantilenarum magnus*, p. 17—18; Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques sur les principaux musiciens arabes* (J. A., Nov.—Dec. 1873); Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 83—84, and index. (H. G. FARMER)

YÜNUS B. MATTAI, the prophet Jonah, son of Amittai (II Kings xiv. 25). In the Qur'an he is four times mentioned as Yūnus, without his father's name being given, once as *Dhu 'l-Nūn* (xxi. 87), once (lxviii. 48) as *ṣāḥib al-ḥūt*, "he of the fish". This epithet explains also why Yūnus is the only one of the major and minor prophets who is mentioned in the Qur'an; a prophet who is swallowed by a fish naturally attracts attention. Muḥammad numbers Yūnus among the apostles of God (iv. 161; vi. 86). Sūra x. is called after Yūnus, and tells of the town which comes to believe and therefore its fate is averted from it (x. 98). Yūnus, an apostle of God, fled on a ship which was overloaded. He was condemned by lot and a fish swallowed him. He was worthy of blame. If he had not praised God he would have remained in the fish's belly until the resurrection. So We threw him sick upon a barren shore, and caused a gourd to grow up over him, sent him to over a hundred thousand people; and they believed and We gave them respite for a further period (xxxvii. 139—148). Remember *Dhu 'l-Nūn*, how he departed in wrath and thought We could exercise no power over him; then he called out of the darkness: There is no God but Thee, praise be unto Thee, I was one of the sinners. Then We heard him and rescued him (xxi. 87—88). Await patiently the judgment of thy Lord; be not like him of the fish, who cried out when he was in distress; had the grace of his God not been granted to him, he would have been shamefully cast upon the barren shore but the Lord heard him and he became one of the righteous (lxviii. 48, 49).

Bukhārī and Nawawī also quote as divine revelation not put in the Qur'an the utterance: "No one can say he is better than Yūnus b. Mattai, even if his genealogy goes back to his father" (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, i. 257).

Muslim legend further develops this material.

Why was Yünus enraged? 1. He was angry with the sinners; 2. he was angry because the calamity he had prophesied was delayed at the last minute and he appeared as a liar worthy of death; 3. because the angel Gabriel did not even allow him time to mount a steed or put on a shoe. His ship could go neither forward nor backward. He confessed his guilt but the sailors would not throw him into the sea; three times they cast lots and then threw the arrow (*Tha'labi*). Finally Yünus throws himself into the jaws of the whale (*Ibn al-Athir*), which says he has come from India on account of Yünus (*Kisā'i*). God commands the whale, saying: I do not give thee Yünus as food, I give thee him that you may shelter him (as in a mosque: *Ṭabarī, Annales*, i. 683). The threefold darkness of the fish, the sea, and the night envelops Yünus. The fish is swallowed by another fish (*Ṭabarī, Tafsir*, etc.). God makes the fish transparent so that Yünus can see the wonders of the deep. He hears the songs of praise of the sea-monsters just as the angels hear his from the inside of the fish. It is disputed whether Yünus remained 3, 7, 20 or 40 days in the fish. Hurling out upon the shore he is given shade by a gourd tree, and suckled by a goat (*Ibn al-Athir*), or antelope (*Tha'labi*), or a gazelle (*Kisā'i*). When they disappear Yünus laments. Then God reproaches him for not having had sympathy with over 100,000 people. This admonition is impressed upon him deeply by other means also: by fruit-trees torn up, by the example of a potter who is anxious about his pots and a sower who is anxious about his seeds. The city of the prophet is in despair because he does not come back. Then Yünus has a shepherd announce his approach: the earth, a tree, an animal of his herd, all bear witness to the truth of the message.

Al-Kisā'i extends the miraculous to the earlier history of the Prophet. His father was 70 when Yünus was born. His mother, who became a widow soon after, had nothing left but a wooden spoon, which proves to be a cornucopia. As a result of a miraculous dream he marries the daughter of Zakariyā b. Yahyā. He loses his wife, both his sons and his property. He therefore will not pray with the others on the ship. Everything is miraculously restored to him.

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YÜRÜKS, the general term for the wandering Turkish tribes in Asia Minor, also found sporadically on the Balkan peninsula. The name in Turkish means "wanderers", i.e. nomads in general, and some scholars (first v. Strahlenberg [1730], then J. v. Hammer and H. Kiepert) held the view that the same word was contained in the name of the *Iyrkes* (Ἰϋρκαί), a people described by Herodotos (iv. 22), who lived

by hunting, roughly in the southern Ural. J. H. Mordtmann has similarly referred the account by Kinnamos of the nomads driven by the Emperor Manuel I in 1175 from the region of Eski-Shehir [q.v.] to the Yürüks. According to Hasluck, the word Yürük was first applied by Rycourt to the nomads of the Troad (*History of the Turks* [1687], ii. 138).

The Anatolian nomads are usually called by the settled Turks, Yürüks, Göcebs or Türkmen, or after the tribal confederation to which they belong (e.g. Afshārs, Bāyāts, Kačars, *Sheikhli*, Warsaks, etc.) or after the particular tribe (e.g. Aidinli, Anamasli, Gök Musalli, Harmandali, Kara-Keçili, Kara-Koyunlu, *Khurzum*, Kozanlı, Şari-Keçili, Zili etc.). The tribal organisation is rather important. A tribal confederation (*ashiret*) at the head of which is a bey or *shaiḫ* is divided into clans (*ḡabila*) and again into septs (*maḡalla*).

A strong tribe often subdues a weak one and even down to the Tanzimat [q.v.] the Yürüks were usually ruled by their own beys. Some of these beys in Rumelia were given fiefs (*zi'amet*; q.v.) (cf. Ain-i 'Alī, in Tischendorf, *Das Lehns-wesen* etc., p. 63 and Ewliyā Çelebi, iii. 394).

In his monograph on the Yürüks Dr. M. Tzakyr-oglu has given a full list of 88 tribes (reproduced by Hasluck, ii. 475-477) of whom the majority were in his official district of Smyrna and the adjoining wilāyet of Aidin. There are also numerous Yürük tribes in Southern Anatolia (around Menteshe [*Mughla*], Adalia, Alaiye and Adana) in the districts of Siwās and Konya; also in east and south-east Anatolia (in the wilāyets of Urfa, Diyarbakr and Mardin); their distribution is connected with the distribution of pastures.

As early as Bāyazid I's reign, the Yürüks were coming to Europe (to the district of Philippolis [*Plodiv*]) and in time they spread over Thrace and Macedonia as a number of place-names show. Since the wars of recent years, however, these Yürüks have for the most part gone back.

Although they do not form a single homogeneous stock, the Yürüks are predominantly Turks and have retained the old Turkish type, as well as many old words better, than the settled Ottomans. They speak as a rule different "coarse" Turkish dialects, which are as a rule not essentially different from those of their settled neighbours (cf. iv., p. 921a); only a few tribes speak Kurdish.

On the religion of the Yürüks nothing much certain is known. Under the influence of Sunnī or Shī'i propaganda they have become nominally Muslims, but they are more attached to their primitive (animistic) religion, in which the worship of trees, shrubs, springs and mountains plays an important part. In any case they pay more heed to their old rites and customs than to the prescriptions of Islām.

The occupations of the Yürüks are decided by local conditions. In the steppes and along the coast where they spend the winter, they rear sheep and goats, and sometimes cattle, which they take in the summer to high-lying pastures. Some tribes are good breeders of horses and camels. In forest country the Yürüks are more frequently woodcutters (*takhtadjis*; q.v.). Many tribes are hunters and in certain circumstances practise a little agriculture. The women engage in cooking, making clothes, spinning, basketwork, weaving of felt, mats and carpets. The Yürüks live in tents woven of dark goats' wool or in primitive huts.

Their total number is estimated at 300,000. According to 'Ain-i 'Alī (*op. cit.*), the Rumelian Yürüks in the xviith century had 1,294 *odja*s, i. e. 38,820 men (1 *odja* = 30 men). In the xviiiith century they provided a contingent of 57,000 troops under their own leaders (Perry in Hasluck, p. 136).

All attempts by the Turkish government to make the Yürüks settle permanently have had very little success for obvious reasons.

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(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

YŪSHA' B. NŪN, the Joshua of the Bible. The Qur'ān does not mention him by name but alludes to him. When Moses wished to lead his people into the holy land and Israel was afraid to fight with the giants, they were encouraged by two God-fearing men (v. 23—29), who may be recognised as Joshua and Caleb. Neither can it be doubted that the young man (*fatū* = *na'ar*, Exod. xxxiii. 11) who accompanies Moses on a journey to Kḥaḍir (not named) (Sūra xviii. 59—64) is no other than Joshua.

Muslim legend has supplied the figure of Yūsha' with features not found in the Bible. Yūsha' is given the task of summoning the Egyptians to the true faith. To enable Moses to depart this life without anxiety, Yūsha' is installed as prophet in his lifetime. The Arab tradition varies as to whether the victory over the giants was won in the time of Moses or not till that of Yūsha'. The credit is usually given to Yūsha'. Balaam supports the giants (in Ibn al-Aṭḥir the story is embellished: Balaam's wife is bribed to incite him to evil). When Yūsha' is successfully fighting the giants, Friday evening comes. If the Sabbath begins, the fighting cannot be continued and the victory will be incomplete. Yūsha' wishes to stop the sun: at first it refuses, saying it is fulfilling divine orders just as Yūsha' is; finally the sun agrees. After the victory Yūsha' collects the booty as a sacrifice but no flame comes down from heaven to consume it. There has been some dishonesty. Moses summons the heads of the tribes. The hand of the sinner sticks to the hand of Moses (al-Kisā'i records another divine judgement; each tribe has a mark on Aaron's robe and the mark of the guilty tribe becomes twisted). A bull's head studded with pearls and jewels is found in the sinner's possession and added to the booty. Flames now consume the booty, the bull's head along with the sinner. Yūsha' cannot cross the Jordan for 40 days. At his prayer the two hills on the banks become a bridge, across which the people pass (al-Kisā'i). Jericho is besieged for six months and in the seventh the walls fall at the blowing of trumpets.

In Ṭabarī (Leyden, i. 558) we have the isolated tradition that the dead man conjured up by Tālūt (Saul) was Yūsha'.

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(BERNHARD HEILER)

YŪSUF I. [see ALMOHADES.]

YŪSUF B. 'OMAR B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤAKAM B. ABĪ 'AḤIL B. MAS'UD AL-ṬHAḤAFĪ, governor of the 'Irāk. Yūsuf was a parent of the famous al-Ḥadjdjad b. Yūsuf [q. v.] and governed the province of the Yaman for many years before he was transferred to the 'Irāk by the caliph al-Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. On Ramaḍān 27, 106 (Feb. 15, 725) he arrived as governor in the Yaman and in Djumādā I, 120 (April—May 738) he was appointed governor of the 'Irāk, and took up his quarters in al-Ḥīra while his son al-Ṣalt remained as his deputy in the Yaman. In al-Ḥīra he acquired the reputation of a blood-thirsty tyrant; all kinds of stories, some almost incredible, are told of his cruelty. The first notable victim of his hatred was the former governor of the 'Irāk, Kḥalid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kasrī [q. v.]. In 122 (740) the 'Alid Zaid b. 'Alī b. Ḥusain b. 'Alī raised a dangerous rebellion in al-Kūfa which, however, ended in a fiasco [cf. HISHĀM B. 'ABD AL-MALIK]. After order had been restored, Yūsuf is said to have asked the caliph for permission to lay waste the town of al-Kūfa, but the caliph refused. He endeavoured to bring suspicion upon the able Naṣr b. Saiyār, whom Hishām had appointed governor of Kḥurāsān on the fall of Kḥalid, in the hope that he would succeed in getting him dismissed, and then combining his governorship with his own. For this purpose in 123 (740—741) he sent al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt to the caliph to turn him against Naṣr and ingratiate himself with him. Hishām, however, was not deceived but left Naṣr in office. After the assassination of al-Walid II, the Kalbi Manṣūr b. Djumhūr was appointed governor of the 'Irāk and as Yūsuf found no support among the government troops and the Kaisis made common cause with the Kalbis, there was nothing left for him but to take to flight. He set out for Syria and reaching al-Balkā' in Transjordan, he tried to hide among the women of the harem but was discovered by the soldiers of the caliph Yazid III and brought to Damascus. Here he was imprisoned and remained there till the outbreak of civil war on the death of Yazid. But when Marwān b. Muḥammad [q. v.] after his victory over Sulaimān b. Hishām, who led the followers of the late caliph, approached the capital, Sulaimān had Yūsuf as well as Walid II's two sons murdered before himself seeking escape in flight. This happened in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjja 126 (Sept.—Oct. 744), or according to another statement not till the following year (beg. Oct. 744). Yūsuf was then about 60. According to the Muslim historians, he did not lack literary training; as to his appearance we are told that he was small in stature and had an unusually long beard.

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ed. Houtsma, ii. 353, 380, 387—392, 39; 400, 404; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 68, 281, 285, 314, 350, 365, 469; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i. 623 sq., 627, 663, 666, 675, 683; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed., p. 387, sqq., 404, 406, 410 sqq., 420; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 208—211, 216, 221, 223 sq., 229 sq., 234.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

YUSUF B. TĀSHFĪN. [see ALMORAVIDS.]

YUSUF B. YA'KUB, the Joseph of the Bible, is a favourite subject of Muslim legend. In Sūra xii. Muḥammad deals with the whole story of Yūsuf, claiming that it is the most beautiful of stories. It is the most beautiful, says Tha'labi, because of the lesson concealed in it, on account of Yūsuf's generosity and its wealth of matter, in which prophets, angels, devils, djinn, men, animals, birds, rulers and subjects play a part.

Yūsuf in the Qur'ān. Yūsuf is mentioned twice outside of Sūra xii. Once (vi. 84) as one of the pious ancestors; further in Sūra xl. 36: Yūsuf came with clear proofs but they doubted him and after his death it was thought that God would never send another prophet, Sūra xii. contains more and less than the Bible. Let us first consider the additions to the Biblical story.

Yūsuf is warned not to tell his brothers his dream (verse 5). Ya'kub is afraid for Yūsuf on account of the wolf (13). Ya'kub does not believe the story of his death (17, 18). Yūsuf returns the love of the temptress; only a sign from his Lord keeps him from sin (24). Yūsuf's coat is torn from behind and a witness proves his innocence from this (25—28). The women who speak evil of Yūsuf's temptress are so dazzled by the angelic beauty of Yūsuf when he comes in that they cut their own fingers instead of the food (31). Yūsuf proclaims the true faith in prison (37—40). The seven fat and seven lean years are followed by a prolific year with a good rainfall (49). Yūsuf interprets Pharaoh's dreams while still in prison and will not come to court until his innocence is recognised (50, 51). Yūsuf asks Pharaoh to appoint him over the treasures of Egypt (55). Ya'kub orders his sons not all to come in at one gate (67). Yūsuf at once reveals himself to Benjamin (69). When the goblet is found in Benjamin's sack the brothers cry out: If he be a thief, his brother has already been a thief (77). Yūsuf sends his coat to his father. Ya'kub recognises the smell of it from a distance and regains his sight from it (93—95). Yūsuf's parents bow down before him thus fulfilling his dream (101).

For most of these additions to the Biblical story, Geiger, Grünbaum, Neumann and Schapiro have shown a Haggadic origin; on the other hand, we find Muḥammadan influence in the later Jewish legend.

On the other hand, we do not have in the Qur'ān the description of his character. Remarkable also is the omission of the dream of the brothers' sheaves which bow down before Joseph's sheaf (Gen. xxxvii. 5—7). This dream is replaced in post-Qur'ānic legend by a miracle. A tree grows near Ya'kub's house, on which a new branch sprouts whenever a son is born to him. None grows at Yūsuf's birth. At Ya'kub's prayer, Gabriel brings a branch from Paradise, which surpasses the others and blooms and bears fruit. The Yūsuf Sūra is strikingly uncertain and hesitating in that it

mentions no one by name except Ya'kub and Yūsuf and gives no numbers or times. The only references are to one of the brothers or at best the eldest of the brothers, a king, a noble, his wife, a witness. Yūsuf is sold for a paltry sum; the number of his brothers is not given. This gives the expositors of the Qur'ān an opportunity to search for the anonymous and undefined (*mubhamūt*) (see Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koran-auslegung*, Leiden 1920, index, s. v. *Mubhamūt*).

Yūsuf in post-Qur'ānic legend. When the Qur'ān cautiously says "one of the brothers said or did something", in legend we find Reuben, Judah, Simeon and in *Zamakhshari* and *Baidāwī* also Dan; in course of time we have Benjamin with his ten or three sons. Sometimes Judah, sometimes Reuben, sometimes Simeon is represented as possessing a terrible temper which can only be calmed by a hand of the house of Jacob. The man who buys Joseph from his brethren is called *Mālik b. Da'r* and the Egyptian to whom he is sold *Kiṭfir*, *Iṭfir*, *Iṭfin*, *Kuṭifar*, *Kiṭṭin*, *Kiṭṭifin*; his wife is called *Rā'il*, later (as in *Firdawsī* and *Kisā'i*) *Zālika*, *Zulaika*. The king of Egypt, whom Yūsuf converts to Islām, is called *Raiyān b. Walid*, his butler *Nabū*, his baker *Mudjlib*. The *shāhid*, the witness, becomes a relative of the temptress or even a baby who miraculously proves Joseph's innocence from his cradle. Even the names of the eleven stars which bow down before Joseph are given. Muslim legend knows how old Yūsuf was at the time of the dream, how long he was kept in the well, where the well was and what he was sold for on each occasion. The letter selling him and Ya'kub's letter to Yūsuf are both given in full.

A reason is given for everything that is unexplained in the Qur'ān. Why does Ya'kub suffer? Because he killed a calf before the eyes of its mother, because on one occasion he did not share his meal with a hungry man, because he separated a slave from her parents. — Why does Yūsuf suffer? Because of his vanity; later, because he appeals to the butler instead of to God. — When Yūsuf is warned not to communicate his dream, how do the brothers learn of it nevertheless? From Yūsuf's aunt, and so on.

We also find the legend developed by the storyteller's art without any foundation in Qur'ān or Haggada. Ya'kub touchingly recommends the little Yūsuf to the care of his brothers. They pretend to be very gentle when in sight of the father but very soon ill-treat him, break the jug out of which he wants to drink, tear his coat from his back which he begs as a shroud, and tell him to appeal to the sun, moon and stars of his dreams. Gabriel takes pity on the deserted boy, brings him the cloak with which Abraham was protected from the heat of the flames. A caravan loses its way and comes to the well. The brothers ask the purchaser to put Yūsuf in chains, nevertheless Yūsuf takes leave of them with dignity. On the way he throws himself from his camel on to the tomb of his mother Rachel, which they pass. — The efforts to seduce him are described in glowing language. Yūsuf sells corn to the Egyptians. During the years of famine however, Yūsuf starves also so that he may feel what it is like to be hungry; he partakes only lightly of Pharaoh's banquets. When Yūsuf is questioning the alleged magic cup, Benjamin asks him to enquire if Yūsuf still lives. — He lives, you will see him. — When

Ya'küb receives a message from Yūsuf, he asks how is it with Yūsuf? — He is king of Egypt. — That is not what I am asking; I mean how is it with his faith? — He is a Muslim. — Then my happiness is perfect. — Yūsuf enquires how his father could abandon himself completely to grief as if he did not believe in a reunion after the resurrection? — I believe in it but I was anxious lest you had abandoned your faith so that we should remain separated in the next world.

The Qur'an tells nothing of Yūsuf's death and sarcophagus. Muslim legend, however, has taken stories of this from Haggada. Yūsuf's sarcophagus was sunk in the Nile. At the Exodus Moses went to take it with him but could not find it until an old woman (Serach, a daughter of Asher) showed it to him. In Islām, the legend seems to have been further developed, for we find the people living on the banks of the Nile disputing over the sarcophagus, which is finally sunk exactly in the middle of the river so that both sides may equally share its virtues.

Islām is very proud of its story of Yūsuf. Tha'labī says that the Yūsuf Sūra surpasses the Tora. Kisā'i tells us that God has given the Yūsuf Sūra to every prophet, but the Jews concealed it until Muḥammad revealed it as evidence that he was a prophet. — The Shi'is do not recognise Sūra xii.

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(BERNARD HELLER)

YÜSUF KHAṢṢ ḤĀDJIB of Balāsaghūn, a Turkish author, who wrote the mirror of princes, *Kutadghū-Bilig* in 462 (1069–1070) for the sultān of Kāshghar, Ṭawghač Kara Khān Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Sulaimān Arslān [see BUGHRĀ-KHĀN] and was given the title of chamberlain as a reward. This, the first classic of the Turkish poetry of Central Asia, is completely under the influence of Persian literature. The author no longer uses the syllabic measure of Turkish popular poetry but experiments with a new and somewhat clumsy imitation of the *mutakārib* and says in his preface

that the Iranians would call his work a *Shāhnāma*. In style also he is influenced by the Persian lyric, especially in the song of spring with which he introduces the praise of his prince. Whether the elaborate form which he has given his work is his own invention or what model he followed has not yet been discovered. There is no proof of the influence of Chinese literature which was at one time suspected. The author puts his instruction into the mouth of allegorical figures: the prince Kūn-Toghdu, who represents justice, the vizier Ai-Toldū, the representative of good fortune, his son Öktülmish and his friends Ālig and Okturmish. For his social ethics and occasional medical references, the author is completely dependent on Ibn Sīnā, as O. Alberts first pointed out. The author cannot be denied a certain originality for the way in which he applies these principles to the conditions of his people. In spite of all their pedantry his expositions are a valuable source for the sociology of the Turks of Central Asia. The language of the book is apparently that of Kāshghar, but it is an artificial language which had become strictly conventional in form in court circles under Iranian influence and was already superior to the dialects; it is based on a somewhat younger form of Türkī than that which Kāshghari gives in his *Divān Lughāt al-Turk*; really it is not strictly Uighur as was once thought. On the other hand, one cannot say with certainty in what script the work was originally written, whether in the so-called Uighur, which is based on the Nestorian Syriac alphabet, in which the Vienna MS., the only one known down to 1897, is written, or in the Arabic script used for the fragment in the National Library in Cairo and the manuscript found by Zeki Velidi Bey in 1914 at Nemengān. Sections of the Vienna MS. were published by Vámbéry as *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik, Uigur. Text mit Transcription und Übersetzung nebst uigurisch-deutschem Wörterbuch und Facsimile aus dem Originaltext des Kudatku Bilik*, Leipzig 1870. W. Radloff published a facsimile of the whole manuscript St. Petersburg 1890, the text in transcription in 1891 and in 1900 text and translation from the MSS. in Vienna and Cairo followed. While Radloff in his transcription and in the form of the title *Kudatku Bilik* had used the pronunciation of the northern dialects, V. Thomsen in his essay *Sur le système des consonnes dans la langue ouigoure*, in *Kéleti Szemle*, ii. 241 sqq. showed from the rhymes of the *Kutadghū Bilik*, that it had completely preserved the phonetic system of the Orkhon inscriptions with its wealth of sonants and spirants, which was confirmed by the MS. in Arabic script.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Kudatku Biligin Dikr ettigi Bughra Khān kimdir*, in *Türkiyāt Madjmu'ası*, i. (1925), p. 221–226; Köprülüzaḍe Mehmed Fu'ād, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihii*, Stambul 1928, p. 194–204.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MAWLĀNĀ YÜSUFİ, *munshi* of the Great Moghul Humāyūn (1530–1556), probably identical with Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Yūsufī Harawī, the celebrated physician of Bābur and Humāyūn. He acquired a place in Indian literature with his well-known letter-writer *Bad'ī al-Inshā*, which he composed in 940 (1533–1534) for his son Rafī' al-Dīn Ḥusain and several other *qullāb*. The book begins with a *muḥaddima* on the different

kinds of modes of address which must be regulated by the relation of the correspondents to one another in rank; Yūsufī then divides the different kinds of correspondence (*muḥāwarāt*) into three parts: letters to persons of higher rank (*murāka'āt*), of the same rank (*murāsālāt*) and to those of lower rank (*riḳā'*). Then comes a series of forms of letters which are divided into sections, such as sultāns to sultāns of higher, equal or lower rank, princes to sultāns and princes, princesses to princesses, amirs, grand-viziers, viziers, officials of the Diwān, secretaries (*munshi'*), sayids (*sādāt*), *shāikh*s, judges, poets and astronomers. Then come what one might call private letters: to relations and friends on various occasions, e.g. if a reply has not been received, when on a journey, on grief at separation, longing for home, on returning soon, faithlessness, reconciliation, excuses, congratulations, condolences etc. A *khātima* gives examples of address ('*unwān*'). The book, which is also known

as *Inshāyi Yūsufī*, was lithographed in Delhi (1843?); manuscripts are fairly common. If Yūsufī is really the same man as the physician Yūsufī, he is also the author of a number of medical works among which we may mention the *Tibb-i Yūsufī* (lith. Cawnpore 1874), *Ilādī al-Amrād* (lith. 1863), *Mulḥaka-i 'Ilādī al-Amrād* (lith. 1879), *Dalā'il al-Nabq* (lith. 1874).

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii. 340; W. Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 1888, No. 69—71 and 1065; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, p. 529^a, 1089^a, 797^b; xii. 983^b; E. G. Browne, *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 1896, No. 183, i. (p. 275); *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, III/iii. 336; E. Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian printed Books in the British Museum*, 1922, p. 734.

(E. BERTHELS)

Z

ZĀ, ZAY, 11th letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 7. For its palaeographical pedigree, see ARABIA, plate i. It belongs to the sibilants (*al-hurūf al-asaliya*) and corresponds to the same sound in the other Semitic languages. It is pronounced like English and French *z*. In the spoken Arabic of to-day *z* may also represent other sounds of the classical language, such as *dh* and *ḡ*. In Persia and Turkey Arabic *z* is often pronounced *z*.

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge 1890, p. 57 sq.; A. Schaade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre*, Leyden 1911, index; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1908, i. 128 sqq.; do., *Précis de linguistique sémitique*, transl. by W. Marçais and M. Cohen, Paris 1918, p. 71; *Lisān al-'Arab*, vii. 167. (A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-ZĀB, the name of two left bank tributaries (al-Zawābi) of the Tigris.

1. The Upper or Great Zāb (*Zāb al-a'tā* or *al-akbar*) was known already to the Assyrians as *Zabu ʾlū*, the "Upper Zāb". The Greeks called it *Lykos* (Weissbach, s. v., No. 12 in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, vol. xiii., col. 2391 sq.; on the name see J. Markwart, *Südararmenien*, Vienna 1930, p. 429 sq.), the Byzantines however have again *δ μέγας Ζάβας* (Theophan., *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 318, 320). In Syriac it was called *Zābhā*, in Armenian *Zaw* (Thomas Arctuni, ed. Patkanean, III/iv., p. 143; transl. Brosset, in *Collection d'hist. Arméniens*, i. 122). The Kurds at the present day call it *al-Zā'i* (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 236, note 1884). On account of its torrentuous course the Arabs called it *al-Maḡnūn*. According to the Arab geographers, it rises in the mountains of Āḡharbāidjān in the district of Mushanghar (in al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, p. 52 and Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 902

read this for Mushtaghar; cf. G. Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 228). Its water there is said to be red at first (cf. however G. Hoffmann, p. 234, note 1866). It then flows via Zarkūn and Bābaghēsh (Syr. Bēth Baghēsh in Hedhaiyab, now probably Bash Kal'a in Albāk), then via Bāshazzā, two days' journey from al-Mawṣil, to the district of Ḥaftūn, where it makes a turn before leaving the hills and flows through the *kūra* of al-Mardj until finally it enters the Tigris at the monastery of 'Umr Bārkanā below al-Mawṣil, a farsakh above al-Ḥadītha. Ḥādjdī Khalīfa says it is formed by the streams of Kawar (now Nehil-çai) and Djūlamerk. After their junction it flows along the hills past the Sandjaḳ Çall (at the turn of the river to the S. E.) and through the district of Zībārī of the region of al-'Imādiya. Then it turns again S. W. at its junction with the Rāwānduz-çai. Shortly before joining the Diḡla below Nimrūd, the ruined site of the Assyrian Kalakh, it is joined by its right bank tributary, the *Khāzir*, which has previously been increased by the waters of the Gömel-şū (Greek: *Bumōlos*) from Tell Gömel (Gaugamela).

The Great Zāb plays an important part in military history. It is several times mentioned in the campaigns of Maurice and Heraclius (Theophyl. Simok., ed. de Boor, iv. 1, 7, according to whom the lower course is navigable [*ναυσιπλοῦς*, p. 150], 2, 5, 9, 1; v. 5, 6, 6, 1, 8, 1; Georg. Kedren., ed. Bonn, i. 730; Theophan., *Chron.*, loc. cit.). On its tributary al-Khāzir was fought in Muḥarram 67 (Aug. 686) the battle between Ibrāhīm and 'Ubaid Allāh (Caetani, *Chronografia islamica*, Fasc. v., p. 781, A. H. 67, § 2). On the Great Zāb itself Marwān was decisively defeated in the battle of 2nd—11th Djumādā II 132 (January 16—25, 750) (Huart, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 285 sq.; Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 1698 sq., A. H. 132, § 12).

2. The Lower or Little Zāb (*al-Zāb al-asfal* or *al-asghar*) is called in Assyrian *Zabu shupaltū*, "the lower Zab", in Greek *Kapros* (Weissbach, art. *Kapros*, No. 2; in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzyklopädie*, vol. x., col. 1921), Byzantine Greek *δ μικρός Ζάβας* (Theophan., *Chron.* ed. de Boor, p. 320, according to whom there were four bridges over it) or *δ ἑσπερος Ζάβας* (Theophyl. Simok., ed. de Boor, v. 8, 1). According to the Arab geographers, its source was in the district of Daibūr (Syriac Dēbwar, Dēbor, on the modern Dībūr-šū near Sidikān) and in the mountains of Salāk (Syr. Salak), in Adharbāidjān not far from Shahrāzūr, and it flowed into the Tigris 1 *mīl* above al-Sinn (Syr. Shennā) at Dair Ibn Gāmīsh (Syr. Dairā dhē-Bar Gāmēsh). The Little Zāb is formed by the confluence of a number of small streams, which rise in the hills between Lāhidjān south of Lake Urmiya and the pass of Awromān. The main stream is now called Altun-šū, in its upper course Akšū or Kalwī. On the lower course is Altun-köprü; just below its junction with the Tigris is Kal'at Djabbar.

Bibliography: Suhrāb, ed. by Mžik, in *Bibl. arab. Histor. und Geogr.*, v., Leipzig 1930, p. 126; al-Kisrawī in Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 902 sq.; al-Iṣṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, i. 77; Ibn Ḥawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 145, 153, 155 sq., 169g, 212, 246, 264; al-Makdisī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 20, 28, 123, 144 sq.; Ibn al-Fakīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 93, 132 sq.; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B. G. A.*, vi. 93, 174 sq.; Kudāma, *B. G. A.*, vi. 214, 232; Ibn Rusta, *B. G. A.*, vii. 90; al-Ya'qūbi, *B. G. A.*, vii. 312, 321, 327; al-Mas'ūdi, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, in *B. G. A.*, viii. 36, 52 sq., 312, 327; do., *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, i. 226 sq.; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, p. 221, 228, 233 sq. and passim (see Index, p. 324); M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, in *M. V. A. G.*, 1896, ii. and 1897, i. 162 (Index); Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 (reprint 1930), p. 90—2, 194; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, Gesamtregister, Leipzig 1929, p. 92; J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griech. und arab. Geographen*, Vienna 1930, p. 236, 390 and passim (see Index, p. 632).

(E. HONIGMANN)

ZĀB, a region of Algeria. The name Zāb (plur. *Zibān*) is given to the area around Biskra measuring about 125 miles from W. to E. and 30 to 40 from N. to S. It is a rather flat plain shading in the south into the Sahara and bordered on the north by the southern slopes of the Saharan Atlas, but having easy communication with the depression of the Hodna and the plateaus of Constantine through a wide gap which opens up between the hills of Zāb and the Awrās. Being subject to desert influences Zāb has only rare and irregular rainfall, insufficient in ordinary times for the cultivation of cereals, but the streams from the mountains and subterranean supplies sustain an oasis vegetation at many places, which contain nearly 800,000 palms.

Three parts of Zāb are usually distinguished: Zāb Shārkī or Eastern Z., between the foot of the Awrās and the Shott Mel'rīr; the Dahrawī or northern Z., between the hills of Zāb and the Wād Djedi, and lastly Zāb Guebli (*kibli*) or Southern Zāb, separated from the preceding by a strip of sand and marshes. Zāb Shārkī is watered

by the waters of the Awrās, Wād al-Abiad, Wād al-'Arab which irrigate on leaving the mountains the oases of Zeribat al-Wad, Badis and in the plain those of Sidi 'Okba, Seriana and Oumache. The Zāb Dahrawī, owing to the springs which are dotted along the foot of the hills, contains the most prosperous oases, Bu Chagrūn, Lichana, Farfar and particularly Tolga, which is regarded as the capital of this part of the Zibān. To Zāb Guebli belong the oases of Wlad Djellal, Ourellal and Doucen, the magnificent palm-groves of which form a striking contrast to the miserable oases of Mlili and Bigu which are half buried in sand.

The population (93,000, not counting the inhabitants of the commune de plein exercice of Biskra) is for the most part settled in the oases but we also find in the Zibān wandering shepherds belonging almost all to the tribes of the Arab Sheraga, who in the spring go up into the Hodna and the Tell with their flocks. The settled population does not find sufficient resources in the country. They have therefore always been in the habit of migrating temporarily to the towns of the Tell. In the Turkish period natives of the Zibān under the name of Biskris formed an important corporation in Algiers, where there are still about 2,000 of their compatriots.

History. We know practically nothing about Zāb in the pre-Islāmic period and during the first four centuries of the Hidjra. The Romans never occupied and colonised the country but were content to establish forts on the Wād Djedi, at Biskra and at the southern exit of the valleys of the Awrās. As to the name Zāb itself, it should perhaps be connected with Zabi, a Roman town in the region of Hodna, which was in the fifth century A.D. the see of a bishop. Al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, p. 64, transl. Fagnan, p. 133) mentions among the towns of Zāb, Tobna, Tolga, Tahūda, Doucen; Idrīsī (transl. de Goeje, p. 109) describes Tobna [q. v.] as the capital of Zāb. It seems however that at this period, or in any case in the period immediately after it, political preponderance passed to Biskra [q. v.] in which lived influential families like the Banū Rummam and the Banū Sindji who controlled the region's affairs in turn. The country suffered greatly from the Arab invasions of the xith and xiith centuries. A Hilālī group, the Aṭḥbedj, ravaged the country and drove out a number of the former inhabitants. Driven back into the south at the beginning of the xiiith century by the Almohads, they abandoned their nomadic for a sedentary life; they were forced to recognise the suzerainty of the Wlad Muḥammad (Dawawida), a section of the Sulaim, who settled in Western Zāb while another group, the Ḳarfa, settled in Eastern Zāb. An Aṭḥbedj family finally became supreme; this was the Banū Moznī to whom the Ḥafṣids entrusted the government of Zāb and who took advantage of the troubled times in the xvth century to make themselves almost independent (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, transl. de Slane, iii. 125: History of the Beni Moznī). In this period the name of Zāb is no longer applied only to the region south of the Atlas between Doucen to the S.W. and Badis in the N.E. Ibn Khaldūn credits it with a hundred villages each called Zāb (distinguished as Zāb of Tolga, Zāb of Biskra etc.; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i. 77). Leo Africanus gives Zāb the same boundaries as Ibn Khaldūn and mentions in it 25 towns in addition to large

numbers of villages (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, iii. 250).

Freed from Hafsīd authority, Zāb escaped Turkish rule in the xvth century although a garrison was established at Biskra. Effective power for two centuries and a half was in the hands of the chief of the Arab family of Bū Okkaz to whom the Turks allowed the title of *Shaiḥ* al-'Arab but against whom in the second half of the xviii century, they opposed another family, that of the Ben-Gana. The rivalry of these two families kept the country in a state of anarchy, aggravated between 1835 and 1840 by the intervention of 'Abd al-Ḳādir. Disorder came to an end only in 1844 with the occupation of Biskra by the French and the suppression of the rebellion stirred up in 1849 by Bū Zian at Zaatcha, from which date the Zībān may be regarded as definitely pacified.

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(G. YVER)

ZĀBAG (زَابَج), inaccurately transcribed *Zābedī* < Sanskrit *Jāvaka*, the name of an island. The Arabic transcription, so far as I am aware, goes back to the ninth century A.D. We do not see why the Arabic has rendered by a sonant the guttural occlusive surd of the Sanskrit. The fact that we might be dealing with a form borrowed from a highly sonorous Prākṛit hardly seems to me to require to be considered here. The Chinese knew this place-name as early as the seventh century under various forms which are reproduced in Chinese characters in *L'empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*: *She-li Fo-she* < Skr. *Śrī Vijaya* or shortened form *Fo-she* < Skr. *Vijaya* (Yi-ting, Houei-je and Vajrabodhi); *She-li Fo-she* = *Śrī Vijaya* (*Sin t'ang shu*, *T'ang hwei yao*, *Ts'ò fu yuan kuei*); *San-fo-ts'i* (*Chu fan tse* of Čao Ju-kua, *Sheng she* or History of the Second Sung, *Ming she* or History of the Ming, *Tao yi tse lio* of Wang Ta-yüan, *Ying yai sheng lan* of Ma Huan, *Sing t'a sheng lan* of Fei Sin, *Tong si yang k'ao*). In Malay, the island of Sumatra is called *Pūlaw Ēmas* "Island of Gold" (cf. Chin. *kin t'ow*, Arabic *suwarn dīb*, an arabicised form of the Sanskrit *suvarṇadvīpa*, with the same meaning). We only know the early history of *Jāvaka* = *Zābag* = *Śrīvijaya* = *She-li Fo-she* from inscriptions and a few oriental texts. We need not then be surprised that there are many lacunae.

At the beginning of our era, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, composed some time earlier not definitely known, places in the Far East ■ *Yava-dvīpa* "Island of Yava", the island of gold and of silver (*suvarṇa-rūpyakadvīpam*), embellished with gold mines (*suvarṇākaramaṇḍitam*), which has usually been identified with Java. Its wealth in gold however makes me identify it with Sumatra for which alone we have evidence of extraordinary wealth in precious metals. In 132 A.D. Chinese texts mention an embassy from the king of Ye-tiao, old pro-

nunciation *Yap-div = *Yavadvīpa* = Sumatra, to the court of China. It is this form that Ptolemy reproduces some years later in the Prākṛit form *Yapadvīpa* < *Yavadvīpa*.

240—252 A.D. In the surviving fragments of the *Fu-nan t'u su t'uan* of K'ang T'ai, there are several references to the land of Ču-po, old pronunciation *Ču-bak*, defective transcription of **Shō-bak* < Skr. *Jāvaka*. It was probably about this time that Madagascar was colonised by Sumatrans who had been influenced by Hindu culture. The modern Malagasy language still bears clear traces of this.

In 410 on the occasion of the Synod of Isaac, there is mentioned a metropolitan of Dābag and of Čin and Macin (J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, Paris 1902, p. 620). Four years later, Fa-Hien returning from India via Ceylon arrived in a country which he calls *Ye-p'o-i-i* = *Yavadvīpa*, which I also locate in Sumatra, as well as the *Shō-p'o* mentioned in the *Kao seng t'uan* composed in 519.

According to a Malay inscription of 605 Śaka = 683 A.D., an unnamed ruler who ruled in Śrīvijaya went on an expedition to institute a magic ritual, i. e. to seize the suzerain state of which he was a vassal. In śaka 606 = 684 A.D., a king called Śrījayanasa (read: Śrījayanāga) ordered a garden to be made called Śrīksetra = "auspicious field". In 608 Śaka = 686 A.D. another Malay inscription records that the stone was engraved at the time when the army of Śrīvijaya was setting out against the land of Java which was not in subjection to Śrīvijaya.

From 670 to 741, the *She-li Fo-she* sent embassies to China. In 724, *She-li T'o-lo-pa-mo* = Skr. *Śrīndravarman*, king of Śrīvijaya, sent an ambassador to China. In 742, the king of *Fo-she* = Vijaya, Lien-t'eng-wei-kong (?), sent his son to the Chinese court.

At a date which is uncertain, the Tamil poem *Maṇimegalai* mentions a town Nāgapuram (city of the *nāga*), in Čāvaka-nādu or land of Čāvaka < Skr. *Jāvaka* and the names of two of its kings: Bhūmicandra and Puṇyārāja, who claimed descent from Indra.

In 671—692 A.D., the famous Chinese monk Yi-ting went from China to India and back. He made his first stay of six months in *She-li Fo-she* in 671—672 and another of four years in 685—689 and a third, equally long, on his return from Canton. There he studied Sanskrit grammar. "In the fortified town of *Fo-she*", he says, "there are over a thousand Buddhist priests, whose thoughts are devoted to study and good deeds. They examine and study all possible subjects just as in India; the rules and ceremonies there are identical [to those in India]. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to India to hear lectures there and read the original Buddhist texts, he would do well to spend [first] a year or two at *Fo-she* and to practise the proper rules there; he could then go on to Central India". But this is not all. This mastery in the teaching of Malay, of Sanskrit and of the Law which is a sure sign of a high level of intellectual development was accompanied by equal skill in naval and military matters. Trade and the mercantile marine were no less flourishing. Lastly if we may judge by the attitude of the mahārāja of Zābag to the conquered Cambodians, the noble morality and political wisdom of these Śailendra rulers can-

not be too highly admired. Such was the position of the Sumatran empire at the end of the seventh century A. D.

In 717, Śrīvijaya was visited by the monk Vajrabodhi and probably about the same time by the Chinese monk Hsuei-je on his way from China to India.

A Sanskrit inscription found in Java of 654 Śaka = 732 A. D. mentions "an excellent island, incomparable, called Yava, fertile in cereals and other grains, rich in gold mines (*kanakākara*)...". This looks like a repetition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

A Sanskrit inscription from Ligor (eastern Malay peninsula) and dated 775 A. D. celebrates a supreme king of kings, head of the family of the Śailendra, called Śrī Mahārāja (the rest is wanting).

In 844—846 we have the first mention known to me of the Mahārāja of Zābag in an Arabic text (Ibn Khordādhbeh). The merchant Sulaimān (851) also mentions Zābag and adds that the land of Kalāh (= Kra on the western Malay peninsula) and Zābag are ruled by the same king, Ishāk b. Imrān, d. in 907, and mentions the camphor of Zābag. Ibn al-Faḥih (902) and Ibn Rosteh (ca. 903) give some information about the location, products and customs of Zābag. Abū Zaid al-Ḥasan (ca. 916) gives a somewhat detailed description of Zābag and the mahārāja's court, and tells how the victorious campaign of the mahārāja against Cambodia was carried through (Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, i. 169 sqq., expresses himself in identical terms. Cf. on this subject my suggestions in *J. A.*, Oct.-Dec. 1932, p. 275 note).

The *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde* (ed. van der Lith, transl. Marcel Devic, p. 174—175) records that in 334 (945) the Wāk-wāk [q. v.] i. e. Sumatrans, came with a thousand ships on a raid on the east coast of Africa to procure the products of the country and Zandj slaves (cf. *J. A.*, Oct.-Dec. 1932, p. 298).

In 960 and 961, the king *Sī-li hu-ta Hia-li-tan* = Malay: Śrī kuda Haridana (?) sent an embassy to the court of China. In the following year another embassy was sent by the king *She-li Wu-ye* = Skr. Śrī Vuja (?). Other embassies arrived in China from *Hia-ṣe* = old Malay *haḍji* "king" in 980 and 983. In 1003, the king *Sō-li Ču-lo-wu-ni-fa-ma-tiao-kua* = Skr. Śrīcūlamaniṣarmadeva and his son and successor *Sō-li Ma-lo-p'i* (sic) = Skr. Śrīmaraviṣayottuṅgavarman in 1008 sent an embassy to the emperor of China. These two Sumatran sovereigns are also known from the Tamil inscription known as the "large Leyden scroll" which commemorates the donation of a village to a Buddhist temple at Negapatam. The building of this temple was begun by Cūlamaniṣarmadeva and finished by his son and successor. It may be noted that this temple was built at the "town of the *nāga*" and that the Malay rulers who built it, belonged to a royal family, the Śailendra, who were descended from a *nāga*. The choice of this Indian town was a very natural one for their pious works.

In 1017 there came to the court of China, ambassadors from *Hia-ṣe Su-wu-č'a-p'u-mi* = Hadji Sumatrabbūmi "king of the land of Sumatra". The modern name of the island appears here for the first time.

In his geography of the world compiled in 1154, Idrīsī records that "the people of the isles of Zābag come to the land of the Zandj on small and large ships... for they understand one another's

languages". And also: "The people of Komr (= Madagascar) and the merchants of the land of the Mahārāja (= Sumatra) come among them (the people of Šofāla and the east coast of Africa), are well received and trade with them (*J. A.*, Oct.-Dec. 1932, p. 299—300)".

The other Arabic and Persian texts (Yāḳūt 1224, Ḳazwīnī 1203—1284, Ibn Sa'īd xiiith century, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī d. 1311, Dimashqī c. 1325, Abū 'l-Fidā' 1273—1331, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī 1340, Ibn al-Wardī c. 1340, Bākuwī at the beginning of the xvth century, etc.) only supply a few notes on the actual or imaginary flora and fauna of Sumatra and the products of the country, especially gold and camphor. We have to come down to the xvth and xviith centuries to get accurate and detailed information in the *Instructions nautiques* of Ibn Maḍjid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī which I have translated and published.

From the xiiith century, the oriental texts of other origins should be studied and annotated again. They will be given in the *Bibliography* but no use has been made of them here as our space is limited.

Čeu K'ü-fei in his *Ling Wai tai ta* (1178) and Čao Ju-kua in his *Ču fan če* (1225) deal at length with *San-fu-ts'i*. The latter includes even the foreign countries dependent on him and mentions Ceylon among his conquests, which is unexpected and does not appear to be confirmed by history. The statement by Mas'ūdī (*Prairies d'or*, i. 170) that "the Mahārāja is king of the islands like Zābag, Kalah (= Kra on the eastern Malay peninsula), Sirandīb (= Ceylon) etc. . . .", three centuries before the publication of the *Ču fan če* is also devoid of historical value. The only thing that seems certain is that in the xiiith century A. D., the glorious Sumatran empire collapsed. Malāya with the help of the Javanese regained her former suzerainty which had been lost in the seventh century; and the Thais of Sukhodaya came down on the lower Menam and seized all the colonial possessions of San-fu-ts'i on the Malay peninsula.

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ZABĀNIYA. [See MALĀNIKA.]

ZABĪD, a town in the Tihāma of Yaman, on the road running from north to south from Mecca to 'Aden, halfway between the Yaman highlands and the Red Sea, about 16 miles from the coast. At this distance the country is suitable for agriculture in view of the better water-supply, and the town itself is adjoined by two wādīs, in the north the Wādī Rima' and the south the perennial Wādī Zabīd, from which it has taken the name which has replaced the original al-Ḥusaib. In contrast to the rest of the Tihāma it is famous for its gardens with date-palms,

a little corn, indigo and various medicinal plants; the hides of Zabid are also well known. Along with Bait al-Faḥīh and a few smaller places, it is an important centre for the weaving of garments.

Zabid has always been the capital of a district (*mikhlatāf*). It adopted Islām in the year 10 (631) and its first governor was Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-ʿAṣ. It took no part in the *Ridda* wars. It became important under the Ziyādids as the capital of an independent province. Muḥammad, a descendant of Ziyād b. Abi Sufyān (b. Abihī), granted the Tihāma by the caliph al-Ma'mūn, gave the town in Sha'bān 204 (beg. 820) its circular form with four towers (it is still called *al-Mudawwara*) and made the aqueducts from the wādīs. The Ziyādids were followed from 412—554 (1021—1159) by the Abyssinian Mamlūks, the Banū Nadjāh. Both dynasties remained under ʿAbbāsīd suzerainty and were Sunnis; but the capital itself was for a time in Shīʿī hands; at the end of the third century it was burned by the Ḳarmāṭian ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl and about 379 (989) taken for a time by ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaḥṭān of the Banū Yaʿfur [q.v.]. The latter acknowledged the Fāṭimid caliphate, as did the Ṣulāihī [q.v.] who came down from the highlands and interrupted the rule of the Banū Nadjāh in Zabid for the greater part of the years 452—481 (1060—1088). They did not however become their successors; but after the interlude of the Khāridjī Maḥdīs [q.v.] the Egyptian successor of the Fāṭimids, the Aiyūbid Saladin, sent his brother Tūrānshāh there at the beginning of 570 (1175), and he had the Maḥdid ʿAbd al-Nabī executed. When the third Aiyūbid of the Yaman, Ismāʿīl b. Tuḡteḡīn, who wanted to play the part of an independent caliph, was murdered in 598 (1201) by his own Kurdish soldiers at Zabid, rule practically passed into the hands of Atābegs until ʿUmar, son of ʿAlī b. Rasūl, the Aiyūbid governor of Mecca, in 626 (1229) founded the Rasūlīd sultānate. This was followed in 858 (1454) by the Tāhirīds who claimed to be Umayyads descended from the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. After a temporary occupation by the Meccan Sharīf Abū Numayy Muḥammad (922 = 1516) and then by irregular troops during the fighting between the Egyptian Mamlūks and the Ottomans, the latter had governors there from 943—1045 (1536—1635). The Zaidīs [q.v.], the only Yaman power that had survived all previous dynasties and had made a previous attempt to gain a footing in the Tihāma, were able to drive the Turks from the coast also. After the second Ottoman occupation (1289—1338 = 1872—1918), the Zaidīs again became lords of the Tihāma after fighting the Idrīsids [q.v.] of ʿAsīr.

Zabid has many important buildings dating from the days in which this town was a royal residence. These buildings have stood very well as they are mostly built of brick, which gives the town a rather gloomy look. Even in Niebuhr's time however, the town had decayed considerably and the chronicles record much damage by fire and also from wars and even numerous showers of volcanic ash that have fallen upon it. When the Turks moved the capital to Ṣanʿāʾ and made the road run further north, starting from the fort of Ḥodaīda [q.v.], and not touching Zabid, its trade fell considerably. In the new Zaidī state which has expanded into the kingdom of Yaman, Zabid is merely a provincial town. It retains a certain importance as the home

of Shāhī tradition, from which the spiritual welfare of the non-Zaidī part of the country is cared for. The *nisba* Zabīdī is still a common one among Yaman scholars.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

ZABŪR (A.), probably a loanword from the South, but already used by pre-Islāmic poets in the sense of "writ"; in this sense it is still found in al-Farazdaq, *Naḳā'id*, lxxv. 1. From the second Makkan period onwards, Muḥammad uses the plural *zabūr* in order to denote the revealed books (*Sūra* xxvii. 196; iii. 181; xvi. 46; xxxv. 23) as well as the heavenly writings, in which human deeds are recorded (*Sūra* liv. 43, 52). The singular *zabūr*, on the other hand, occurs in the *Qurʾān* exclusively in connection with Dāwūd. In the early *Sūra* xvii. 57 Muḥammad says that Allāh has given Dāwūd one *zabūr*. The same *zabūr* he mentions another time, viz. in *Sūra* iv. 161, and in *Sūra* xxi. 105 he quotes from this *zabūr* Psalm xxxvii. 29, in an almost literal translation. Possibly the pre-Islāmic poets were already acquainted with Dāwūd as the author of the *zabūr*; it is e.g. not impossible that this is meant by Imraʾ al-Ḳais when he mentions a "zabūr in the books of the monks" (*ka-khatti zabūrin fī masāḥifi ruhḥānī*, lxiii. 1). At any rate, this use of the term *zabūr* (apart from the question whether Muḥammad was the first to make use of it) is based on its affinity in sound with Hebrew *mizmōr*, Syriac *mazmōr* or Aethiopic *mazmūr*; it was this term that by Muḥammad or others before him, in analogy with Arabic *zabūr*, was identified with the latter's meaning "writ". Apart from *Sūra* xxi. 105 the *Qurʾān* contains other passages bearing a close resemblance to verses from the Psalms, especially from Psalm civ. Moreover the majority of the passages in the *Qurʾān* which remind us, by sense or sound, of the Bible, are from the Psalms. The commentaries on the *Qurʾān* recognise that the *zabūr* mentioned in *Sūra* iv. 161 is the book of Dāwūd bearing this name; it is only some of the Kūfic commentators who propose to read the plural *zabūr* in the sense of "writings". Ṭabarī rejects this view (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vi. 18). Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, a *mawlā* of the caliph Ḥarūn, it is said, identifies the *zabūr* with "the *mazāmīr*

which are in the hands of Jews and Christians", to the number of 150.

A fragment of a translation of the Psalms, dating from the iind (viiith) century, the oldest known specimen of Christian-Arabic literature, was discovered in Damascus by B. Violet. It contains the Arabic translation of Psalm lxxviii., vss. 20—31, 51—61 in Greek majuscular writing. Al-Kindi, in his *Risāla* (composed about 204 = 819), and Ibn ʿKutaiba, as cited in Ibn al-Djawzī's *Wafāʾ*, quote verses from the Psalms in literal translation. The Nestorian renegade 'Alī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī, who had the Syriac translation at hand, devotes to the Psalms an entire chapter of his "Book of Religion and Empire" (written about 240 = 854). Mas'ūdī, *Tamhīh*, p. 112, mentions Arabic translations of the Bible which also contained the Psalms. Of these translations the one by Sa'īd al-Faiyūmī (*Fihrist*, p. 23, 7, 13; cf. also H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, p. 318 sqq.) has come down to us. Even a free translation of the Psalms in Arabic verses is still extant, viz. the *Urdjūza* of Ḥafṣ b. al-Birr al-Ḳūṭī, which goes back at least to the vth (xith) century. Muḥammadan apologists find the coming of Muḥammad prophesied in the *Zabūr* as they do in the *Tawrāt* [q. v.]. Ibn ʿKutaiba takes a number of verses in the Psalms to refer to Muḥammad; Alī b. Rabbān in the section "Prophecies of David concerning the Prophet" collects similar references, some identical and others different, and al-Sinhādī adds a few more. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥazm criticises acutely the Psalms as well as other books of the Bible and says several passages are forgeries which he as a result of erroneous translation condemns as blasphemous. In contrast to the translations of the *ahl* 'l-alsinatī 'l-mukhtalifātī, the *Kitāb al-Maṣānīr Tardjumat al-Zabūr* offers the translation said to have been made by the 'ulamā' al-Islām; it is preserved in several manuscripts, and Krarup and Cheikhō have published selections. In reality however, this book has nothing to do with the Psalms, which only the two first sections recall; the author took the *Qur'ān* as his model and indeed calls his separate sections *Sūras*. The oldest MS. bears the date 666 A. H. and perhaps the *Kitāb Zabūr Dāwūd* ascribed to Wahb b. Munabbih in Ibn Ḥaiy's *Fihrist Biblioteca Arabo-Hispana*, ix. 294 is identical with this work.

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(J. HOROVITZ)

ZACHARIAS. [See ZAKĀRYĀʾ.]

ZAFĀR, 1. now a group of ruins near an insignificant village in southern Yaman, about 10 miles S. W. of Yarīm, celebrated in ancient times as the capital of the Ḥimyar kingdom (also called ZAFĀRĪ; see Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, iii. 576; i. 196; South Arabian inscriptions give the radicals *z-p[f]-r*; it is reproduced in Ethiopic as *Ṣafār*).

The royal city is mentioned by Pliny, *Natur. Hist.*, vi. 104 as *regia Sapphar* and in the *Periplus Mar. Erythr.*, § 23 as *μητρόπολις Σαφάρ* in which *Χαριβαῖλ* (Karibā'il), "king of the Homerites (Ḥimyar) and Sabaeans" ruled, of that dynasty which, succeeding the kings of Saba' under the name "kings of Saba' and Dhū Raidān" was predominant in South Arabia from, at earliest, the end of the second century B. C. According to this evidence of the *Periplus*, the Sabaeans were already subjects of the Ḥimyar kings and there was still a Ḥimyar kingdom in the time of Pliny's sources.

The next reference to the capital Zafār in Graeco-Roman literature is Ptolemy, vi. 7, 41 (viii. 22, 16) where among the towns of the interior of Arabia Felix *Σάφφαρ* (vulgo *Σάφφαρα*) *μητρόπολις* is mentioned i. e. exactly as in the *Periplus*. Of the two variants in the MSS. for the longitude in Ptolemy, 78° and 88°, the former is to be preferred; it is also given by al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa Djaṣīrat al-'Arab* (ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884, p. 28) while in his *Iklīl* (in D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, xciv. [1879], 417) he gives 77°. As the coast town *Μόχα* in Ptolemy has the longitude 87° 30' (var. 88° 10' and 88° 30') and the same latitude 14° as Zafār, E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii. 180 said this variant in the longitude of *Σάφφαρα* was clearly only a mistake by a copyist of the post-Ptolemaic period, who confused this Yaman Zafār with the Zafār which had meanwhile arisen in the east near Moscha. This supposition is based on Glaser's erroneous location of Moscha (see N^o. 3); it is also from the first probable that in the transmission of Ptolemy we have had a mistake in the numeral for 7 just as in the variant in the longitude of Moscha. His statement that "we can only allocate to the Sabaeans" the Metropolis mentioned by Ptolemy, "because its situation will not fit the then undoubtedly very limited Ḥimyar territories" and that "in the period of the 'kings of Saba' and Raidān' Mārib was undoubtedly the royal residence" and that this city had been in ruins "for centuries by Ptolemy's time" (*op. cit.*, p. 240, 242) are only the results of his views on the chronology of the development of the Ḥimyar kingdom and are moreover in contradiction to the testimony of the classical sources just quoted, with which latter the inscriptional evidence can best be reconciled [cf. also the article MA'RIB].

The *Σαφάρῖται* (in most MSS. *ταφάρῖται*) according to Ptolemy, vi. 7, 25 living near the Homerites were the inhabitants of the town and district around it, i. e. the ruling stock. There are also references to Zafār as a district in Arabic literature, e. g. in Idrīsī, but it is no longer found as a tribal name (Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, p. 311). A road may have branched off to Yarīm and Zafār from the road mentioned in the *Periplus* which led east from the port of Mokhā; that the capital played a part in commerce is intelligible. On the road in Ptolemy's map see Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 183 sq.

It is to this Zafār that Philostorgius (first third of the fifth century), *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 4, refers in telling of the conversion of the Homerites to Christianity c. 354—355 in the time of Constantius II (357—361; cf. the extract in Nicephorus Callistus, ix. 18) at whose instigation Theophilus,

later bishop, obtained from the Ḥimyar ruler permission to erect churches in Τάφαρον, 'Aden and Hormūz. In opposition to this definite statement, Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 181) considered that Τάφαρον did not mean the Ḥimyar town but the one on the coast (N^o. 2) (similarly before him Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1846, viii/xii., p. 65). There is however not the slightest probability that Philostorgius was wrongly informed; and besides the capital is a more probable place for the building of a church. G. W. Bury, *Arabia infelix*, London 1915, p. 10, wrongly identifies this Zafār with Yarīm. The conversion of the Ḥimyars to Christianity is put by Theodorus Anagnostes, ii. 58 (cf. Nicephorus, xvi. 37) in the reign of Anastasius (491—518). An apocryphal literature is connected with the name of Gregentius, bishop of Zafār about the middle of the sixth century. Zafār is also mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (end of the fourth century) xxiii. as Tapharon, and by the Ravenna geographer (seventh century), ii. 6, as Taḥra; the latter calls Ḥimyar Omeritia; it finally appears as Τά[ρ]φαρα in Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v., who, as a grammarian, is only concerned with the form of the name.

About the middle of the fourth century the Ḥimyar kingdom had been conquered by the Axumites, but by the last quarter of the century native kings again gained the upper hand. The ruler of Zafār mentioned by Philostorgius as friendly to the Christians was therefore either a governor appointed by the Axumites (cf. *mutatis mutandis* Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich 1895, p. 166) like Sumaifa in the year 525, or the reconquest of the country, the rulers of which were still the Axumites according to an inscription put up shortly before 356 [cf. SABA², iv., p. 9^b] had already been successfully begun by the Ḥimyars about 355. It was not till 525 that the Abyssinians again won supremacy over Ḥimyar but about 570 they were overthrown by the Persians. Till then Zafār had been the capital of South Arabia. The last Persian governor in Ṣanʿā became a convert to Islām in 628.

According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 145; al-Masūdī, *Murūdī*, iii. 178; Yāqūt, iii. 577 (ii. 722) there was an inscription on the gate of Zafār to this effect: "Who held royal sway over Zafār? The excellent Ḥimyars. Who became lord afterwards? The wicked Abyssinians. Who came next? The noble Persians. For whom had they to make way? The Kuraish, the traders. Who will next win the lordship of Zafār? It will again fall to the Ḥimyars". This expresses very neatly the history of the changes in the hegemony of South Arabia. That Zafār was the capital of the Ḥimyar kings is testified, in corroboration of the Greek and Roman authors, by the Arab geographers, historians and lexicographers, e.g. Ibn Khurdādhbih, vi. 140; al-Masūdī, iii. 177; Djawharī, s. v.; Yāqūt, iii. 577 (812 in the quotation from a poet); the *Kāmus*, s. v.; *Taḍj al-ʿArūs*, iii. 370; the *Ḍihān-nunā*. The royal castle of Raidān in Zafār is mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 140, who quotes the verse of Imruʿu l-Qais (206, 32 in Ahlwardt, *The Divans*), al-Hamdānī in *Iklīl*, p. 410 and 414 (in the verse from Asʿad Tubbaʿ), al-Bakrī's *Muʿdjam*, s. v.; Yāqūt, ii. 885; iii. 422 (where the form Zaidān is altered by D. H. Müller on *Iklīl*, p. 410, 3, as a misreading, to Raidān [cf. the same form in Ritter, xii. 258 from Idrisi];

see below on Glaser's explanation of the Raidān of the inscriptions). Idrisi, i. 148 sq. (ed. Jaubert, Paris 1836) also describes Zafār as one of the most important and most celebrated towns in Yaman, which was the residence of the kings of Yaman. According to him, it is in the district of Yaḥṣib, which was also called Zafār. Muḥaddasi, *B. G. A.*, iii. 70 (53) in his survey of the two parts of the Yaman, al-Tihāma and al-Nadjd, mentions Yaḥṣib among the towns of Nadjd. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, in *Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, iii./3, Leipzig 1864, p. 109 thought that this referred to Zafār. This identification which is also found in H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediæval History*, London 1892, p. 246 (and on his map) is not convincing; he also wrongly writes Yaḥḍib. Yaḥṣib (Yaḥsub) is the name of Mikhlāf (cf. besides Idrisi also Yāqūt, ii. 885, who says the castle of Raidān is in this Mikhlāf and gives the further detail that Raidān is in Zafār and quotes the verses of Asʿad Tubbaʿ in *Iklīl*, *op. cit.*, p. 414, according to which Zafār with the tribal citadel of Raidān lay in the plain of Yaḥṣib). According to *Iklīl*, p. 410, Zafār was known as Ḥaḳl (plateau of) Yaḥṣib. In Yāqūt, iv. 436 there is a reference to Yaḥṣib al-ulw in Zafār. Sprenger's explanation of the statement in Ibn Khurdādhbih (*op. cit.*): "Yaḥṣib is the name of the town, and the castle where the king... lives is called Zafār" (*Postroueten*, *op. cit.*, p. 147) is wrong. The meaning is rather: "Yaḥṣib, (in it) the town of Zafār and its castle Raidān".

According to Idrisi, this castle was in his time a remnant of the royal palace there; he speaks also of other traces of its ancient prosperity. In Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 526, the foundation of Zafār is traced to the Ḥimyar kings. Al-Hamdānī gives in *Iklīl* (*op. cit.*, p. 412) a description of the situation of Zafār on the slope of a hill near the town of the Sukhtiyūn (Mankath; there are still ruins in the village of Mankat, near Zafār with Ḥimyarite inscriptions found by Seetzen; cf. D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 370); he quotes there (p. 414) a line of ʿAmr b. Tubbaʿ who mentions inscriptions in Zafār and lines from ʿAlqama which refer in laudatory terms to Zafār. In the *Ṣifa*, p. 203, he mentions Zafār among the celebrated places of the Yaman with old castles. As an illustration of his remarks on the reduction of degrees of longitude in Ptolemy to those of the eastern astronomers, he chooses the position of Zafār and deals (*op. cit.*, p. 27) with the Ptolemaic positions of this town and of Ṣanʿā, both of which are on the same meridian (so also p. 28 and 44; cf. also 45), Zafār being about 3 days' journey farther south (which on the whole agrees with Niebuhr's estimate that Zafār is 1° 12' south of Ṣanʿā). On p. 201 he gives from the geographical point of view nothing more definite than that Zafār is in the neighbourhood of Ṣanʿā, similarly Yāqūt, iii. 577 (where he adds that some hold the view that Zafār was Ṣanʿā itself), the *Kāmus*, s. v. (cf. Djawharī, s. v.) and the *Taḍj al-ʿArūs*, iii. 370, which quotes Yāqūt. D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, p. 369 shows that Yāqūt, iii. 422 compares Zafār with Ṣanʿā (but see N^o. 3). The Arab tradition of the history and genealogy of the Ḥimyar kings, the Tubbaʿs, is for the most part unhistorical.

Yāqūt distinguishes in the *Muʿdjam* (cf. iii. 577) between this Zafār and the place of the same name on the coast (N^o. 4); in the *Mushtariḥ* the

distinction is not pointed out. Arab writers occasionally confused the two towns, as have some modern authorities. C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 236 and Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 254 and others have lamented this; the latter however makes the same mistake, cf. p. 65 and 253. Abu 'l-Fidā' in his description which confuses the two towns (other cases under N^o. 4) only says that Zafār is in Yaman; all his other statements apply to the coast town.

Al-Hamdānī in *Iklīl*, *op. cit.*, p. 416 and with variations, al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 464 and Yāqūt, iii. 577 give in the form of a brief anecdote to explain the saying "Who comes to Zafār must understand Ḥimyar" (or "Zafār belongs to the Ḥimyars") an example of specifically Ḥimyar idiom. The Arabs distinguish between the sons of the older, younger and 'nearest' Ḥimyars, i.e. between Ḥimyars, in the widest, usual and strictest sense (Sprenger, *Geographie*, p. 72 sq.). One can only speak of a Ḥimyar dialect (on some peculiarities, see Sprenger, p. 74) among the Ḥimyars in the narrowest use of the name. In the tenth century A.D. are mentioned as districts in which pure Ḥimyar was spoken, the territory west of Ṣan'ā' and south of Ḍhamār as far as Ḥaḡl Kītab, an area which includes Yarīm and Zafār (references for Ḥimyar areas in Sprenger, *Das Leben . . . des Moḥammad*, Berlin 1865, iii. 438). Ḥimyar and the mixed speech of the adjoining districts used, according to Fresnel, to be inaccurately called Eḡkilī, a term which was wrongly extended also to Mehri and the Karā dialect (Ḥakīlī) or to what Glaser calls *Sheḥrāt*. The language of the old Ḥimyar inscriptions in the strict sense is closer to Sabaeen than the language of the second great group of South Arabian inscriptions, Minaean.

These two pure Ḥimyar districts are fertile and well suited for agriculture. The soil of Zafār also yields a semi-precious stone: the onyx of Zafār is mentioned by al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, p. 415 (with quotations from the poets); Ḍjawharī; Yāqūt, iii. 577; *Lisān al-'Arab*, vi. 192; *Kāmūs*, *Tādj*, loc. cit. (cf. Lane s.v. *ḡṣaḡ* on the meaning of the word and Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

After the last occupation of Zafār by the Abyssinians, of which we have a full account in the *Martyrium Arethae* and after the extinction of the South Arabian kingdom and still more after the rise of Islām the former royal capital gradually fell into decay, especially as it was cut off from the main routes of traffic. In the later history of the Yaman it plays with its mountainous surroundings, a subordinate role as a fortified place in connection with military operations. When for example after the Ziyādī dynasty had died out (409 = 1018) and Nadjāh had taken Zabīd and assumed the royal title (412), the wālīs there held out in their strongholds in the mountains; among these were (according to 'Umāra al-Ḥakamī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, ed. Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 12) al-Nakīl ('pass'), which Kay, p. 246 explains as Nakīl Sumāra near Zafār.

The information supplied by modern travellers agrees with the statements of the Arab authors. Cf. also: Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 94, 236, 290; do., *Beschreibung von Arabien*, i. 400; the article SABA', iv. p. 3-18; D. H. Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, Vienna 1883, p. 85, Plate VI (inscription); W. Harris, *A Four-*

ney through the Yaman, Edinburgh-London, p. 25; Glaser, *Die Abessinier*, p. 58, 100, 116; do., in *M. V. A. G.*, 1897, vi. 41; do., *Skizzen*, ii. 241; Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen-Paris-London 1927, p. 21, 88; Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, Munich 1926, p. 656, 711; Osiander, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xix., 1865, p. 180; *C. I. S.*, iv/i, N^o. 312.

2. A ruined site S.W. of Ṣan'ā'. The *Tādj al-'Arūs* (iii. 370) mentions from al-Ṣaghānī, in addition to the two towns of the same name (see N^o. 4), also two castles named Zafār, one north, the other south of Ṣan'ā'.

3. A fortified hill about 20 miles N.W. of Ṣan'ā' near Kawkabān.

4. Name of a very old town, which has been in ruins since the end of the middle ages, and of the plain around it, in the corner of S.E. Arabia on the Indian Ocean now usually reckoned to Mahra. Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar* (see the extract in Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 133) gives the vocalisation Zafār and al-Makrīzī, *De valle Hadhramaut*, ed. Berlin Noskowsky, Bonn 1866, p. 29, says it should be pronounced Zofār as does Maltzan in the introduction to his edition of *Wrede's Reise in Hadhramaut*, Brunswick 1873, p. 24, 39; it is pronounced Zfār, Zfōr, and now occasionally also Dofār. That the town is already referred to in Greek literature is practically certain; it is to be sought among the places mentioned by Ptolemy on the sea-coast. Sprenger, who emphasises that Ptolemy used information given by travellers from India and along the Arabian coast for his description of the south east coast of Arabia, is probably right (*Geographie*, p. 95 sq.) in pointing to the place on Ptolemy's map (vi. 7, 11) which corresponds to the location of Zafār, namely the *μαρτεῖον Ἀρτέμιδος* mentioned among the towns of the *Σαχαλίται*; which contains a translation of *al-Kamar* ("Diana") which we also find in *Ḍjībāl al-Kamar* "Mountains of the Moon", *Ḡhubbat al-Kamar* "Bay of the Moon", on which Zafār actually lies. The position of the "Oracle of the Moon" according to Ptolemy's statements brings us quite near Rāisūt (called *Κασεύδη* [*Κασεύδη*] *πόλις* in Ptolemy just before), the former port. From this place stretches a well watered plain about 9 hours' journey in length and an hour's journey wide at Ṭāka, where it is broadest. It also runs into the hills and is now called Zafār (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 96). Carter (see below) found the ruins of some six towns there. Whether these were the successive capitals of Zafāria, as Sprenger thought, is another question which can no longer be answered. Sprenger also conceded the impossibility of ascertaining where the "Oracle of the Moon" had been. With reference to the statement of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*op. cit.*, ii. 203) that there was a sanctuary with the tomb of Hūd (see also i. 205) half a day's journey from (the later) Zafār (i.e. Manṣūra) and a mosque on the coast in a fishing village, Sprenger thought that this mosque and tomb were the "Temple of the Moon". The latter however could only be recognised in one of the two buildings, presumably only in the former. Its position, according to Sprenger, agrees with Ṭāka in 54° 22' East Long., 17° 2' N. Lat. "on an inlet, which could be used as a harbour for rafts and boats". This location should be modified in the light of Bent's statements and the ancient

Zafār be sought in a ruined site east of Ṭāka (see below).

We cannot support Glaser's view (*Skizze*, ii. 97, 180) that the "Ἀβίσσα πόλις, mentioned by Ptolemy immediately after *μαντείον Ἀρτέμιδος* which Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 97 said was the port of Zafār and identified with Mirbāt, was Zafār itself and Moscha, *Periplus*, p. 32, its harbour (the latter already suggested in Ritter, *op. cit.*, xii. 329; also Glaser, *Abessinien*, p. 90 sq.; Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 654), identical with Khōr el-Belid, and that the name Zafār probably only appeared in the district after the time of Ptolemy, either for Abissa polis or for Moscha (*Skizze*, p. 180; *Abessinien*, p. 187 sq.). Against these topographical arguments, which, by the way, still leave undecided the place to which the name Zafār is said to have been transferred, is the fact that there is not the slightest probability in its favour and also that it is in direct contradiction to Ptolemy's map and that of the *Periplus* and that, as Glaser himself has to confess, Moscha, which Ptolemy puts west of Cape Syagros (Rās al-Fartak) must, according to the *Periplus*, which Glaser prefers to Ptolemy for the description of the Shihr coast, be sought about 10 miles west of Mirbāt. There is now no harbour at Khōr el-Belid, but a lagoon (Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 181); on the other hand Moscha in Ptolemy as well as in the *Periplus* is described as λιμὴν and this significance is particularly emphasised in the latter. Moscha is probably Maḳṣhī, a harbour in East Long. 51° 55' "less than an hour's journey west of Rās Fartak and sheltered from the south wind" (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 85). Sprenger's assumption that in the transmission of Ptolemy the true position of Moscha has been dropped out is possible but not, it seems, necessary. His location agrees with the statement of the Arab authors, e.g. Yāḳūt, iii. 577; iv. 481, that the harbour of Zafār which had no suitable anchorage (so also Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 133, ed. Kay) was Mirbāt, about 5 parasangs distant and much visited by merchants, and also with the fact that the Rās Fartak near which he would locate Moscha and of which Ibn al-Muḍjāwir tells us that it is built at the entrance to the 'Gulf of the Moon' and that there is a landing-place there for ships from India, is in modern times the first landmark for which steamers from Bombay make (Sprenger, *op. cit.*). New material for a confirmation of this view is given, in part unintentionally and unconsciously, by Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 240 sqq. He says it is certain that the ruins on the coast at the modern al-Balad (el-Belid, according to Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 181; also *Abessinien*, p. 184 [so also Fresnel, *Al Bilad of the English chart*]) about 2 miles east of the present capital al-Hāfa (Lhāfe) are those of the old capital of this territory. When he adds that there is no difficulty in following Sprenger in identifying this town with the *μαντείον Ἀρτέμιδος*, he is inaccurate in as much as Sprenger expressly distinguishes Ṭāka, where he sought the original Zafār, from al-Balad to the west of it, the presumed site of the later Maṣūra. This ruined site, according to Bent, containing remains of Sabaean temples, last inhabited during the Persian invasion about 500 A.H., is the largest and most imposing in the whole plain. Bent who (p. 268) gives inaccurately Glaser's identification of Abissa polis and Moscha, further says that the point on the coast near the river Rori, which is particularly broad at its mouth (so in the map

he gives of the Zafār territory ["from a survey by Imam Sharif, Khan Bahadur", his travelling companion]; the description of the water as Kho Roury in Bent, p. 270 is wrong; see Glaser, *Abessinien*, p. 185; the English chart has Khor Reiri, Cruttenden: Khore Ririe) and the rocky island of Khatiya on the coast is Abissa polis and also Moscha. But only a little west of this point in 54° 25' is Ṭāka (54° 22') at which Sprenger sought to locate the *μαντείον Ἀρτέμιδος* and later Glaser, *Abessinien*, p. 187, Abissa polis; which left him for "the Oracle of the Moon", which Bent very arbitrarily thought lay in the ruins of a Ḥimyar town in the Wādī Nahast not far from al-Hāfa, "only 'Abḳad or Robat or one of the ruined sites farther inland, e.g. in the Wādī Nefas" which is not plausible. We may look for the site of the ancient Zafār and of the "Oracle of the Moon", perhaps also of the sanctuary mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūta, in the ruins which Bent (p. 269) found east of Ṭāka a little further west than Sprenger and at the adjacent river mouth, the Khōr Rori, the landing place for the town. Glaser's statement (*Skizze*, p. 181) "the ruins of Zafār are at 'Abḳad, 'Aḳad, Rēsūt and Khōr el-Belid" is insufficient. Bent was also wrong about *Μόσχα*, which he identified with Mokhā, "a not unusual name for harbours on the Arabian coast". He took no account of the inaccuracy of the statements about the Shihr coast in the text of the *Periplus* as transmitted to us (§ 32). That the latter means Raisūt by the centre of the Sachalite frankincense trade is not so certain as it is usually assumed to be. The mistake, which is repeated by Bent, arises from the fact that this place is called Moscha.

The lord of the frankincense country under Ḥimyar rule at the time of the *Periplus*, § 32 was the king of Ḥaḍramūt. That Ptolemy refers to Ḳatabānians between the Omanites and the mountains of Asabon does not justify the deduction that the frankincense coast proper (from Zafār eastwards) was wholly or in part a Ḳatabānian colony.

The coast town of Zafār is most probably older than the Ḥimyar capital; it was long ago with great probability identified with "Sephar, a mount of the east" of Genesis x. 30.

The Arabs sometimes place Zafār in Mahra, with which the present attribution agrees, sometimes, which comes to the same thing, in the Shihr territory (coast of Mahra), so Yāḳūt, iii. 577, Abu 'l-Fida' (see Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 30), Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 132), *Taḳḍī*, iii. 370, sometimes, less accurately, in 'Omān (Sprenger, *Geographie*, p. 92). According to Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 196, it is at the extreme end of Yaman (i. 205, it is simply called a town of Yaman); in a note in a manuscript of the *Marāṣid* (quoted by Wüstenfeld, Yāḳūt, v. 24) it is described as the remotest town of Yaman; Mahra [q. v.] is included by the Arab geographers in Yaman. Yāḳūt, iii. 577, after mentioning the capital of Yaman, speaks of the celebrated town of his time of the same name on the coast of the Indian Ocean (this location also in iii. 422, iv. 481 [where the form Zifār is used; cf. the reading in Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B.G.A.*, vi. 146], in Ibn Baṭṭūta and *Taḳḍī*, iii. 370); in the last mentioned passage Yāḳūt describes it in general terms as situated between Ḥaḍramūt and 'Omān (cf. i. 196 and the addenda in *B.G.A.*, iv. 432 to Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 32 [also on the distance between

Zafār and Mirbāt]; the *Kāmūs* briefly: near Mirbāt). In the principal passage, Yākūt tells us that in the mountains at some distance from the town of Zafār frankincense grows and a share in the proceeds is given to the independent lord of the town who has established a monopoly of trade in it; then follow remarks on the gathering of the frankincense which has to be taken to the town (a similar account briefly in iv. 481).

Zafār is in the frankincense district proper; its extent as given in Yākūt is much too small, as is evident from the statements of other Arab geographers and especially from Carter's investigations, whose western boundary at 52° 47' to 55° 23' East Long. is too far east, as we know from Glaser's survey, who corrected his own figures in course of time and from Bent, Hirsch and the South Arabian expedition of the Vienna Academy.

The name Zafār ("aromatic plant") originally perhaps meant simply the idea which the Greeks expressed by *λίβαντοφόρος*. Fresnel's idea (*Sur la géographie de l'Arabie, Lettre*, iv., in *J.A.*, ser. iii., vol. v., 1838, p. 518), followed by Ritter (xii. 252, 260), that the Ḥimyar town was called Zafār after the coast town out of rivalry of it, was wrong. Probably this name was used for the former in another sense, as the "victorious", as in the lines of As'ad Tubba', *Iktīl*, *op. cit.*, p. 410 (= al-Bakrī, p. 464). Accounts of the frankincense country were brought to Europe by Portuguese sailors; we find an echo of these in Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, x. 101, 1: "Olha Dofar insigne, porque manda O mais cheiroso incenso pera as aras".

Yākūt (ii. 881) speaks in almost the same words as al-Hamdānī (*Djazirat*, p. 51) of a coast road that leads from 'Aden via Zafār passing Raisūt on the left to 'Omān. Ibn al-Mudjāwir who visited Zafār c. 619 A.H., gives the various stages on the road from Shibām in Ḥaḍramūt to Zafār with the distances (fuller details in Sprenger, *Postrouthen*, p. 144; do., *Geographie*, p. 164). He observed that pepper, sugar-cane and numerous kinds of fruit flourished at Zafār and that between Ḥaḍramūt and 'Omān there were traces of old terraces on which the frankincense tree had been planted; this latter remark is confirmed by Bent. He tells of a safe caravan route from Baghdād (through the desert) to Mirbāt and Zafār, by which the Beduins twice a year bring horses which they exchange for spices and costly robes. According to him, Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh (618 = 1221) destroyed Zafār and built Maṣūra not far from it to which the name Zafār later passed; in his time the district was in possession of the Ḥaḍramūtīs. According to Ibn Khaldūn (Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 133), the destruction took place in 619 and the name (al-Aḥmadiya) of the new Zafār was given it from the name of the destroyer.

In Abu 'l-Fidā's account, the confusion in which (see above) was recognised by Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*, p. 236 and Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 30 sqq. (with references to the earlier literature) showed in more detail, without being himself completely free from errors, we are told of the coast town in addition to what has already been mentioned, that it lies at the top of a gulf and has trade with India, is surrounded by gardens (cf. Ibn al-Faḥīh, *B.G.A.*, v. 109) and betel and cocoa grow there. Ibn Baṭṭūta's description is similar (ii. 196 sqq.). The

latter about 730 (1329—1330) sailed from Kiloa to Zafār, over a century after the destruction of the old town. He tells us that the town stood isolated on a wide plain (cf. Yākūt, iv. 481) but gives noteworthy details about the rich orchards and spice yielding trees and plants (betel, cocoa) in the neighbourhood and their economic importance. The Zafār described by Ibn Baṭṭūta was also an important commercial centre.

With reference to the ancient history we may here mention a suggestion by Glaser, that Zafār was the old Ḥabashī capital (cf. *Skizze*, p. 181; Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 654). It is certain that in the early middle ages, like South Arabia generally, it passed for a time under Persian influence. Of importance at a later date was the Persian attempt at invasion in 664 (1265) when the emir Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Kūsī, lord of Hormūz, conquered and plundered Zafār. Soon afterwards Sālim b. Idris, ruler of Zafār, quarrelled with al-Muzaḥḥār, the second ruler of the Muzaḥḥarid dynasty. His troops were defeated by those of Yaman in 678 (1278) and Zafār surrendered (Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 311, on Ibn Khaldūn, p. 132). In Ibn Baṭṭūta's time, Zafār was independent of Yaman.

Marco Polo, the contemporary of Abu 'l-Fidā, had heard of Zafār as one of the most important sources of frankincense. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*, p. 236, 262, rightly distinguishes between the two towns of the same name but he could learn nothing of the second except that there was "on the S.E. coast of Arabia a town and harbour" of Zafār, similarly p. 286 where he refers to the export of frankincense (p. 143 sq. on the growing of frankincense). The first more accurate particulars of this region in modern times were given by the English Coast Survey Commission. J. R. Wellsted who came here in 1833, describes Mirbāt and the coast west of it (*Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, ii. 453 sq. and *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, London 1840, ii. 129 sqq.). In 1837 C. J. Crutenden went by land from Mirbāt to al-Dahāriz, the chief town of the coast region of Zafār (see *Journal of an Excursion from Morebat to Dyreez*, in *Proceed. of Bombay Geogr. Soc.*, 1837, p. 70 sqq. [*Transactions* . . ., 1844, p. 184 sqq.]). He established what Fresnel from his informant in Djidda and Haines confirmed that in his time there was no longer a town of Zafār but that, as is still true, the district from Mirbāt to Raisūt bears this name. At about the same time Fresnel (see his *Lettre*, iv., *op. cit.*, p. 251 sq.) learned from Muḥsin, his adviser on linguistic points, that the ruins at el-Belid which the latter had visited, still retained traces of the splendour of an old city of Zafār (i. e. probably Maṣūra) and that there were now only three or four houses standing. Fresnel wrongly took this Zafār for the Ḥimyar capital (like Ibn Khaldūn) and el-Belid for its harbour. Wellsted's *Travels* are supplemented by Capt. S. B. Haines, *Memoir of the South and East Coasts of Arabia*, in *J.R.G.S.*, London 1845, xv. 104 sqq. Wellsted's information came partly from the observations made by Haines's expedition and published prematurely without the latter's authority (see Ritter, xii. 608 and the extract p. 645 sqq.). H. J. Carter, whose account (*A description of the frankincense tree of Arabia*, in *J. Bombay Br. R.A.S.*, 1847, ii. 380 sqq.) was too late for Ritter, xii. 356 sqq. to use, gave further details of the occurrence of the frankincense tree. Glaser gives (*Skizze*, p. 180 sq.;

Abessinier, p. 184 sq.) from his own explorations several places on the coast called Zafār of which the majority had already been mentioned by Fresnel, Cruttenden and Haines.

Our knowledge of the plain of Zafār was amplified by Bent who travelled in 1894—1895 along the coast (see the section *Dhofar and the Gara Mountains* in his book p. 227 sqq.). He gives several places hitherto unknown and fixes the frankincense area more definitely; its size, he says, is not much bigger than that of the Isle of Wight. The Wālī of al-Hāfa is the *de facto* lord of the plain of Zafār; the land is only nominally under the sultān of 'Omān, as belonging to the imāmate of Maskat (cf. also Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 126). Yākūt, Ibn al-Mudjāwir and Ibn Baṭṭūta (see above) also mention an independent sultān of Zafār and of modern travellers, Niebuhr (*op. cit.*, p. 287) already mentions the "independent shāih" there. The district never came under Turkish rule; the Turkish attempt to subdue it towards the end of the last century failed. Bent describes the frankincense trade as unimportant; the Karā Beduins (Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 185 also gives the native pronunciation Krā) bring the frankincense from the mountains to the coast on camels (this recalls Yūkūt, iii. 577). He saw stores of frankincense at al-Hāfa. The road to the mountains runs through an area which is full of frankincense trees and has a rich vegetation generally. In ancient times the cultivation of frankincense was probably not much more extensive. Myrrh also is found in the mountains. He tells us, like Carter, that the savage Beduins live in caves in the mountains; this gives modern confirmation of the statement in the *Periplus*, § 32 regarding the Troglodytes [see WABĀR]. They seem to be the representatives of the earliest inhabitants. Their language is not understood by the Arabs; this recalls what al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Idrisi and Ibn al-Mudjāwir say about Mehri [see MAHRA]. — Bent is supplemented by C. Craufurd, *The Dhofar District*, in *Geogr. Journal*, London 1919 (p. 101 sq. a description of the ruins of el-Belid).

Glaser was the first to devote attention to the language of the people of the plain and mountains of Zafār (cf. *Abessinier*, p. 184); on his accurate reproductions of Shehrāt see Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 153. The specimens of language in Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 275 sq. are to be used with a certain amount of caution. A series of texts was taken down by N. Rhodokanakis from the mouth of a native in 1904 in Vienna; they are published in vol. viii. of the *Südarabische Expedition*, Vienna 1908 (*Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Dofār (Zfār)*; vol. x. (1911) contains the glossary and grammar. In vol. vii. of the same series D. H. Müller published texts in the language of the hill people from the same native authority (*Šhauri-Texte*, 1907); see also M. Bittner, *Studien zur Šhauri-Sprache*, i.—iv., in *S. B. Ak. Wien.*, 1915—17).

Bibliography: The information in the Arabic, Greek and Roman authors and the works of Sprenger, D. H. Müller, Glaser, Hommel has already been quoted with bibliographical details. We may further mention on 1. and 4. the references to earlier literature in Ritter, xii. 64 sq., 251 sqq., 260 sqq., 293 sqq., 311, 323, 650 sqq., 728, 770 (with many inaccuracies in view of the insufficiency of his sources, quoted in the index to vol. xiii. under 10 different heads) and in A. Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber*

seit 100 Jahren, Halle 1875, *passim*. On 1. see the article HĪMYAR, ii., p. 310—311 by J. H. Mordtmann; on 1. and 4. my full treatment of many details in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll's *Realenz. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, s. v. *Saba* (col. 1372 sqq., 1378, 1427 sq., 1437 sqq., 1461 sqq. [cf. SABA, iv., p. 3—18]); on 4. the articles of Bent *The Exploration of Southern Arabia*, in *Journ. for the Advancement of Science*, 1895, p. 492 sqq., *Exploration of the Frankincense Country, Southern Arabia*, in *Geogr. Journ.*, London 1895, vi. 109 sqq.; *The Land of Frankincense and Myrrh*, in *Ninet. Century*, 1895, p. 595 sqq.; finally the *Bibliography* to MAHRA. (J. TKATSCH)

AL-ZAFAYĀN, nickname of the radjāz poet 'Aṭṭ' b. Usaid Abu 'l-Miḳāl (according to another reading: Miḳdām). He belonged to the Banū 'Uwāfa, a branch of the tribe of Sa'd b. Zaid Manāḥ b. Tamim, whence he was known as al-Sa'di or al-Tamimī. It is clear from one of his poems that he went through the rising of Abū Fudaik (73 = 692) and was roughly a contemporary of al-'Adjdādī.

Bibliography: A few quoted fragments of his *urdjūza*'s from a defective copy of the *Diwān*, ed. by Ahlwardt in *Sammlungen alter arab. Dichter*, Berlin 1903, vol. ii. (H. H. BRÄU)

AL-ZĀFĪR. [See FATĪMIDS, above ii. 91.]

ZĀHĪD. [See ZUHD.]

ZĀHIR. [See BĀTĪN.]

AL-ZĀHIR BI-AMR ALLĀH ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-NĀSĪR, an 'Abbāsīd Caliph. As early as Šafar 585 (March–April 1189) the caliph al-Nāṣir had designated his eldest son Muḥammad as his successor. Later however, he changed his mind in favour of his younger son 'Alī but since the latter died in 612 (1215—1216) and al-Nāṣir had no other male heirs, he had to come back to Muḥammad and again have homage paid to him as heir-apparent. Regarding the treatment given the future commander of the faithful in his father's house we are told in Ibn al-Aṭṭir, xii. 287: "He was watched and guarded and could do nothing of his own accord". After the death of al-Nāṣir at the end of Ramaḍān 622 (beg. October 1225), Muḥammad ascended the caliph's throne with the name al-Zāhir bi-Amr Allāh but his reign lasted only nine months and fourteen days; for he died on 14th Radjāb 623 (July 11, 1226). He was succeeded by his eldest son al-Mustanṣir. The Muslim historians bestow the highest praise on al-Zāhir for his high moral qualities. He is described as god-fearing, benevolent, just and gentle and compared with the Umayyad 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz who is celebrated for his piety. In politics however, he played an insignificant and subordinate part, after his accession as before, and he exercised no influence worth mentioning on the course of affairs.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 26, 287—289, 298 sq.; Ibn al-Tiḳṭāka, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 443—445; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 451, 453.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MALIK AL-ZĀHIR GHĀZĪ, an Ayyūbid, second son of Saladin [q. v.]. Born in 568 (1172—1173) he was installed as nominal governor of Ḥalab immediately after its conquest by Saladin at the beginning of 579 (1183), but a few months later Saladin handed over the town to his brother al-'Adil [q. v.]. Three years later al-

Zāhir was definitely given Ḥalab and several other towns so that his rule extended northwards to the frontier of Armenia, eastwards as far as the Euphrates (at Manbidj) and southwards to near Ḥamāt. He therefore had the task of defending the northern frontiers against any inroads of Byzantines, Armenians and Crusaders; he strengthened the fortifications [cf. ii. p. 233] and Ḥalab remained a bulwark of Islām and one of the most prosperous places in the Aiyūbid kingdom. In the wars with the Crusaders he loyally assisted his father and later his brother al-ʿAḡḡal [q. v.] and his uncle al-ʿAdil [q. v.]. In Djumādā II 584 (Aug. 1188) he took the fortress of Sarmin from the Christians, liberated many hundreds of prisoners and had all the inhabitants who could not pay their ransom massacred and the defences razed to the ground. In the fighting that followed for ʿAkkā and Jaffa al-Zāhir played an energetic part and displayed great bravery. After the death of Saladin on the 27th Ṣafar 589 (March 4, 1193) he hesitated in loyalty between al-ʿAḡḡal, who had inherited Damascus and Syria, and al-ʿAdil who had received the two fortresses of al-Kerak [q. v.] and al-Shawbak [q. v.] with other places in Mesopotamia and who played the part of mediator in the war between his nephews. After al-ʿAḡḡal in 892 (1195—1196) had to give up Damascus and Saladin's third son, al-ʿAziz who had inherited Egypt, had died in Muḥarram 595 (Nov. 1198), there was nothing left for al-Zāhir but to recognise al-ʿAdil's suzerainty along with the other members of the family; nevertheless he supported but without success al-ʿAḡḡal's attempt to reconquer Damascus. At the end of 597 (1201) the two brothers besieged this town which might have fallen into their hands if they had not quarrelled and al-ʿAḡḡal dismissed the troops under his command, and when al-ʿAdil threatened Ḥalab in the following year, al-Zāhir was forced to submit once more and surrender some of his possessions. In Shaʿbān 599 (April/May 1203) by threats he forced al-ʿAḡḡal to surrender Kaʿat Nadjm to him without compensation. Al-Zāhir died on the 7th Djumādā II 613 (Sept. 3, 1215) after arranging that his three year old son al-Malik al-ʿAziz Muḥammad, with whom his wife Dāʿifa, the daughter of al-ʿAdil, had presented him, should succeed him to the exclusion of an older son. His atābeg Shihāb al-Dīn Toghril took over the government as guardian of the young prince. Another daughter of al-ʿAdil's, al-Ghāziya, whom al-Zāhir had married in 582 (1186—1187), had predeceased him without leaving male heirs. Ibn al-Aṡḡir praises al-Zāhir for his benevolence to poets and for his eminent political gifts, but at the same time says he was hard hearted and little scrupulous in his choice of means.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṡḡir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi. 330 sq., 366; xii. 7, 34, 63 sq., 71, 77, 79, 94 sq., 98 sq., 102, 105—107, 110 sq., 117, 119, 131, 158 sq., 181, 189, 204 sq., 227; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Histoire d'Alep*, transl. Blochet, *passim*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 402, 406, 433—435; Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, see Index; cf. also the article ḤALAB. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-ZĀHIR [See the articles BAIBARS I, BARḲŪḲ, FAṢIMIDS, *Supra*, ii. 90.]

ZĀHIR AL-DĪN (Saiyid) AL-MARʿASHI, son of the Saiyid Naṣir al-Dīn, descendant of a family of

Saiyids, Persian statesman and historian, born in 815 (1412), was at the court of Muḥammad, Sulṭān of Gilan, for whose son Kārgiā Mirzā ʿAlī he composed the Chronicle of Ṭabaristān from the earliest times to 881 (1476). The sovereign employed him on various missions, sent him to the help of Malik Iskandar, son of Malik Kayomarṡ of Rustamdār, who was fighting his brother Malik Kāʿūs and entrusted him with other military expeditions; among these he led an army against the fortress of Nūr which he besieged unsuccessfully in 868 (1463).

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vienna 1813, iii. 317; B. Dorn, *Sehir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristān, Rujan und Masanderan*, St. Petersburg 1850, p. 13—17. (CL. HUART)

ZĀHIR-I FĀRYĀBĪ, ABU ʿL-FADL ṬĀHIR B. MUḤAMMAD, a Persian poet of the xiiith century, born at Fāryāb near Balkh in 551 (1156), a pupil of Rashīdī of Samarkand, entered the service of Ardashīr b. Ḥasan, *ispahbad* of Māzandarān (d. 607 = 1210), then went to the court of Togḡhān, prince of Nishāpūr (d. 582 = 1186); after being imprisoned for six years, he left Khurāsān for ʿIrāq ʿAdjamī where he wrote panegyrics on the Atābek Kizil-Arslān b. Ildigiz about 583 (1187). Towards the end of his life, he retired from the world and led a life of devotion in Tabriz where he died at the end of 598 (1201) and was buried in the cemetery of Surkh-Āb; he was a Sunnī. His *Diwān* includes *ḡasidas*, some *ghazels* and a few fragments, in all 115 pieces and 97 quatrains. His style resembles that of the court poets; it is polished and graceful but somewhat insipid. On him was made the verse which has become a proverb: "If you find Zāhir's *Diwān*, steal it, even in the Ka'ba".

Bibliography: ʿAwfi, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed. Browne, London 1903, ii. 298—307; Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirra*, ed. Browne, p. 109—114; Luṭf-ʿAlī-Beg, *Atesh-kede*, Bombay 1277, not paginated, chapter on Tūrān; Riḡā-Ḳulī-Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣṡahā*, i. 330; Hammer, *Gesch. d. schön. Redekünste Persiens*, p. 130; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 412—425.

(CL. HUART)

ZĀHIR AL-ʿOMAR. In Syria, he is called Dāhir (local pronunciation of Zāhir) al-(ā-)ʿOmar, from the name of his father ʿOmar, *shāikh* of the Banū Zaidān, nomads who had settled in the district of Ṣafad [q. v.]. In 1750, Zāhir lord of Tiberias and the upper Jordan, came to an arrangement with the Metwalis of Galilee to drive out the Turkish officials by degrees; after which he seized the ruined port of ʿAkkā which was to serve him as an outlet for the export of cotton and silk. He repopulated the town and hurriedly rebuilt the strong walls made by the Crusaders, which were not completely demolished at their departure. Zāhir did not wish to break with the Porte, to whom he continued to pay the taxes (*miri*) without their going through the hands of Turkish agents. He bore no resemblance to the typical marauding Beduin. Wishing his authority to endure, he endeavoured to base it on the prosperity of the country. He protected the peasants and encouraged their production. Tremendously active, spending his life on horseback, he was never daunted by reverses.

His establishment in ʿAkkā earned him the hostility of the *diwān* at Stambul. To help him

to face the storm, Zāhir entered into relations with 'Alī Bey [q. v.] who had just revived in Egypt the government of the beys or Mamlūks. Abū Dhahab, 'Alī Bey's lieutenant, hurried to Syria, took Damascus and then rebelled against 'Alī Bey whom he forced to seek refuge with Zāhir, his recent ally. The latter quite undaunted began by routing the troops of 'Othmān Pasha, Turkish governor of Damascus; after which he took Ṣaidā. The Porte raised a large army; Zāhir could rely on the help of the Metwalis, of a few hundreds of Mamlūks who had accompanied 'Alī Bey, and finally on the Russian squadron under Admiral Orlof which had been cruising in the eastern Mediterranean since 1770. The encounter took place along the coast, near Ṣaidā. The fire of the Russian ships decided the day (May 1772). The Russians then went on to bombard Bairūt which they plundered. Taking advantage of this great success, Zāhir hastened to extend his authority over the Palestinian provinces. From Ṣaidā to Ramla all the country acknowledged his authority. The tide now began to turn against him. 'Alī Bey foolishly allowed himself to be drawn back to Egypt, where he was defeated and put to death. 'Alī Bey being disposed of, Abū Dhahab reappeared in Palestine. After taking the places on the coast which belonged to Zāhir, he was advancing on 'Akkā when death overtook him (June 1775). The Turkish fleet however after taking Ṣaidā, blockaded 'Akkā, where Zāhir had shut himself up. The bombardment had no effect on the old walls built by the Crusaders but Turkish gold had more success. During a mutiny in the garrison a shot killed instantaneously the old Beduin chief (Aug. 1775) who had for over a quarter of a century defied the authority of the Porte. His name remained popular in Syria. The Christians whom he had protected were not the last to regret him.

Bibliography: Djarbarti, *Ta'rikh*, Cairo 1880, i. 371 sqq., 413 sqq.; Tannūs Shidyāk, *Akhbār al-'A'yān fī Djabal Lubnān*, Bairūt 1859, p. 360—361, 388—391; Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, Paris 1807, ii. 5 sqq.; Abbé Mariti, *Voyages dans l'isle de Chypre, la Syrie et la Palestine*, Paris 1791, ii. 85 sqq.; Ed. Lockroy, *Ahmed le Boucher, la Syrie et l'Egypte au 18ème siècle*, Paris 1885 (interesting for its local colour; otherwise valueless). References to manuscript authorities are given in H. Lammens, *La Syrie, précis historique*, Bairūt 1921, ii. 103—112. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-ZĀHIRIYA, a school of law, which would derive the law only from the literal text (*zāhir*) of the Qur'ān and Sunna. In the "branches" of law (*furū' al-fikh*) it still further increased the number of contradictory detailed regulations by many divergencies, peculiar to it alone. More important is its significance for the principles of legislation (*uṣūl al-fikh*), the development and elucidation of which it considerably furthered by its uncompromising fight against *ra'y*, *kiyās*, *istiḥāb*, *istiḥsān* and *taqlīd* [q. v.]. In the 'Irāk the Zāhiri *madhhab*, also called Dā'ūdī after its founder [see DĀ'UD B. KHALAF], became organised as a regular school the influence of which spread to Persia and Khurāsān while in Spain Ibn Ḥazm remained practically isolated. Only in the reign of the Almohad Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (580—594 = 1184—1199), was the Zāhiri school recognised as

the state code. But there had always been Zāhirīs in outlook, although not organised as a school or called one, and there continued to be such, after the school itself, in spite of all the concessions it was forced to make to the principles of its rivals, had failed in the solution of problems, which had not cropped up in the circle of the Prophet or the earlier transmitters of the *Sunna*. As late as 788 (1386) a Zāhiri outbreak is recorded in Syria, where the *madhhab* itself never was and in Egypt we still find Maḳrīzī writing in the Zāhiri spirit. The Zāhiriya attitude could be maintained, especially in theory, by people who were not in contact with the little matters of everyday life and disliking the casuistry and quarrels of the schools did not adhere to a particular school. It is therefore not remarkable that it is a mystic, Sha'rānī [q. v., No. 1], who has preserved many decisions of the historical Zāhiriya. It is true that commentators on the Qur'ān, notably Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and on the collections of traditions frequently note the particular Zāhiri exegesis, but on the other hand, the later jurists no longer take their former rivals seriously and are silent about them, at least in the special literature of the *Ikhṭilāf al-Fikh* that has survived. Sha'rānī however puts Dā'ūd in the radiant rosette in his *Mizān* (see *Bibl.*), p. 44, between Ibn Ḥanbal and Sufyān b. 'Uyaina and on the parallel roads to the gate of Paradise (p. 47) between Ibn Ḥanbal and Abū Laith b. Sa'd. As no manuscripts of a Zāhiri law-book are available we give as specimens of the distinctive features mentioned by Sha'rānī from Book I those relating to ritual purity.

Details. P. 98, 12: Gold and silver vessels are forbidden for eating and drinking. According to Nawawī, commenting on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (Cairo 1284), iv. 416 and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales* (ed. Reiske, ii. 262), the Zāhirīs on the authority of the *ḥadīth* in question, which only mentions drinking, permitted eating from such vessels. — P. 98, 23: The use of the toothstick is necessary; according to Ishāq b. Rāhwaihi, Dā'ūd's teacher, deliberate neglect of this actually renders the prayer invalid. — P. 99, 12 sqq. and ii. 163, 15: Wine is not impure although forbidden. — P. 103, 17 and 107, 15: A person in a state of minor ritual impurity (*ḥadaṭh*, q. v.) may take up and carry a copy of the Qur'ān. — P. 105, 33: Any contact of a man with a strange female, even a baby girl an hour old, produces *ḥadaṭh* and the minor ablution (*wuḍū'*) is necessary. — P. 107, 26: There is no regulation that in relieving nature we should turn the face or the back in the direction of the *qibla*; it is therefore permitted. — P. 108, 17 and 113, 10: I *Wuḍū'* is according to 'Ubaid Allāh al-Nakha'ī, a Zāhiri ḳaḍī in Khurāsān (d. 376 = 986), only valid for 5 prayers (a certain 'Ubaid b. 'Umair laid it down that it was only valid for one). — P. 109, 24: The mentioning of the name of God at the *wuḍū'* is not only recommended but necessary. — P. 109, 33: According to some Zāhirīs, this also applies to the washing of the hands whenever purification is necessary. — P. 110, 30: The *wuḍū'* does not extend to the elbows (Zufar b. Hudhail, d. 158 [774], who was in close contact with Abū Hanīfa, however also held this). — P. 113, 20: The major ritual ablution (*ghusl*, q. v.) is only necessary after actual effluxus seminis. — P. 114, 21: If a woman is in a state of major ritual impurity (*ḡanāba*, q. v.) and then enters

the *ḥaiḍ* [q. v.] she must perform two *ghusl*. — P. 114, 29 and 122, 22: In spite of *djanāba* any one, even a woman during *ḥaiḍ*, may recite the *Qur'ān* as he pleases. — P. 115 11: Rubbing with sand (*tayammum*, q. v.) actually removes a *ḥadaṭh*. — P. 120, 23: The wiping of only the foot-gear is valid even if it is much torn. — P. 122, 3: A similar partial *ghusl* suffices for the woman to fulfil the demands of *Qur'ān* ii. 222 so that intercourse is permitted even during the *ḥaiḍ* (so also *Awzā'i*).

As these examples show, the Zāhiri *madhhab* cannot be briefly summed up as "light or heavy". *Shar'ānī* has sometimes to describe it as the mildest and sometimes as the strictest of all. The field in which many of the jurists found their main object, to make alleviations, was one it could not enter upon and for example it insisted upon the literal text of the passages in the *Qur'ān* and Tradition against unbelievers to a degree of complete intolerance. It does not work systematically, for it forbade inquiry into the reason for a regulation and did not allow it to be extended to an analogous case or from the individual to the class. It absolutely refused to weaken the words of the religious sources by parallels from passages in pagan poets, and aimed at creating the true *fiqh al-ḥadīth* out of the religious texts with the assistance of a special Muslim philology and lexicography. That of Mālik seemed to it to be *ra'y* equally with that of Abū Ḥanifa; *Shāfi'i*, from whom it had itself started, had only disciplined, not abolished *ra'y*. *Iḍmā'* [q. v.] could only be defined as the consensus of the early Companions. It made no distinction in degrees of prohibition or commandment; the imperative, in other systems not infrequently interpreted as mere permission and recommendation or simple disapproval, meant for it the absolutely obligatory or completely forbidden. It naturally used a great mass of Tradition and it has been charged with not examining carefully what it took over; on the other hand, it was itself forced to criticism of tradition against many *ḥadīths* favourable to *ra'y* which were finding recognition or against that of difference of opinion as a grace, but the school saw in this rather the disruptive influence of subjective methods against which it regarded itself as the champion of the lost unity of primitive Islām. In spite of Ibn Ḥazm, the Zāhiriya never attained theological unity. In general it maintained an attitude of cautious neutrality and aloofness in theological disputes and in keeping with its respect for the literal sacred text accepted the utterances about God without going into any exegesis.

Bibliography: *Shar'ānī*, *al-Mizān*², Cairo 1317, *passim*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i. 216—219; Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (in *G. M. S.*, xx.), s. v. *Dā'ūdī*, fol. 220r, 8—16, ult.—220v, 5, further s. v. *Zāhiri*, fol. 376v, 2—30; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 95 sq.; I. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten. Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig 1884. — Cf. also the art. DĀ'UD B. KHALAF and IBN ḤAZM.

(R. STROTHMANN)

ZAID B. 'ALĪ ZAIN AL-'ABIDĪN [q. v.] gave his name to the Zaidiya [q. v.] who revere him as a political and religious martyr; he was the first 'Alid after the catastrophe which overwhelmed his grandfather al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī

[q. v.] at Kerbelā' to endeavour to deprive the Umayyads of the caliphate by armed rebellion when he placed himself at the disposal of the Kūfans as Imām. Except for an interval of two months when he was secretly seeking adherents in Baṣra, he spent a year in preparation in Kūfa, hidden in constantly changing hiding-places. But when he was ready to begin, the governor Yūsuf b. 'Omar al-Thakafi, although at the time away in Ḥira, proved so well prepared that only a few hundred men joined Zaid, although many thousands had taken the oath of loyalty to him. After several days' street fighting he was mortally wounded; the place of concealment of his body buried under water was betrayed and the body exhibited in Kūfa, the head in Damascus, Mecca and Medina. Ṭabari has preserved from Abū Mikhnaf very vivid and full accounts from the few survivors of the details of the fighting. The date, beginning of 122 (740), is however not quite certain, apparently because Zaid had to begin his revolt a few days before the date arranged in view of the excellence of the official secret service; when 121 or even 120 is given, this presumably neglects the long period of preparation. The Umayyad police force, by no means large, owed its success to the remarkable irresolution of the Kūfan conspirators. They had gathered together in the great mosque, allowed themselves to be shut in and did not support Zaid's efforts, which several times promised to be successful, to release them. They were not homogeneous but simply a mass of discontented opponents of the government, including even Khāridjis, while further all those who simply wanted an 'Alid to be caliph did not come to the support of Zaid, although the story that many deserters appealed to his brother Muḥammad al-Bakir as the true imām is probably coloured by ante-dating later troubles within the Shi'a. Moreover Zaid himself was not the real leader of the movement; he did not come to Kūfa of his own accord. He was in al-Ruṣāfa with the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik [q. v.] to whom he had turned in his poverty, when the governor had summoned him to Kūfa about a debt case. Zaid himself had misgivings about his prospects; after the first four months he wanted to withdraw completely from the enterprise and had reached al-Qadisiya on his way back to his native city of Medina, when he was persuaded to return by some Shi'is who had hurried after him.

A number of writings and fragments have survived which go under Zaid's name; these include elucidations of passages of the *Qur'ān*, and of problems of the imāmate and the pilgrimage and especially a complete compendium of *fiqh*; but in its present form, they contain too many theological, ritual, legal and political contradictions within themselves and to such principles of the later Zaidi literature as are given the authority of Zaid. There is however some evidence that he had a certain amount of learning; while we need lay no special stress on his honorary title, *ḥalīf al-Qur'ān*, or on the Zaidi tradition that Abū Ḥanifa studied under him and supported the rising by a *fetwā* and money, yet it is evidence of legal experience that he conducted as a skilled advocate for the Ḥusainids long suits against the Ḥasanids about the family endowments.

Zaid was much celebrated in song, even as early as by al-Saiyid al-Ḥimyarī [q. v.] and in old *maṭal* books (martyrologies); legend endea-

voured to atone for the shameful treatment of his corpse by stories of miracles; in general however, the descriptions, in keeping with the Zaidi attitude, are relatively moderate in tone. At his death he was still in the forties; like all the 'Alids he inclined to corpulence. His mother was a slave-girl. He himself married Raiṭa, a grand-daughter of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya [q. v.]; she bore him Yaḥyā, who fought in the rising and was able to escape to Khurāsān, where Zaid's supporters had been working, but in 125 or 126 (743 or 744) he met the same end as his father. The leader of the Zandī [q. v.] professed to be the great-grandson of this Yaḥyā. As a matter of fact the line of Yaḥyā was by then extinct, and the descendants of Zaid at this time were those of Yaḥyā's half-brothers, whose mother was a slave-girl. To secure a following, Zaid married in Kūfa a woman of the Banū Farkād and another of the Azd; the latter bore him a daughter who however died before him.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, v. 239 sq.; Ya'kūbī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 390 sq.; Tabarī, *Annales*, ii. 1667—1688, 1698—1716; al-Nāṭīk Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. Ḥusain b. Hārūn al-Buḥānī, *al-Ifāda fī Tārīkh al-'Imma al-Sāda*, MS. Berlin, N^o. 9665, fol. 13^a sqq., Berlin N^o. 9666, p. 39 sqq., Leyden N^o. 1974, fol. 10^a sqq.; Ḥamid b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī, *al-Ḥadā'ik al-wardiya fī Manāṭīb 'Immat al-Zaidiyya*, MS. Munich N^o. 86, fol. 75^b sqq.; Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Muḥannā, *Umdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*, Bombay 1318, esp. p. 230 on the date of his death; Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyin*, Teheran 1307, p. 50—61; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. B. Meynard, v. 467—473; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, v. 171—177, 181—186; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. S., vol. v., N^o. 2, 1901, p. 95 sqq.; C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, p. 25 sqq., 281 sqq.; E. Griffini, *Corpus Juris di Zaid ibn 'Alī*, Milan 1919; R. Strothmann, *Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. 'Alī*, in *Isl.*, xiii. (1923), 1—52. (R. STROTHMANN)

ZAID B. 'AMR B. NUFAIL, a Makkan and Qurashī, one of the religious seekers known as the *ḥanīf*, died before Muḥammad's mission, when the Prophet was about 35. He had abandoned the pagan religion without embracing either Christianity or Judaism, objected to female infanticide, refused to eat the flesh of animals sacrificed to idols or slaughtered without invoking God's name, and considered himself the only true believer in Makka and a follower of Abraham's religion. A cousin of 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he was married to Ṣafiya bint al-Ḥaḍramī and to Fāṭima bint Ba'dja, and had a son, Sa'd b. Zaid, who told traditions about him.

Persecuted by his family on religious grounds, he travelled in search of the true faith as far as Mawṣil, and visited Syria; in Maifa'a, in al-Balkā', a learned monk (a double of Baḥīra?) predicted to him the rise of a true prophet in Makka. Zaid hurried back, but was assaulted and killed while crossing the region inhabited by the Lakhm tribe. According to another tradition, Zaid had himself predicted Muḥammad's mission and career. Ibn Ishāq quotes poetry attributed to him, but its authenticity is doubtful.

Though dead before Islām, Zaid was considered by *ḥadīth* a true believer; Muḥammad, declaring him to be in heaven, allowed prayers to be said for him.

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introd., § 164, 180, 182, N^o. 2, 186, 187; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i/i. 105; Ibn Ishāq, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 143—146, 149.

(V. VACCA)

ZAID B. ḤĀRITHA B. SHARĀHIL AL-KALBĪ, Abū Usāma, was brought as a slave to Makka by Ḥakīm b. Hizām b. Khuwailid, a nephew of Khadija's, who had bought him in Syria and sold him to her. Khadija made a gift of Zaid to Muḥammad before his mission. His father Ḥāritha came to Makka to obtain his freedom, but Zaid refused to leave Muḥammad, who thereupon freed him and adopted him. He was thenceforward known as Zaid b. Muḥammad, and was often associated in his adopted father's commercial enterprises.

About ten years younger than Muḥammad, Zaid was one of the very first converts to Islām, perhaps the first. He came from a tribe settled near Dūmat al-Djandal, where converts to Christianity were plentiful and Jewish influences felt; his influence on the Prophet's religious development may have been considerable.

In Madina Zaid was joined in brotherhood to Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. In 1 A. H. he went to Makka to accompany Sawda bint Zam'a and Muḥammad's daughters to Madina. A brave warrior, Zaid fought at Badr, Uhud, al-Khandak, was at al-Ḥudaibiya, commanded several expeditions (al-Ḳarada in 2 A. H., al-Djamūn and al-'Is in 6, etc.) and was often left in command at Madina when Muḥammad was on some military expedition. For his marriage to, and divorce from, Zainab bint Djahsh see ZAINAB. Following this divorce, the verse in the Qur'an abolishing adoption (xxxiii. 40) was revealed. After Zainab, Zaid married Umm Kulthūm bint 'Ukba, who bore him Zaid and Ruḳaiya, and Durra bint Abī Lahab, both of whom he divorced; Hind bint al-'Awwām and Muḥammad's freedwoman, the negroid Umm Aiman, who bore him Usāma.

Zaid died in 8 A. H., aged about 55, as commander and standard-bearer of the unfortunate expedition of Mu'ta. Muḥammad mourned him and planned to avenge him [see USĀMA B. ZAID]. His place in *ḥadīth* is important, both on account of Muḥammad's affection for him, which induces orthodox tradition to set him up as the Prophet's favourite, against 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and by reason of his name being mentioned in the Qur'an.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, III/i. 26—31; Ibn Ishāq, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 160—161, 801—802; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, ii. 224—227; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introd., § 175, 223, 226, 227; 1 A. H., § 15, N^o. 50, § 50, 53; 5 A. H., § 201; 8 A. H., § 7—15; Lammens, *Fatima et les filles de Mahomet*, *passim*.

(V. VACCA)

ZAID B. THĀBIT B. AL-DAḤḤĀK B. ZAID B. LAWDHĀN B. 'AMR B. 'ABD MANĀF (or 'Awf) B. GHANM B. MALĪK B. AL-NADJIDJĀR AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-KHAZRAJĪ, one of the Companions of Muḥammad, best known through his part in the editing of the Qur'an. His father was killed in the battle of Bu'ath [q. v.], five years before the *ḥidjra*, when Zaid was six years old. His

mother was al-Nawār, daughter of Mālik b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Adī, also of a Madīndjādī family.

It is said that the boy knew already a number of Sūras when Muḥammad settled in al-Madīna. At any rate he became his secretary, who recorded part of the revelations and settled the correspondence with the Jews, whose language or script he is said to have learned in 17 days or less. His quickness of understanding, his sagacity and his knowledge are praised by his contemporaries; he was called "the rabbi of the community".

After the death of Muḥammad, Zaid acted in several capacities of greater or lesser importance. He was entrusted with the government of al-Madīna by 'Umar and by 'Uthmān, when they went to perform the *ḥajj*. He accompanied 'Umar to Syria. He regulated the division of the booty after the battle of the Yarmūk [q. v.]. He made the lists of those who were inscribed in the *diwān*, when 'Umar founded this institution. He was *ḥāḍi* in al-Madīna and finance minister to 'Uthmān. After the latter's death he kept aloof from 'Alī, although he showed him due honour. It is said, however (Ṭabarī, i. 3070, 3072), that he refused to do homage to him.

Best known is the part he took in the editing of the Kur'ān [cf. ẖOK'ĀN, §§ 7, 8]. — He was a specialist on the subject of hereditary law.

Zaid died in 45 (665—666); the years 42, 43, 51, 52, 55, and 56 are also mentioned. The *ṣalāt* over his corpse was held by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 560; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, index; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 2937, 3058, 3070, 3072; ii. 836; see also indices; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, II/ii. 115—117; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 259 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ḡhāba*, ii. 221—223; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Aṣkalānī, *Iṣāba*, N° 2865; do., *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaidarābād 1325, iii. 399 sq.; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, ii. 54; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohamḥmad*, iii., p. xxxix. sqq.; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, index to vols. i.—ii. and iii.—v.; do., *Chron. islamica*, p. 505; Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

Zaidān (in modern pronunciation ZIDĀN), **DJIRDI**, an Arab scholar, journalist and man of letters, born in Bairūt on Dec. 14, 1861, died in Cairo on Aug. 21, 1914. Born in a poor Christian family, he had no regular education and in almost all branches of learning he was self-taught. He spent some time at the Protestant College and received the diploma in pharmacy. Soon afterwards he went to Egypt where for about a year he was on the staff of the newspaper *al-Zamān*. In 1884 he served as a dragoon on the expedition to the Sūdān to the relief of Gordon, and then returned to Bairūt. After a brief stay in London (1886), he finally settled in Cairo where for some years he taught and was on the staff of the *Muḥtaṣaf* newspaper. Except for his two journeys to Europe (1886, 1912), his literary activity was in Egypt; for political reasons it was only after the revolution that he was able to visit Turkey (Stambul 1908, Palestine 1913).

His first work was of a linguistic nature: "Philosophy of Language and the Arabic Language" (1886, 2nd ed. 1904). Rather naive on some points,

it represents the first meritorious effort to apply the principles of comparative philology to the Arabic language. He returned again to the same subject in his book "The History of the Arabic Language" (1904). He then turned to historical works and textbooks: "History of Modern Egypt" (2 vols., 1889), "History of Free-masonry" (1889), "General History" (first vol.), "History of Greece and Rome", "History of England", "Geography of Egypt", "Genealogy among the ancient Arabs". They had no great success. — In 1891 appeared his first historical novel "The last Mamlūk" (German transl. by Martin Thilo, Barmen 1917), and in 1892 he began the publication of his literary periodical *al-Hilāl*. From this date till his premature death his life was closely bound up with this work. He displayed tremendous activity. Not only were the majority of the articles written by himself (the most important of them were republished by his sons in three vols. *Muḥḥṭarāt*, 1919—1921; he himself collected and published the articles of a biographical nature in 2 vols. 1902—1923; 2nd ed. 1910; 3rd 1922); every year he wrote a new novel and a volume of a popular educational nature. *Al-Hilāl* gradually became the most widely circulated Arabic periodical and Zaidān's name as a novelist and historian became known not only in Arabic speaking countries but throughout the Muslim east.

The majority (17) of his novels (22 in number) deal with the earlier history of Islām from the Arab conquest to the dynasty of the Mamlūks (xiiith cent). The scene of three others is laid in the xviiith—xixth centuries, one in the nineties in Egypt and in the period of the Turkish revolution. Several went through several (up to four) editions; almost all were translated into Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Āḍharbāidjānī, some into other Oriental and European languages (besides Thilo's translation cf. for example "La sœur du Khalife" with Claude Farrère's introduction, Paris 1912, and "Allah veuille", Paris 1924). The main value of these works lies in their popularising of history. Written in easy and fluent language, they afford pleasant and interesting reading. To European literary taste they do not appeal greatly. Their style of composition is somewhat old fashioned and sentimental.

Of his numerous historical works by far the most important is his "History of Muslim Civilisation" (5 vols. 1902—1906). It is based on the well known European works by Sedillot, Kremer, Goldziher and others with many additions from Arabic sources and supplemented by the author's knowledge of the modern life of the east. For Muslim lands it was an achievement of the first rank and it was natural for the book to be translated into other languages (Persian, Turkish, Hindustani) (cf. Bouvat in *J. A.*, ser. x., vol. xix., 1912, p. 401—402). Even a European scholar can frequently find details which are not given elsewhere (cf. de Goeje, in *J. A.*, ser. x., vol. iii., 1904, p. 356—359). The fourth volume was translated into English by D. S. Margoliouth (*G. M. S.*, iv., Leyden 1907). A supplement to this work is his unfinished "History of the Arabs before Islām" (1908) which has all the merits and demerits of the larger work.

No less important for the east was his last great work "History of Arabic Literature" (4 vols. 1911—1914, with index 1922; abbreviated edition

in one vol. 1924). This was the first work in Arabic, designed on European principles. Basing his work on those of Brockelmann, Huart etc., Zaidān also used Egyptian collections of MSS. and here and there produced new materials for European scholarship. His use of the European sources is not always above criticism as was shown by the reviews by *Shaiḫh* (*al-Mashriq*, xiv., 1911, p. 582—595; xv., 1912, p. 597—610; xvi., 1913, p. 792—794) and P. Anastase (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, i., 1912, p. 392—397; ii., 1912, p. 52—62, 139—146, 205—209; iv., 1914, p. 82—90; cf. also M. H. Haikal, *Fī Arkāt al-Farāgh*, Cairo 1925, p. 221—247). The fourth volume is the most important for European scholarship; it gives a good survey of Arabic literature in the sixteenth century and with the corresponding works of *Shaiḫh* and Ṭarrāzī is our only source for the study of this period.

Of his other works the following may be mentioned: "Science of Physiognomy", "Categories of Nations", "Wonders of Nature" and the description of his journey to Europe (in *al-Hilāl*, reprinted separately 1923). His "Memoirs" which he left, and which to judge from the extracts published are very interesting, are shortly to be published by his sons, who are continuing the publication of *al-Hilāl*.

Zaidān was not an original investigator yet he was of epoch-making significance for Arabic speaking countries, acquainted with European methods. He made accessible many and varied subjects and showed that every Arab must take an interest not only in the advance of European technique and exact sciences but also in his history and literature. He was no revolutionary in the intellectual field, but of a very fine and noble character. The sharp criticism, which his works frequently met, was for the most part superficial (cf. e.g. Amin al-Madani, *Nabsh al-Hadhayān min Taʾriḫh Djirdji Zaidān*, Bombay 1307, or Yūsuf Tabshī, *al-Burhān fī ʿntikād Riwayāt ʿAdhrā Kuraiḫh*, Cairo 1900, and particularly Shibli al-Nuʿmānī, *Intikād Kitāb Taʾriḫh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1330). Conservative Muslims could not forgive the fact that he, a Christian, wrote on specifically Muslim subjects, as was amply shown by the attacks on his being offered a professorship in the Université Egyptienne. The purists (like Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī) criticised his language and style in the most fault-finding spirit. The first quarter of the xxth century has shown how great a part Zaidān played; his name will never be forgotten in the history of modern Arabic literature and society.

Bibliography: European accounts of Zaidān are not complete (e.g. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 483a); the most important are those of Hartmann, *The Arabic Press of Egypt*, London 1899, p. 35—36, 72 and do., *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 586—588; Margoliouth, in *J. R. A. S.*, xxxvi. (1904), 582—586; Desormeaux, in *R. M. M.*, iv. (1908), 838—845; H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies in contemporary Arabic literature*, in *B.S.O.S.*, iv. 759—760; G. Kampffmeyer, *Index zur neueren arabischen Literatur*, in *M. S. O. S.*, xxxii., sect. 2, 1928, p. 205. Cf. also L. *Shaiḫh*, *Taʾriḫh al-ʿAdāb al-ʿarabiya fī l-Rubʿ al-awwal min al-Karn al-ʿishrin*, Bairūt 1926, p. 71; J. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1929, p. 985—987. A

general characterisation and biography based on personal relations with special reference to his novels is given by Ign. Kračkowsky in the article *Der historische Roman in der neueren arabischen Litteratur*, Leipzig 1930 (= *W. I.*, vol. 12, p. 69—79); the Arabic biography with portrait in Ilyās Zakhūra, *Mirʾāt al-ʿAsr fī Taʾriḫh wa-Rusūm akābir al-Ridjāl bi-Maṣr*, Cairo 1897, p. 457—464 and in the appendix to the fourth posthumous volume of his *History of Arabic Literature* (Cairo 1914, p. 323—326; a list of his works is also given there). The biography has been reprinted in an extended form (with five portraits) as an introduction to the first volume of his *Mukhtārāt* (Cairo 1919, p. 7—16); cf. also *al-Hilāl fī ʿarbaʿin Sana* (Cairo 1932, p. 9—40). His personality is undoubtedly worthy of a systematic monograph.

(IGN. KRATSKOWSKY)

AL-ZAIÐĪYA, the practical group of the *Shiʿa*, distinguished from the *Ithnā ʿAshariya* [q. v.] and the *Sabʿiya* [q. v.] by the recognition of Zaid b. ʿAlī. After the latter's death they took part in several ʿAlid risings but were not a united body. Writers on heresy distinguish eight schools among them: from Abu l-Djārūd, who combined warlike activity with apotheosis of the imāms and belief in a Mahdī, to Salama b. Kuhail whose Zaidism was watered down to a simple *Shiʿa* point of view. It was the same as regards theology. The Zaidiya only became a united community when ʿAlid claimants to the imāmate themselves took over the spiritual leadership. As far as can be ascertained this was the work of two men: 1. al-Ḥasan b. Zaid [q. v.], founder about 250 (864) of a Zaidī state in the south of the Caspian Sea, and 2. al-Ḳāsim al-Rasṣī, Ibn Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā b. Ismaʿīl al-Dibādī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 246 = 860). While the works of al-Ḥasan b. Zaid are only known indirectly from quotations, we possess some by al-Ḳāsim, who was however quite unsuccessful in the political sphere, although his name has only recently become better known in connection with his polemics against the Christians (Di Matteo, in *R.S.O.*, ix., 1921—1923, p. 301—364) and against Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (M. Guidi, *La lotta tra l'islām e il manicheismo*, Rome 1927). The school founded by al-Ḳāsim and developed by his successors, now the only surviving school, is Muʿtazilī in theology, in ethics anti-Murjiʿite with a puritanical trait in its rejection of mysticism; indeed orders are forbidden in the modern Zaidī state. In worship it has certain "sectarian" features in common with the other *Shiʿis*: the call to prayer "come to the best of works"; the fivefold *takbīr* in the funeral service; rejection of the *maṣh ʿala l-khuffain* (wiping the covered foot as a substitute for washing), of the impious leader at prayer and of the eating of the meat, killed by a non-Muslim. In family law they prohibit mixed marriages, on the other hand they do not allow *muʿa* [q. v.]. As their opponents were almost entirely Muslims they observed in theory at least the regulations for dealing with *bughāt*, those who refused obedience to the imām; but as there was in addition the distinction Muʿtazilis and Sunnis, the Zaidīs often called themselves simply the believers in contrast to them, just as they called their wars *djihad* with the corresponding legal consequences. As a result of the scattered distribution of the original Zaidīs, we find the most

diverse views on legal questions, which were not fundamental for the sect as such. These are registered by later writers without the accusation of heresy in their simple delight in *ikhṭilāf al-fīkh*, and we find individual Zaidīs appearing with individual Sunnis against other Zaidīs and other Sunnis in changing combinations, so that the Zaidī *madhhab* in practice is a fifth alongside of the four. The Zaidī Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd Allāh b. Miṭṭāḥ gives a vivid picture of this in his *al-Muntaza' al-mukhtaṣar min al-Ghaith al-midrār* (vol. i., Cairo 1328). In the present day Zaidī state there must of course be greater uniformity; this is hoped about by the use of *al-Azhār fī Fīkh al-'Imma al-aṭḥār* (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 187, 6, 1) of Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. al-Murtaḍā (see below) and *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr* (see *Bibl.*) as official text-books.

The essential demands on the imām are:
a. Membership of the *Ahl al-Bait*, without any distinction between Hasanids and Husainids, i. e. no succession by inheritance; *b.* ability to resort to the sword if necessary for offence or defence so that neither a child nor a concealed Mahdī can be considered; *c.* the necessary learning: how seriously this is taken, is shown by the vast mass of writings of imāms at all times. As there could therefore be no dynastic tradition, and individual success was in the end the deciding factor, we have no series of imāms without a break; we find rather the possibility of "an age without an imām" recognised with a sense of the realities, while we also have the opposite: "several imāms at one time", i. e. the frequent appearance of an anti-imām; if the latter can oust his predecessor, the former's deposal or abdication is recognised as legal; if there is a turn in the tide he may however come back. If the qualifications for the imāmate are not completely possessed, he cannot be recognised as full imām; we thus have imāms of war or of learning only. Leaders whose strength is only sufficient to keep alive the Zaidī claim are called *dā'i*, *muḥtasib*, *muḥtaṣid*, etc. The uncertainty as to who is really to be considered an imām is seen in the list of those among 'Alid pretenders who have been chosen by the later Zaidiya as a state to preserve a connection with the original *Shi'a*. In the first list preserved, that of the founder of the Zaidī kingdom in the Yaman, we have: 1. 'Alī; 2. al-Ḥasan and 3. al-Ḥusain; then 4. Zaid b. 'Alī and his son 5. Yahyā; then the three brothers 6. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh [q. v.], 7. Ibrāhīm [q. v.], also 9. Yahyā who appeared in Dailam after fighting alongside 8. al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan; lastly 10. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā who rebelled with Abu 'l-Sarāyā and 11. his brother, the already mentioned al-Ḳāsim al-Rassī. Later lists add as many as 10 more names; among them the most interesting for the theory of the imāmate is Idrīs [q. v.], another brother of 6, 7 and 9, who, although he fulfilled the qualifications for an imām, founded a kingdom in the Maghrib which remained Sunni.

The political ambitions of the Zaidiya have been realised in two places: On the Caspian Sea about 20 imāms and *dā'i* appeared from al-Ḥasan b. Zaid down to about 520 (1126) at irregular intervals and sometimes also in opposition to one another. The Zaidīs there afterwards became merged in the little sect of Nuktawīs. The founder of the Zaidī state in the Yaman was al-Ḥādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yahyā b. al-Ḥusain, grandson of al-Ḳāsim

al-Rassī. It has survived all the kingdoms of the Yaman although it has frequently been driven back into its starting point Ṣa'da, for example at the beginning of the fourth (tenth) century on the death of al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, son and second successor of al-Ḥādī, and in the course of this century only minor efforts at expansion could be made by sons and grandsons of this Aḥmad and also by collateral lines descended from al-Ḳāsim but not through al-Ḥādī; among the latter were the 'Aiyāni. One of these was the prolific writer the imām al-Mahdī al-Ḥusain b. al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim whose death in 404 (1013) in view of the hopeless outlook produced a schism at which a group which expected the Mahdī at the end of a millenium broke off. About 447 (1055) al-Nāṣir Abu 'l-Faṭḥ b. al-Ḥusain fell in battle against the Sulāhidīs [q. v.]; he was called al-Dailamī because his original sphere of activity had been among the Caspian Zaidīs. He was a descendant of Zaid b. 'Alī; it is therefore inaccurate to describe the Yaman imāms as Rassids. It was not till 533 (1138) that a successor to him appeared (till 566 = 1170) in al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaimān of the family of al-Ḥādī; in addition to his military campaigns which took him as far as Naḍīrān, he conducted a literary campaign against the theological heresy of the Muṭarifīs. The disorder of the viith (xiiith) century is seen in the fact that al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain of the family of Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Rassī was murdered in 656 (1258) by his own people after being imām for ten years. Al-Mahdī Ibrāhīm b. Tādj al-Dīn Aḥmad had a rival imām in Yahyā b. Muḥammad of a quite unknown Ḥasanid family of al-Sarāḍjī and he himself ended in the prison of the Rasūlid [q. v.] al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf in Ta'izz while al-Mutawakkil al-Muṭahhar b. Yahyā, again of al-Ḥādī's line (d. 699 = 1299), is famous as al-Muẓallal bi 'l-Ḡhamāma, because a cloud enabled him to escape from the pursuing Rasūlid al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd when he was on a dangerous retreat into Khawlān. The succession in the imāmate to his son al-Mahdī Muḥammad and his grandson al-Muṭahhar was interrupted by several strangers, for example al-Mu'ayyad Yahyā b. Ḥamza, descendant of the "Twelver" Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā [q. v.]; his writings filled "as many sheets of paper as there were days in his life". No less prolific as a writer was al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. al-Murtaḍā (d. 836 = 1432), imām for several days only. After several imāms had fought with one another and with the Ṭahirids for *Dhimār* and *Ṣan'a*, his grandson al-Mutawakkil Yahyā Sharaf al-Dīn had to retire for a time to *Thulā* before the invading generals of the Egyptian Mamlūks (in 933 = 1527). His son al-Muṭahhar was temporarily able to regain all land lost as far as al-Tihāma. In the meanwhile Ottoman suzerainty had been established and his grandson ended in prison in Stambul, as did in 1004 (1595) al-Nāṣir al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī of a different line from al-Ḥādī, after maintaining himself in al-Ahnūm for seven years as imām.

At the end of this year al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, also of the house of al-Ḥādī, opened a new era in Zaidī history with his call to arms and fought successfully till his death in 1029 (1620), and in the reign of his son al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad (d. 1054 = 1644) the Ottomans abandoned the Yaman (1045 = 1635). As a rule, the imāms since then have belonged to the family

of this al-Ḳāsim, although genuine Zaidī families which had once produced imāms, successfully came to the front again after centuries; there were however frequent domestic feuds in which the different Arab tribes were played off against one another. The death of al-Muʿaiyad Muḥammad b. Ismāʿil b. al-Ḳāsim (1097 = 1686) was for example attributed to poisoning by his nearest relatives. A state of order was restored under al-Mahdī ʿAbbās b. al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusain (d. 1189 = 1775); Ṣanʿāʾ to this day bears witness to his activity as a builder. Although his son al-Manṣūr ʿAlī (d. 1224 = 1809) in whose time the Wahhābīs penetrated into al-Tihāma, was incapable, his grandson al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad was able to restore order in Ṣanʿāʾ, although al-Tihāma passed to the Sharifs of Mecca; he built a treasury and a library. The latter's grandson al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. al-Mahdī ʿAbd Allāh (from 1251 = 1835) is as unfavourably described even by the Zaidīs themselves as by C. J. Cruttenden who calls him a drunkard (*J. R. G. S.*, viii., 1838, p. 284). His by no means incapable grandson Muḥammad b. Yahyā, threatened by an anti-imām, took the fatal step of summoning the Turks from al-Tihāma and they entered Ṣanʿāʾ in 1264 (1847) but were driven out by the people who had risen in rebellion. Risings of the tribes and raids by the Ḳarṃatians increased the general disorder. Then three deposed imāms, originally enemies, joined against the imām al-Mutawakkil Muḥsin b. Aḥmad and on Ṣafar 16, 1289 (April 25, 1812) played Ṣanʿāʾ again into the hands of the Turks. While Muḥsin's son Muḥammad wanted to be imām there with Turkish approval and in Turkish pay, the Ḥusainid al-Hādī Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, a descendant of the above mentioned Yahyā b. Ḥamza of the viith (xivth) century, maintained an independent imāmate in al-Ahnūm and Ṣaʿda from 1296 to 1307 (1879–1890). Then al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Yahyā Ḥamid al-Dīn, starting from Ṣaʿda and al-Ahnūm by much fighting and also diplomatic negotiations with the Turks, contended for the right of the Zaidīs in Yemen generally to live according to the Zaidī Sharīʿa. His son al-Mutawakkil Yahyā who succeeded on Rabīʿ I 20, 1322 (June 4, 1904) was still more vigorous. In obedience to his summons the tribes at once attacked the Turkish strongholds. Ṣanʿāʾ was surrendered in 1904 and could only be reconquered after a regular war. Yahyā did not take advantage of Turkey's difficulties after the war in Tripolis, but in Ṣafar 1337 (Nov. 1918) he was able to occupy Ṣanʿāʾ. In 1341 (1923) he successfully resumed his fight for al-Tihāma with the Idrisids of ʿAsir. This proximity to the protectorate of ʿAden involved the new king of the Yaman, Zaidī imām and *amīr al-muʾminīn*, in the wider sphere of international politics. His latest attempt at expansion is directed against the Ḳarṃatians of Naḍīrān just as one of his earliest victims was the *ḍāʿī* of the Ḳarṃatians around Menākha. This fighting makes the imāmate of the present Yahyā recall, as in many other points, even the true Zaidī tenor of his encyclicals (see in ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ, cf. *Bibl.*), that of the first Yahyā al-Hādī. He is reckoned — which may help to throw light on the theory of the imāmate — his descendant in the 26th generation, but counting partially recognised and anti-imāms about his 100th successor in office. Of his ancestors his father al-Manṣūr Muḥammad was an imām. His

grandfather Yahyā Ḥamid al-Dīn was a vizier and in 1293 (1876) was imprisoned by the Turks in Ṣanʿāʾ with many other scholars and notables. For ancestors of note we have to go back to the seventh, Muḥammad, and the eighth, al-Ḥusain, both learned commentators on legal works; it is not till the ninth that we have another imām, al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim (d. 1029 = 1620) who fought the Turks. Going further back still we find in the viith (xiiith) century, the sixteenth ancestor al-Ḥusain al-Aṣḡhar, who had however only the rank of emīr and as imāms, whose title was however not undisputed, in the fourth (tenth) century the 22nd ancestor al-Ḳāsim, the 23rd *ḍāʿī* Yūsuf and the 24th Yahyā; the 25th was the full imām al-Nāṣir Aḥmad and the 26th al-Hādī Yahyā himself.

Bibliography: On the original sources cf. *Isl.*, i. (1910), p. 354–368 and ii. (1911), p. 49–78; since then there has been printed: al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaimī al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, a commentary with glosses on *Madjmūʿ al-Fiḫh al-kabīr* (4 vol., Cairo 1347–1349). Of the collections, numbering many hundreds, of Zaidī manuscripts in Europe, a catalogue of MSS. in Vienna has not yet appeared and that of those in Milan by E. Griffini (in *R. S. O.*, from vol. ii., 1808) has not been finished. — Cf. also the articles ṢANʿĀʾ, UṬRUSH, AL-MANṢŪR BI ʿLLĀH AL-ḲĀSIM (two imāms), AL-MAHDĪ LIDĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD (three imāms), ZAID B. ʿALĪ and the references there given: especially on the latter see C. van Arendonk and E. Griffini; Aṣḡarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Ritter, index; Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 115–121; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi ʿl-Milal*, Cairo 1325, iv. 179–188, and thereon J. Friedländer, in *J. A. O. S.*, xxviii. (1907), p. 1–80 and xxix. (1909), p. 1–183; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912; do., *Kultus der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912; Amin al-Raiḥānī *Mulūk al-ʿArab*, Bairūt 1924, p. 69–196; M. Guidi, *Gli scrittori Zayditi e l'esegesi coranica Muʿtasilita*, Rome 1925; A. S. Tritton, *The Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, Oxford 1925; ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yahyā al-Wāsiʿi al-Yamanī (sic), *Taʾriḫh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1346; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā Zubāra al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī (sic) al-Ṣanʿānī, *Nail al-Waṭar min Tarāḍim Ridjāl al-Yaman fi ʿl-Ḳarn al-thālith ʿashar*, Cairo 1348.

(R. STROTHMANN)

ZAILA^c, a port on the African coast o the Gulf of ʿAden. It lies on a narrow tongue of land, which is cut off from the mainland at high water and is the only harbour of importance in British Somaliland. Formerly an important trading centre and one of the largest ports of export for the slave trade with Arabia, the town now only possesses modest remnants of buildings of the middle of the xivth century like the tomb of *Shēkh* Ibrāhīm, and also the fort erected to the west of it by the Indian government, the palace of *Sharmakai* ʿAlī of which only the ground-floor and the first story survive and a mosque. Alongside of the ruins of the old Arab houses, of which only one or two are habitable, stand hundreds of rectangular huts of straw (*ʿarish*). The town covers an area of 40–50 acres; the part built of stone covers barely a fifth of this. The town was formerly surrounded by a stone wall; its ruins were used to build the quay of the harbour which can only be approached by

Arab sailing ships at high water. At the entrance to the harbour is the customhouse and the guard-house as well as the old residency, southeast of this was a mission station which later fell into ruins. Numerous tombs of *shēkhs* surround the town, among which that of *Shēkh* Dīnī b. Sa'd al-Dīn is held in special veneration. The population reveals a considerable mixture of Hamitic and Semitic blood and is estimated at 7,000. The coral reefs around Zaila^c which contain many pearl oysters, give the inhabitants a remunerative industry. Merchants of Zaila^c finance the pearl fishers who come from Zaila^c and the opposite Arabian coast. The yield is quite considerable. Until the rise of Djibūtī about 35 miles N. W. of Zaila^c, which is now connected by railway with Harar, Zaila^c was the port of export of Abyssinian coffee, but its trade has now declined considerably. The main articles of export are the smaller domestic animals and hides, which go mainly to the Yaman.

In ancient times Analites occupied the site of Zaila^c; it attained increasing importance after the foundation of the Axumite kingdom and was in direct relations with India. The Arab geographers *Iṣṭakhri*, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī describe Zaila^c as the port of Abyssinia for trade with the Yaman and Ḥidjāz. Goat-skins were the chief exports which the Yaman market absorbed in great quantities with the tremendous development of the leather industry under Persian rule.

When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town, it was considered the metropolis of the kingdom of 'Adal; at the beginning of the xvth century, it fell into the hands of the Turks, who however were defeated in 1516 by the Portuguese, who burned the town. About 1525 it attained a new importance under Muḥammad Grañ [q.v.], ruler of 'Adal, then passed into dependence on the sherifs of Mukhā. In 1848, it passed to 'Alī Sharmakai who paid tribute to the governor of Mukhā. On his death it went to Abukr Muḥammad Pasha, was conquered by Egyptian troops in 1870 and visited by General Gordon in 1878. The town was then very prosperous and controlled the whole trade with the interior. In 1884 the Egyptian troops vacated the town and since 1885 it has been an English possession first under the India Office, then the Foreign Office and now under the Colonial Office.

Bibliography: al-Iṣṭakhri, *B.G.A.*, i. 36; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 41; al-Muḳaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 102, 242; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884—1891, p. 57; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 966; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients* (*Abh. K. M.*, iii./3, Leipzig 1864), p. 150; Ralph E. Drake-Brockman, *British Somaliland*, London 1912, p. 1—30, 264, 270 (pictures of Zaila^c at p. 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 30).

(A. GROHMANN)

ZAIN AL-'ĀBIDĪN. [See 'ALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAIN, AL-TUNISĪ.]

ZAIN AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-KHAWĀFĪ, founder of an order called after him Zainiya, which traced itself to Djunaid, was born in 757 (1356) at Khawāf (between Bushandj and Zuzan) in Khurāsān, and was buried in 838 (1435) at the village Mālīn (two parasangs from Herāt), whence his remains were transferred to Darwishābād, and thence to the 'Idgāh of Herāt, where a mosque was built over them. He obtained authorization (*idjāza*) in Egypt

from Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Miṣrī (*Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, No. 505), and returned to Central Asia, but visited Egypt again, whence he sent in 822 (1419) a gravestone for Khwādja Muḥammad Parsā, who died in Madīna, and from one of whose letters our authorities derive some of their information about him. In Egypt he made a disciple of 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Amīr al-Marzifūnī, who accompanied him to his home; in Jerusalem of 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maḳdisī, and one 'Abd al-Mu'tī, a Maghribī. A fourth disciple was Khwādja Sa'd al-Dīn of Kashghar, the most celebrated native of that place (d. 860 = 1456; *Relation de l'Ambassade au Kharezm*, transl. C. Schefer, 1879, p. 164). Zain al-Dīn was the author of several works: *Risālat al-Waṣāyā al-Kudsiya*, composed in Jerusalem, *al-Awrād al-Zainiya*, and a treatise on asceticism. A grandson of his, also called Zain al-Dīn, was a courtier of Bābur, and translated his *Memoirs* into Persian.

Bibliography: *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, No. 506; *al-Shaḳā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, transl. O. Rescher, Constantinople 1927, p. 38—41; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 206. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

ZAINAB. [See ALMORAVIDS.]

ZAINAB BINT DJAḤSH B. RĪ'ĀB, AL-ĀSADIYA, one of Muḥammad's wives, was the daughter of Umayma bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; her *kunya* was Umm al-Ḥakam and her name had been Barra. One of the first emigrants to Madīna, she was a virgin (some traditions say a widow) when the Prophet gave her in marriage to his freedman and adopted son Zaid b. Ḥāritha.

In 4 A. H. Muḥammad, calling on Zaid in his home, saw Zainab alone and fell in love with her. Zaid divorced her in order that the Prophet might marry her; the latter's scruples were set at rest by the revelation of Qur'ān xxxiii. 36—39. Zainab received a dowry of 400 dirhams. She was proud of the circumstances of her marriage, and used to say that Muḥammad's other wives had been given to him by their fathers and brothers, while her union had been brought about by special divine revelation. The *āyat al-ḥidjāb* (xxxiii. 53) is said to have been revealed on the occasion of Zainab's wedding feast, and Qur'ān lxvi. 1 is also referred by some to Zainab and to the other wives' envy of her.

Zainab was a friend of 'Ā'isha's, and, next to her, Muḥammad's favorite. She accompanied him on the expedition against Khaibar. Her charity is celebrated; Muḥammad's prediction "the longest-handed of my wives shall be the first to join me in paradise" alludes to this. She had received 12,000 dirhams from 'Omar in 20 A. H., but left no money, having given all to the poor.

Zainab was about 35 on her marriage to Muḥammad, and died at about 50, in 20 or 21 A. H.

The episode of the Prophet's infatuation with his adopted son's wife was made much of by Christian propaganda (see Marracci, *Refutatio Alcorani*, p. 562); modern Muslim biographers and commentators of the Qur'ān have tried to present the episode in a seemlier light, e. g. Muḥammad 'Abduh in *Tafsir al-Fātiḥa wa-Mushkilāt al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1330, in the chapter entitled *Tawdīḥ Maṣ'alat Zaid wa Zainab*; and Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī in his biography *Muḥammad the Prophet*, Lahore 1924, p. 249—250.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, viii. 71—82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, I A. H.,

§ 15, N^o. 25; 5 A. H., § 20—27; 8 A. H., § 15, N^o. 2; 10 A. H., § 139, N^o. 8; 20 A. H. § 267, 298, 400—406; Ibn Ishāq, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 1004; a literary portrait: Enrico Ruta, *Visioni d'Oriente e d'Occidente*, Milan 1924, p. 35—45: Zainab. (V. VACCA)

ZAINAB BINT KHUZAIMA B. AL-ḤĀRITH AL-HILĀLIYA, one of Muḥammad's wives, had borne the name of Umm al-Masākin since the Djāhiliya. Her first husband, al-Tufail b. al-Ḥārith, had divorced her; the second, Ubaida b. al-Ḥārith, was killed at Badr. Muḥammad married her in Ramaḍān 4 A. H. and gave her a dowry of 400 dirhams; she died 2 or 3 months later, the first of his Madinese wives to die before him, and was buried in the cemetery of al-Baḳīʿ.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, viii. 82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, 4 A. H., § 16 and § 22; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1775—1776; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, v. 466—467. (V. VACCA)

ZAINAB BINT MUḤAMMAD, one of the Prophet's daughters, said to have been the eldest, was married before her father's mission to her maternal cousin Abu 'l-ʿĀṣi b. al-Rabiʿ.

She was in al-Ṭāʾif at the time of Muḥammad's *hiǧra*, and did not follow him to Madīna; her husband, still a pagan, was taken prisoner at Badr. Zainab sent a necklace which had belonged to Khadiǧja to ransom him, and Muḥammad freed him on condition that Zainab should come to Madīna. On her way thither she was maltreated by al-Ḥabbār b. al-Aswad and had a fall which caused her to miscarry (some authors place this accident in 8 A. H. and attribute her death to it).

Her husband was taken prisoner a second time in 6 A. H. in the expedition of al-ʿĪs, and freed by his wife's intercession. He became a Muslim in 7 and was reunited to his wife by a second marriage.

Zainab died in Madīna in 8 A. H. She had two children, ʿAlī who died in infancy, and Umāma, married to ʿAlī b. Abi Ṭālib after Fāṭima's death.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, viii. 20—24; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, *Introd.*, § 160, N^o. 1; § 349, N^o. 1; 2 A. H., § 82; 6 A. H., § 9; 7 A. H., § 3; 8 A. H., § 80, 81, 201; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2303—2307; H. Lammens, *Fatimah et les filles de Mahomet*, *passim*. (V. VACCA)

AL-ZAINABĪ, ABU 'L-KĀSIM ʿALĪ B. ṬIRĀD B. MUḤAMMAD, a vizier of the ʿAbbāsids. He and his family had the name Zainabī because they were descended from Zainab bint Sulaimān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, the cousin of the two first ʿAbbāsids, who was held in great honour among the ʿAbbāsids. In Raǧab 453 (July—Aug. 1061) his father Ṭirād was appointed chief inspector (*naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ*) of the ʿAbbāsīd *sharifs* and after his death in Shawwāl 491 (Sept. 1098), ʿAlī al-Zainabī inherited this office with which was combined in 517 (1123—1124) that of the ʿAlid chief inspectorate (*niḳābat al-ʿalawīyīn*). After the dismissal of the vizier Djalāl al-Dīn b. Ṣadaqa in Djumādā I 516 (July—Aug. 1122), al-Zainabī administered the vizierate for some months but was not actually appointed vizier. It was not till Rabiʿ II, 523 (April 1129) that the caliph al-Mustarshid gave him this office; in 526 (1131—1132) however, al-Zainabī was dismissed and Anūsharwān b. Khālīd appointed in his place. In the meanwhile al-

Mustarshid was assassinated and his son al-Rāshid succeeded him (529 = 1135). But the very next year the latter was declared unfit to rule by an official *fatwā* of a number of theologians and legists at the instigation of al-Zainabī and when the Saldjūk Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Muḥammad applied to al-Zainabī to ask who was best fitted to be caliph he proposed al-Rāshid's uncle Muḥammad b. al-Mustaẓhir, and the latter was proclaimed commander of the faithful under the name of al-Muḳtafi; he then made al-Zainabī his vizier. But the new caliph and his vizier quarrelled after a time. The latter therefore went to the court of Sulṭān Masʿūd with whom he was on particularly good terms and although the caliph summoned him to return and resume his official duties, he refused to do so and was therefore dismissed in 534 (1139—1140). Through the intervention of Sulṭān Masʿūd however, a reconciliation took place and in 536 (1141—1142) al-Zainabī was allowed to return to Baghdād. The caliph however had no further use for him and in Ramaḍān 538 (March—April 1144) al-Zainabī died in great poverty.

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ZAITŪN, a town in the southeast of Asia Minor. It is the chief town in a *qaza* of the wilāyet (formerly sandjak) of Marʿash and is (or was before the recent persecutions) inhabited for the most part by Armenians, who call it Zethun or Ulnia, usually however simply Kegn ("village"). The name Ulni (Ulnia) is also used for the whole of the mountainous country on the Djaiḥān between Karatūth (S. W. of Albistān) and Bertis. Whether Ulnia was originally the name of Zaitūn or Furnus to the S. W. of it, in the neighbourhood of which is mentioned a monastery of the martyr Stephen of Ulni, is doubtful. An *Aplgharip*, i. e. ʿAbd al-Ḳarib, of Fornos is mentioned at the beginning of the reign of Leon I of Little Armenia (1129—1137) (*Rec. Hist. Crois., Doc. Arm.*, i. 636; iii. 636). On the other hand, the town of Zaitūn is first mentioned after the capture of the last Rupenid (1375). According to local tradition, the inhabitants came from the fortress of Ani or Anē-dzor, which probably lay in the Cilician plain. The earliest mention of the town which Alishan could find is in 1526 (Bishop Narses of Zethun; *Sissouan*, p. 199, 201). Paul of Aleppo calls Zaitūn in 1699 "the well-known town of the Armenians". The inhabitants, a brave, liberty-loving, mountain people, were for long (till about 1864) able to maintain a certain independence. A rising broke out in 1819 as a protest against the heavy taxes imposed by the Porte. The people of Zaitūn resisted Ibrāhīm Pasha on behalf of the Turks. The troubles of 1862 lasted till 1872 and broke out again in 1878 and 1884. In the summer of 1876 the residence of the governor was burned down; it was rebuilt in 1877. The conflagrations of Sept. 22, 1884 and July 26, 1887 were much worse and almost the whole of the town was destroyed. New unrest was caused by the outbreak of smallpox, from which 400 children in Zaitūn died in 1890; its spread was ascribed to the carelessness of the Turkish doctor. The worst was the rising in 1895—

1896 following the general persecution of Armenians in Turkey. The governor of Mar'ash besieged the little town in which 15,000 fugitives from the surrounding country had taken refuge; completely exhausted by bombardments, epidemics and lack of munitions, the defenders were only able to secure peace and an amnesty from the Porte, through the intervention of the European Powers notably France; they had to surrender their arms and were granted government by a Christian *kā'im-makām*.

The persecutions of Armenians during and after the world war have doubtless had considerable effect in Zaitūn also; part of the Armenian population must have been deported and perished on the way and others have migrated to Syria.

Zaitūn lies in terraces on the slopes of a steep hill; it has narrow, zigzag streets. On the top of the hill is the Turkish fort which commands the surrounding country. The town consists of four quarters: Yenidunian, Surēnian, Gharghalar and Boz Bayir. West of Zaitūn is the hill called Gankfōd (Kangriot "artichoke hill"; perhaps in *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 188 Darb al-Kankarūt should be read for -rūn). About 1880 the number of inhabitants of Zaitūn and the country round was estimated at 17,000, that of the whole hill country at nearly 36,000 (including 27,500 Armenians and 8,300 Turks). The "Zaitūnlis" were mainly engaged in exploiting the iron-mines of Bairūt (Barid) Dāgh to the north of the town and in the manufacture of arms, while the women cultivated silkworms (according to Léon Paul who stayed there from June 27—29, 1864). The botanist Haussknecht studied the flora of the Barid Dūgh in 1865, where he found over 200 varieties; his fine collection he sent to Edmond Boissier who published it in his *Flora Orientalis* (Geneva and Basle 1866—1884).

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AL-ZAIYĀNĪ, ABU 'L-KĀSIM B. AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ B. IBRĀHĪM, Moroccan statesman and historian of the xviiith century. Al-Zaiyānī, a member of the great Berber tribe of the Zaiyān

in Central Morocco, was born in Fās in 1147 (1734—1735). He received his education in this city. At the age of 23, he accompanied his parents on the pilgrimage to Mecca and after an exciting journey, coming as well as going, which lasted over two years, he returned to Fās, where he obtained a position as secretary to the *makhzen* [q.v.] of sulṭān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. His ability, his knowledge of Berber dialects and the course of events rapidly brought him to the front; having played an active part in the suppression of a rising against the tribe of the A'ṭ Amālū, he gained the confidence of his ruler and was entrusted with negotiations with the various un-subdued Berber elements of the empire. We now find him travelling up and down Morocco incessantly and making several journeys to distant Tāfilālt. In 1200 (1786) al-Zaiyānī was charged by the sulṭān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh with a mission to the sulṭān of Constantinople 'Abd al-Ḥamīd [cf. i., p. 39]. He reached the Ottoman capital after many vicissitudes and spent over three months there, which enabled him to write on his return a very full description of it. On his return after carrying out several confidential missions, he was appointed governor of Sidjilmāsa [q.v.], where he remained till the death of sulṭān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 1204 (1790).

The sulṭān's successor, his son al-Yazīd, put an end to the political career of al-Zaiyānī whom he hated. It was only by a miracle that the latter escaped death when al-Yazīd in 1206 (1792) himself succumbed to a wound received in a fight against the pretender Hishām. Al-Zaiyānī, at the time a prisoner in Rabāt, was set free and immediately took an active part in the proclamation at Meknes of another son of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh as sulṭān, Mawlāi Sulaimān (Slimān). The latter gave him the office of governor (*āmīl*) of the district of the town of Uḍjda (q.v.; Ar. Uḍjda) but on taking up his post, al-Zaiyānī was attacked and defeated by the people he had been sent to govern. This misfortune gave him a distaste for public life and he retired to Tlemsen, where he spent 18 months in studious seclusion, which only ended when he decided to make once more the journey to Constantinople, this time in a private capacity and to perform the pilgrimage for a second time. On his return in 1210 (1795—1796), he was summoned by sulṭān Mawlāi Sulaimān and returned to Fās. In spite of his great age, he was now employed on a number of important missions and received the title of *dhū 'l-wisāratain*, as the head of the sovereign's *makhzen*. He remained in office for several years, then was dismissed and died at Fās in 1249 (1833) at the age of 99. He was buried in the *zāwiya* [q.v.] of the brotherhood of the Nāṣiriyya in the al-Siyādī quarter.

Famous in Morocco as a statesman, al-Zaiyānī was no less celebrated as a writer. In the course of his stirring life, he found time to write some fifteen books, almost all on history and geography. The first in date of these works was a general history of Islām entitled *al-Turajūmān al-mughrib 'an Duwal al-Mashrik wa 'l-Maghrib*, in which he paid most attention to the Sharīfian dynasties of Morocco and which he later continued, keeping pace with events down to the year 1228 (1813). The part of the *Turajūmān* relating to the Sa'dian dynasty is still unpublished; on the other hand, that relating to the 'Alids of Morocco

was published and translated into French in 1886 by O. Houdas under the title: *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812* (P.E.L.O.V., 2nd series, vol. xviii.). It is a narrative, in parts a résumé, of events in Morocco from the foundation of the 'Alid dynasty to the early years of the sixteenth century. A more detailed version of this part of the *Turđjūmān*, in which he dealt specially with events in which he had himself played a part or of which he had been a witness was later prepared by al-Zaiyānī, and he gave it two different titles: *al-Bustān al-ḡarīf fī Dawlat Awtād Mawlāya 'Alī al-Sharīf*, and *al-Rawḡa al-sulaimāniya fī Dhikr Mulūk al-Dawla al-ismā'īliya wa-man taḡaddamaha min al-Duwal al-islāmīya*. — Another important work by al-Zaiyānī was a very full account of his various journeys to which he added all kinds of digressions, literary, historical and biographical, and gave it the title of *al-Turđjūmāna al-kubrā allatī ḡama'at Akhbār Mudun al-'Ālam barran wa-bahrā*. This book which is of the nature of both *riḥla* and *fakhras* is also a very curious geographical treatise, with maps (e.g. a map of the seas, which is reproduced in my *Historiens des Chorfa*, between p. 188 and 189). All these works of al-Zaiyānī are to be found in manuscript in Morocco in various private libraries. A complete list is given, *ibid.*, p. 167—168.

Al-Zaiyānī's work is the principal source we possess, with the recent *Kitāb al-Isṭiḡṣā* of al-Nāṣiri al-Salāwī [cf. the article AL-SLĀWĪ], for the history of the 'Alid dynasty of Morocco. It is full of valuable details and deserves serious study. It gives throughout an impression of accuracy and precision in historical as well as topographical matters. Information is given about innovations and social reforms and about the monumental history of the towns of Morocco. Al-Zaiyānī also shows a very remarkable acquaintance with events in Europe. Finally all that he tells us about what he saw on his journeys to Constantinople is worth publishing in full.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ZĀKĀNĪ **UBAID**. [See 'UBAID ZAKĀNĪ.]

ZAKĀRIYĀ, the father of John the Baptist, is reckoned in the *Qur'ān* (vi. 65) along with John, Jesus and Elias among the righteous. Muḥammad gives the substance of Luke i. 5—25 as follows: Zakāriyā guards the Virgin Mary in the niche (*miḥrāb*) and always finds fresh fruits there. He prays to God; angels announce to him that a son will be born to him, Yaḥyā, a name never previously given to anyone, a pious man, a prophet, Ya'qūb's heir, pleasing to God. Zakāriyā

thinks he is too old. As a sign to him he is struck dumb for three days (*Sūra* iii. 32, 36; xix. 1—15; xxi. 89—90).

Later legend expands the Gospel story and says that Gabriel was the announcer (Luke i. 19) and that Zakāriyā was struck dumb as a punishment for his doubts (i. 20). It elaborates the details as follows: 19 people anxious to take charge of Maryam write their names each on a reed; these are thrown into the pool of Siloam and the reed with Zakāriyā's name comes to the top. Zakāriyā grows old and resigns his office of custodian which Kalamuslos gives to Joseph the carpenter (*Tha'labī*, p. 236). In Mary's niche there is winter fruit in summer and summer fruit in winter; this encourages Zakāriyā to pray that his aged body also may be fruitful out of season (*Tha'labī*, p. 237).

Muslim legend makes Zakāriyā as a prophet die the death of a martyr. After Yaḥyā's death he escapes into a tree which opens for him. But the hem of his cloak remains outside the tree. Iblīs betrays him, the tree is sawn down and with it Zakāriyā (*Tha'labī*, p. 240; Ibn al-Athīr, p. 120). This is modelled on the Haggada and the martyrdom of Isaiah (Pal. *Sanhedrin*, x. 28c; Bab. *Sanhedrin*, 101a; Kautzsch, *Apokryphen und Pseud-epigraphen*, ii. 123; Isaiah, Djemshid, Zakāriyā).

Muslim legend seems to identify the Zakāriyā of the Gospel with the prophet Zachariah of whom the Haggada records that his blood boiled until Nebuchadnezzar's general Nebuzaraddan came. The latter sought to calm it with the blood of the sacrificed victim and with the best of Israel, but in vain. Only his appeal calms it. Muslim legend tells this of the blood of Yaḥyā b. Zakāriyā.

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(BERNHARD HELLER)

ZAKĀT (A.), the alms-tax, one of the principal obligations of Islām. By this the law means a tax, which is levied on definite forms of property and is distributed to eight categories of persons. Muslim scholars explain the word from Arabic as meaning "purity" or "increase". In reality it was borrowed in a much wider sense by Muḥammad from Jewish usage (Hebrew-Aramaic *zākūt*). In the east among the religiously inclined, the giving away of worldly possessions was regarded as a particularly pious act, the possession of earthly riches on the other hand almost as an obstacle to salvation; the same word that denoted virtue and righteousness in general could therefore also be used for benevolence and charitable gifts. Muḥammad, who had become acquainted with this form of piety as one of the marks of the religion of revelation, from the first laid stress on the practice of benevolence as one of the chief virtues of the true believer; cf. *Sūra* xiii. 22; xxxv. 26: "(those who) of what we have given them spend out secretly and openly" (many similar passages); *Sūra* lxx. 24 sq.: "those, who acknowledge that the beggar and the needy have a determined claim on their possessions"; also

Sūra lxxvi. 8 *sq.* (all of the Meccan period). Muḥammad at any rate already uses the word *zakāt* in the Meccan period along with several derivatives of the stem *zakā* "to be pure", which to the Arab mind were related to it. Even the latter have in the Qur'an almost exclusively the meaning "to be pious", which is not pure Arabic, but borrowed from the Hebrew. The term *zakāt* means not only virtue in general but also with an almost imperceptible transition of meaning (cf. Sūra lxxxvii. 14; xxiii. 4; xcii. 18) giving (e.g. Sūra xix. 32, 56) and the pious gift (e.g. Sūra vii. 155; xxi. 73; xxx. 38; xxxi. 3; xli. 6). During the whole Meccan period, in which Muḥammad had only a few, but these enthusiastic, followers any regulation of private charity was unnecessary and indeed impossible. The Muslim view also makes the *zakāt* as a legal obligation first be introduced in Medina, but varies, as regards the date, between the year 2 and the year 9; the earlier general prescriptions are regarded as thereby abrogated. The uncertainty regarding date weakens the positive statements of this tradition; the following is the idea we get, mainly from the Qur'an, of the further development of the *zakāt*. Charity, sometimes referred in general terms and sometimes by the word *zakāt* (both in turn e.g. Sūra ii. 263—281), continues to be one of the chief virtues of the believer, and must be based on a corresponding frame of mind. In this word the general meaning gradually falls into the background to be replaced by that of gift. *Ṣadaqa* [q. v.] occurs as practically synonymous with *zakāt*. Muḥammad must have become more closely acquainted with it from the Jews in Medina. In this town altered conditions soon influenced the nature of the *zakāt*; the poor believers who had migrated from Mecca had to be supported and charity increased as accessions took place from motives no longer purely religious. On the other hand, the Prophet was now able to introduce a kind of organisation for the reception and distribution of pious gifts, as laid down in Sūra ix. 60, but at first no change was made in the character of the *zakāt* as an individual offering, in spite of the obligatory character of certain *ṣadaqa*'s (in Sūra ii. 172 both kinds of gifts are mentioned together). Finally Muḥammad used the yield of these collections not to support the needy only but also, and if necessary preferably, for his military enterprises and other political purposes. The raising of the considerable sums necessary for this caused great difficulties; therefore we have repeated admonitions in the Qur'an to give "for Allāh's purposes", supported by promises and threats of a religious nature and accompanied by complaints about the insufficient contributions. The use made by the Prophet of the voluntary offerings aroused the criticism of the believers; and there was a fierce dispute, when Muḥammad, after the surrender of Mecca, endeavoured to reconcile prominent Qurayshis with the new order of things by gifts from the *zakāt* fund. The discontent had to be appeased by a special revelation (Sūra ix. 58—60): "Some of them make reproaches to thee on account of the *ṣadaqa*'s; if they receive anything of them, they are satisfied, but if they receive nothing, they murmur... The *ṣadaqa*'s are for the poor, the needy, their collectors, those whose hearts are to be conciliated, for slaves, debtors and for Allāh's purposes and for the traveller, as a duty prescribed by Allāh". The

passage became the basis for the later laws about the distribution of the *zakāt*. The collectors here mentioned had to receive the *zakāt* of the Beduin tribes who had adopted Islām; for the latter the *zakāt* from the first was hardly anything but an obligatory impost, the amount of which was usually fixed definitely in the agreements made with the Prophet; the reluctance of many Beduins to pay it is fought in Sūra ix. 99 *sq.* The transformation of the *zakāt* into a state treasury, now beginning, was limited by Muḥammad to the irreducible minimum; essential elements of the later regulation are unknown to the Qur'an and a part of the traditions. The Qur'an answers the question of the believers as to what they should give without any limitations: "the superfluity" (Sūra ii. 217), and a further revelation of the last year of the Prophet's life threatens with the punishment of hell "those who hoard gold and silver and do not spend it for Allāh's purposes" (Sūra ix. 34 *sq.*). Tradition also ascribes to the Prophet utterances which imply no limitation to the obligation of *zakāt*; among the Companions of the Prophet, Abū Dharr is held to have championed the view that one should only keep as much property as one needs. 'Alī is said to have fixed the maximum value of property allowed at 4,000 dirhams, and the opinion is even ascribed to so late an authority as Mālik b. Anas that all wealth is forbidden (*ḥarām*). The Qur'an (e.g. Sūra ii. 211) and Tradition repeatedly describe as recipients of the *zakāt* parents, relatives, orphans, poor, travellers, beggars and slaves; but according to Tradition, a *zakāt* given to the rich, thieves and prostitutes can also be meritorious, since it is the mere fact of giving which is the first consideration. The nature of the objects liable to *zakāt* is not further defined in the Qur'an. Tradition knows of cases of paying *zakāt*, which cannot be fitted into the later system. In any case, the character of *zakāt* in the time of the Prophet was still vague and it did not represent any of the taxes demanded by religion. After Muḥammad's death many Beduin tribes therefore refused to continue to pay *zakāt* as they considered their agreements cancelled by the death of the Prophet, and many believers, among them 'Omar himself, were inclined to agree with this. Only the energy of Abū Bakr made the *zakāt* as a regular tax a permanent institution, which through the establishment of a state treasury contributed greatly to the expansion of Muslim power. Ardent believers continued as before to regard it as their right to bestow their *zakāt* as they thought fit; but very soon the development and centralisation of the state made this impossible in practice. When the obligations of a Muslim had been definitely laid down the *zakāt* was established as a religious tax and regulated in all its details; the views put forward on this occasion have left their effect in Tradition. In this connection may be mentioned the detailed regulation of *zakāt*, which is usually ascribed to Abū Bakr, sometimes to the Prophet or to 'Omar or 'Alī.

According to the *Shāfi'* school, the main regulations of the *zakāt* laws are as follows. Only Muslims pay *zakāt* (according to the *Ḥanafis* only those who have attained years of discretion and are in full possession of their faculties) and on the following kinds of property: 1. fruits of the field, which are planted for food; 2. fruits, grapes and dates being especially mentioned in Tradition; 3. cattle, i.e. camels, oxen and smaller domestic

animals (according to the Ḥanafīs also horses); 4. gold and silver; 5. merchandise. On the two first classes the zakāt is to be paid at once at the harvest, on the last three after one year's uninterrupted possession; a condition for liability to zakāt is the possession of a certain minimum (*niṣāb*). On the first and second class the zakāt is 10⁰/₁₀₀ (when artificial irrigation is used 5⁰/₁₀₀), the *niṣāb* 5 camel-loads (*wasṣḥ*). There are complicated rules for the third category, which are based mainly on Abū Bakr's zakāt ordinance and take into consideration not only the number but also the kind of animals; the *niṣāb* is 5 camels, or 20 cattle, or 40 smaller animals; the animals are only liable to zakāt if they have grazed freely during the whole year and not been used for any work. The zakāt on the fourth and fifth category is 2½⁰/₁₀₀; the *niṣāb* for precious metals is calculated according to the weight and amounts for gold to 20 *mithkāl*s (or *dīnār*s = c. 84 grammes = 1,320 grains), for silver seven times this, 200 dirhams (for gold and silver ornaments the commercial value is the deciding factor); the value of merchandise must be estimated at the end of the year in gold and silver; in this case also there is no liability to zakāt if the precious metal or merchandise has not been kept for a full year unused "as treasure". Lastly the surrender of precious metals obtained from mines as well as of treasure trove is regarded by the best authorities as zakāt (cf. F. F. Schmidt, *Die occupatio im islamischen Recht*, in *Isl.*, i., sect. iv. and v.). It is permitted to hand the zakāt direct to the persons who have claims to it; it is however preferable to hand it to the Muslim authorities for regulated distribution. If the zakāt is collected by the government, one is bound to pay it to the collector (*ʿamil*) even if the character of the government is no guarantee of a proper distribution (according to some, especially Ḥanafī scholars, in this case to satisfy one's conscience, the zakāt should be collected a second time and distributed direct). The right of the government to demand the zakāt is however limited to the so-called *ẓāhir* possessions, i. e. the visible articles of the first three categories, in the case of which the *ʿamil* can fix the amount of the zakāt from his own observation; the so-called *bāʿin* properties on the other hand, i. e. the hidden articles of the two last categories, are expressly withdrawn from this control and the zakāt is left entirely to the conscience of the individual. — The yield of the zakāt is destined only for the eight classes mentioned in Sūra ix. 60 (excluding the family of the Prophet, in contrast to the *ghaṇima* and *faiʿ*), and after deducting a fixed salary for the collectors is to be distributed in equal parts to the other seven categories so far as they exist in the country (so according to the Shāfiʿis, while according to the other schools various necessities may be considered). The distinction that is made between "poor" and "needy" is quite an arbitrary one; at any rate, the legists usually interpret the definition in such a way that they themselves belong to one of these classes. Whether after the time of the Prophet there were still persons "whose hearts have to be conciliated" is disputed among the schools. By the slaves who have a claim to a share in the zakāt are understood (except by the Mālikis) such as have concluded a contract to purchase their liberty (*mukātaba*), by debtors (with the Shāfiʿis) especially such as have taken upon themselves to wipe out a debt for God's

sake. The part set aside "for Allāh's purposes" is to be devoted to the fighters for the faith who voluntarily take part in the *djihād* without belonging to the regular troops. These categories have been drawn up as a result of a schematic interpretation of the passage in the Qurʾān. — The artifices (*hiyal*) to avoid payment of zakāt are according to the Mālikis and Ḥanbalis invalid, according to the Ḥanafis and Shāfiʿis sinful but valid.

Actual practice differed considerably from the theory of zakāt in the different Muslim countries. The high imposts and taxes (*mukūs*) not foreseen by the Sharīʿa made the collection of the zakāt usually difficult or impossible so that it, particularly on *bāʿin* property, was either not paid at all or not to the prescribed extent. Frequently its collection led to extortion and other abuses. Nor was the yield in the majority of cases applied according to the law; the collectors themselves or the *kādis* kept the larger portion. Sometimes the zakāt on the fruits of the field under the name of "tithe" (*uṣṣr*; q. v.) became a purely secular tax. Nevertheless the legal obligation to pay zakāt is everywhere recognised and where the peasant is not overburdened with other taxes, he pays it at least on *ẓāhir* property as far as circumstances permit, although with many abuses in details.

By *zakāt al-ḥiṭr* (zakāt of the breaking of the fast) is meant the obligatory gift of provisions at the end of the month of Ramaḍān, which according to Tradition was ordered by the Prophet in the year 2 and fixed as regards the amount (the latter is however not certainly historical). There were differences of opinion regarding the relation of this zakāt to the general one and regarding the question whether it was obligatory. According to the view which finally prevailed, the zakāt al-ḥiṭr is obligatory (according to the Mālikis only *sunna*) and has to be handed over by every free Muslim for himself and all persons whom he is legally bound to support at latest on the first of the month Shawwāl which follows Ramaḍān. A man is exempted only if he possesses the bare necessities of life for himself and his family. The amount of this zakāt is 1 ṣāʿ (= 1/60 *wasṣḥ*) or 4 *mudd* of the usual foodstuffs of the country for each member of the household. The recipients according to the Shāfiʿis are the same as in the case of the general zakāt, while the other schools, more in keeping with the original character of the zakāt al-ḥiṭr, approve its limitation to the poor and needy. — Throughout the Muslim world the regulations about the zakāt al-ḥiṭr are observed with particular scrupulousness; the people feel that it is part of the duties of Ramaḍān and will serve to atone for any involuntary negligence during this month.

In conclusion we may note that freewill, not obligatory offerings (*ṣadaqāt*) have been always considered very meritorious in Islām.

Bibliography: On the etymology: Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 25; Horowitz, *Isl.*, vol. viii., p. 137. — On the Qurʾān: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 9 sqq.; i. 346 sqq. (discussed by H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, part i.). — On Tradition: Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. — On *Fiḥḥ*: Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 94 sqq.; do., *Handleiding*³, p. 77 sqq.; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islām*, s. v. — On the practice, esp. in the

Dutch East Indies: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii. 380 sq.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 85, 89 sqq. — On the allegorical interpretation of the zakāt law by the Bāṭinis cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazālī*, p. 23, note 4.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

ZAKĀZĪK, an unimpressive, but busy commercial town in the Egyptian Delta, in the administrative division (*mudiriya*) of Sharkiya. Along with Damanhūr it is one of the towns which do not constitute fiscal units for purposes of land tax. The town, an important railway centre, has an extensive trade in grain and cotton. There are oil refineries and a large market for dates, oranges and onions. It is 46 miles from Cairo, and is connected with it by rail. Its inhabitants in the time of Boinet Bey numbered 35,715 but in 1927 the total population had increased to 52,351. Tuesday is market day. There are several mosques and a modern Theological Institute (opened 1925); while the various Christian bodies Coptic, Greek, Catholic, Maronite and Protestant (American) have their places of worship. There are also government and community schools, hospitals and missions. The place is well supplied with and irrigated by canals which join with the Nile. The Mu'izz Canal (*Baḥr Mu'izz*) is the former Tanitic branch. A certain kind of small fish which is caught thereabouts is called a *zakāzīk*. The situation of the town is very favourable owing to the fertility of the surrounding country. Within the last century it has accordingly developed considerably in importance and wealth. In the neighbourhood are the ruins of *Tell Baṣṭa* (the ancient *Bubastis*) where amid fallen granite blocks and masonry lies all that remains of the famous Temple of Bast.

Bibliography: Baedeker, *Egypt* (1929), p. 181, 183, 192; Boinet Bey, *Géogr. Économique*, p. 226 sq.; Wallis Budge, *By Nile & Tigris*, i. 79 sq.; D. Tambacopoulos, *De la Peste de Zagazig en 1901*; Amélineau, *Géogr.*, p. 89; René Francis, *Egyptian Aesthetics* (London 1911), p. 33 sq.; Barron and Hume, *Topography and Geology of the Eastern Desert of Egypt* (1902), p. 128—9.

(J. WALKER)

ZAKKŪM. [See **DIHAANNAM**.]

AL-ZALLĀKA, the name given by the Muslim historians to the place near the town of Badajoz ([q. v.] Ar. *Baṭalyaws*) where the armies of the Almoravid sultān Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn [q. v.], assisted by Andalusian contingents, inflicted a memorable and severe defeat on the troops of Alfonso VI of Castile on Friday 12th Raddjab 479 (Oct. 23, 1086). This famous battlefield is now known as Sagrajas on the banks of the Rio Guerrero about 8 miles N. E. of Badajoz.

Almost all the Muslim historians of Spain devote a large space in their works to the account of the battle of al-Zallāka, but the most circumstantial account is that incorporated by Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari in his historical and geographical compilation entitled *al-Rawḍ al-mi'fār* reproduced almost in its entirety in his *Nafh al-Tib*. On the circumstances which led up to the battle of al-Zallāka and resulted in the landing of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in Spain as well as for an account of the battle itself see the article YŪSUF B. TĀSHFĪN.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii. 484; 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'adḍib*, ed. Dozy, p. 93—94; transl. Fagnan,

p. 113—115; Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḍ al-Kirfās*, p. 94—98; *al-Ḥulal al-mawshīya*, (Tunis), p. 40—41; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'fār*, Spain, ed. in preparation, s. v. al-Zallāka; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, x. 99 suiv.; Dozy, *Script. ar. loci de Abbadidis*, ii. 8, 21—23, 36—39, 134—136, 196—201; al-Maḥkari, *Nafh al-Tib* (*Analectes*), ii. 673 sqq.; al-Nāṣiri al-Salāwī, *Kitāb al-Istikṣā*, i. 166 sqq.; transl. G. S. Colin, in *A. M.*, xxxi., Paris 1925, p. 165 sq.; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Paris 1932, p. 126—130; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, p. 71; C. F. Seybold, *Die geographische Lage von Zallāka und Alarcos*, in *Revue Hispanique*, xv., 1906, p. 647; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, i. 357—365.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-ZALZALA or **AL-ZILZĀL**, title of sūra xcix., taken from the opening words.

AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, **ABU** 'L-KĀSIM MAḤMŪD B. 'OMAR, a Persian born Arabic scholar, theologian and philologist. Born in Khwarizm on 27th Raddjab 467 (March 8, 1075), in the course of his travels as a student he came to Mecca, where he stayed for some time as a pupil of Ibn Wahhās, hence his epithet *Djān 'Ilāhi*. He must however have achieved a literary reputation before this; when he passed through Baghdād on the pilgrimage he was welcomed there by the learned 'Alid Hibat Allāh b. al-Shadjari. As a theologian he followed the teachings of the Mu'tazila; as a philologist, in spite of his Persian descent, he championed the absolute superiority of Arabic and used his mother tongue only in instructing beginners. He died at al-Djurdjāniya in Khwarizm on the day of 'Arafāt 538 (June 14, 1144). Ibn Baṭṭūta (Paris ed., iii. 6) was still able to see his tomb there.

His principal work, completed in 528 (1134), is his commentary on the Qur'an, *al-Kashshaf 'an Haḳā'ik al-Tanzil*, which in spite of its Mu'tazila bias — at the very beginning he declares the Qur'an created — was widely read in orthodox circles. The author devotes most attention to dogmatic exegesis of a philosophical nature, paying only slight attention to tradition. Besides giving the purely grammatical exposition, he devotes special attention to pointing out rhetorical beauties and thus supporting the doctrine of the *ʿidjās* of the Qur'an. He gives particular care to the lexicographical side of his work, going fully into the readings and supports his explanations by ample extracts from the old poetry. His work still retained a place in literature when Baiḳāwī produced his own as the orthodox counterpart and tried to surpass him in the accuracy of the grammatical exposition and in quoting variant readings. Even in the western lands of Islām, where his dogmatic point of view gave particular offence to the Mālikis, Ibn Khaldūn placed it high above other commentators; it is not however an accident that manuscripts of his work are rarer in the west than in the east. The first edition by W. Nassau Lees and the Mawlawis Khādim Ḥusain and 'Abd al-Haiy (Calcutta 1856, 2 vols.) was followed by the printed editions at Bulāḳ 1291, Cairo 1307, 1308, 1318. To the 15 glosses quoted in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 290, of which that of 'Alī al-Djurdjāni (d. 816 = 1413) was printed on the margin of the Cairo editions of 1308 and 1318 we may add — setting aside uncertain statements in

Sambul library catalogues — glosses on Muḥ. al-Firūzābādī's (d. 817 = 1414) preface *Nagḥbat al-Kashshāf min Khutbat al-Kashshāf* by Muḥammad ad-Dawwānī (d. 907 = 1501) in the Escorial (s. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Mss. ar. de l'Esc.*, iii, N^o. 1283) and superglosses by al-Khayālī (d. 863 = 1458) on the glosses by Ḍjārbardī (*op. cit.*, N^o. 4) in Cambridge (Browne, *Suppl. Handlist*, N^o. 1037). On the illustrative verses, in addition to Muḥibb al-Dīn b. Taḳī al-Dīn al-Muṭṭī al-Ḥamawī (d. 1016 = 1608), we now have al-Dimashkī's *Tamṣil al-Āyāt*, composed in 1011 = 1602, Būlak 1281, Cairo 1307, 1308, on the margin of the *Kashshāf* 1318, and a work, dealing at the same time with Baidāwī, by Khidr b. 'Aṭā' Allāh, *al-Is'āf fī Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Kāḍī wa 'l-Kashshāf*, written in 974 (1566) in the Edinburgh MSS. N^o. 2—3. In addition to the synopses given in *G.A.L.*, may be mentioned the *Tadḡīr al-Kashshāf ma'a Ziyādat Nukat Liṭāf* of the Zaidī Ḍjamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Kāsim b. al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ b. Rasūl Allāh, composed in 795 (1393) in Ṣan'ā in the Brit. Mus. Or. 5752 (s. *Descriptive List*, N^o. 4) and in the Ambrosiana (Griffini), B. 304, 104, also *al-Djawhar al-Shaffāf al-multaṭṭaf min Maḡḥṣat al-Kashshāf* of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hādī b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. Rasūl Allāh about 810 (1407) in the Ambrosiana, B. 47—48, 99 (*R.S.O.*, iv. 105), as well as the *Khulāṣat al-Kashshāf* of Abu 'l-Tayyib b. Ṣiddīq al-Kannawḍjī, Na'ib of Bhopal (d. 1307 = 1890), Lucknow 1289. Of the counterblast, the *Kitāb al-Intiṣāf min al-Kashshāf* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Munaiyir al-Mālikī (d. 683 = 1284), pr. Cairo 1307, 1318 on the margin of the *Kashshāf*, there is a second synopsis *al-Inṣāf* by 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Alī al-'Irāḳī al-Anṣārī in the Escorial (Lévi-Provençal), N^o. 1278 and in Sambul, Selīm Agha, N^o. 34.

A *Kitāb al-Kashf fī 'l-Kirā'āt*, so far as I know mentioned nowhere else, is according to *R.A.D.*, viii. 758 in the library of Ribāṭ Saiyidnā 'Oṭḥmān in Medina.

Of his grammatical works, *al-Mufaṣṣal* written in 513—515 (1119—1121) has become celebrated for its succinct yet exhaustive and lucid exposition; it was published by J. B. Broch, Christiania 1859, 1879, with glosses and appendices by Mawlawī Muḥammad Ya'qūb Rāsburī, Dehli 1891, by Ḥamza Faṭḥ Allāh, Alexandria 1291, Cairo 1323, with *Shawāhid* commentary by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Abū Firās al-Nas'ānī al-Ḥalabī. To the commentaries mentioned in *G.A.L.*, i. 291, of which that published by G. Jahn, Leipzig 1882 in 2 vols., written by Ibn Ya'ish (d. 643 = 1245) is the best known, may be added: 1. *al-Muḥaṣṣal* by Abu 'l-Baḳā' 'Abd Allāh b. Abi 'Abd Allāh Ḥusain al-Ukbarī (d. 616 = 1219), *Fihrist*², Cairo, ii. 157; 2. *al-Mufaḍḍal* by 'Abd al-Wāhid b. 'Alī al-Anṣārī, Escorial, Derenbourg, N^o. 61; 3. *al-Muḥaṣṣal* by Muḥammad b. Sa'd al-Marwazī (Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, vi. 38, 43), Brill—Houtsma, N^o. 134; 4. *Ḍḥikr Ma'ānī Abniyat al-Asmā' al-mawḍjūda fī 'l-Mufaṣṣal* by Ibn Mālik (d. 673 = 1273) in Damascus, s. Zaiyāt, *Khazā'in al-Kutub*, p. 64, 55; 5. on the verses by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khwarizmi, *ibid.*, p. 86, 24; 6. by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Fakhr al-Faraskhān, Brit. Mus. Or. 7472 (*Descr. List*, N^o. 50); 7. *al-Ma'awwal fī Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḡhanī, Calcutta 1322 (1904); 8. by 'Abd Allāh al-Imādī, Lucknow 1323; 9. by Abu 'l-Kāsim Aḥmad al-Ṣiddīqī al-Andalusī

in Sambul, Selīm Agha, N^o. 1157. An imitation of the *Mufaṣṣal* with the same title was written in 670 (1271) by Aḥmad b. Bahrām b. Maḥmūd, MS. in the Brit. Mus., s. *Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Broun*, p. 148, N^o. 826.

In addition to a treatise on syntax, *al-Mufrad wa 'l-Mu'allaf fī 'l-Naḥw*, which had a small circulation and is only known from the Sambul MSS. Köprülü, N^o. 1393, Lāleli, N^o. 3740 (see Rescher, in *M.S.O.S.*, xiv. 31), he also wrote the short handbook *al-Unmūdhaj*, which attained great popularity; see de Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 99 sqq.; A. Fischer, in *Centenario d. nasc. di M. Amari*, i. 357—363, autographed by Broch, Christiania 1867, pr. Ṭihrān (?) 1269, Tabriz (?) 1275, Cairo 1289, Sambul 1299 (following al-Maidānī's *Nuḣat al-Ṣarf*), in a *Ḍjāmi' al-Muḳaddimāt*, Ṭihrān 1884. Among the commentaries on it the best known is that of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḡhanī al-Ardabili, whose date of death is not known (certainly not 647, as in the *Fihrist*, Cairo², ii. 123, as no MS. is known before the year 1000), printed Būlak 1269, in a Persian *Maḍmū'a* 1279, on the margin of the main work, Kazan 1901. In addition to the commentary of Sa'd al-Dīn al-Bardā'i (for MSS. see *G.A.L.*, i. 291) may now be mentioned that by his pupil Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Muskī, Brit. Mus. Or. 6260 and the two modern ones *al-Fairūzadī fī Sharḥ al-Unmūdhaj* by Muḥammad 'Isā 'Askar, Cairo 1289, and *'Umdat al-Sarī* by Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd al-Khuṣūṣī, written in 1298 (1880), Būlak 1312. For a work on grammatical puzzles and another on prosody see *G.A.L.*, *loc. cit.* Here also may be mentioned his commentary on the *Lāmiyat al-'Arab* of Ṣhanfarā: *Adjab al-'Aḍjāb fī Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-'Arāb*, printed with the commentary of Mubarrad, Sambul (Ḍjawā'ib) 1300, alone Cairo 1324, together with a series of other commentaries, Cairo 1328.

He made the Arabic vocabulary available to his countrymen in the *Muḳaddimat al-Adab* with explanations in Persian, dedicated to the Sipāhsālār Atsiz b. Khwārizmshāh (*Samachschari' Lexicon arabico-persicum*, ed. J. G. Wetstein, 2 vols., Leipzig 1844). A dictionary of the classical language remarkable for its methodical arrangement is his *Asās al-Balāgha*, printed in 2 vols., Cairo 1299, 1341 (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya), Lucknow 1311. He collected the peculiarities of the language of the traditions (*Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*) in the *Kitāb al-Fā'ik*, printed Haidarābād 1324. The geographical dictionary *Kitāb al-Amkina wa 'l-Djibāl wa 'l-Miyāh* was published by M. Salverda de Grave (auspice T. G. J. Juynboll), Leyden 1856. Of his *al-Durr al-dā'ir* (?) *al-muntakhab fī Kināyat wa 'stī'arāt wa-Tashbihāt al-'Arab* only a fragment has survived in Leipzig (Vollers, N^o. 873, i.).

His wonderful knowledge of the language was shown in a series of collections of sayings which enjoy great popularity. A collection of old proverbs is contained in the still unprinted *al-Mustakṣā fī 'l-Amṭhāl*, which exists in numerous MSS. in Sambul, in addition to those given in *G.A.L.*, i. 292 (see Rescher, in *M.S.O.*, xv. 23; *R.S.O.*, iv. 708; *M.O.*, vii. 97, 102), in Brussa (cf. *Z. D.M.G.*, lxviii. 50) and Scutari (*ibid.*, 58); a selection from it entitled *Zubdat al-Amṭhāl* was made by Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gallipolī (d. 1024 = 1615) in 999 (1591) with Persian commentary and Turkish glosses (see *G.A.L.*, ii. 423). He made three collections of apophthegms, composed by

himself with particular care and all the fine artifices of rhetoric: 1. *Nawābiḡ al-Kalim* (*Anthologia sententiarum arabicarum cum scholiis Zamaksharij*, ed., vertit, illustravit H. A. Schultens, Leyden 1772; *Les Pensées de Z.*, texte arabe, ... par C. Barbier de Meynard, in *J. A.*, ser. vii., vol. vi., p. 313 sqq.; cf. de Goeje, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxx. 569 sqq.; lith. Stambul 1866; pr. Cairo 1287, 1305; Bairūt 1306). Of the commentaries the best known is that of Sa'd al-Din al-Taftazānī (d. 792 = 1389) entitled *Ni'am al-Sawābiḡ*, lith. Stambul 1866, Cairo 1287, with glosses by Muḥammad al-Bairūtī, Bairūt 1306; that of Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Khaiwākī, written about 770 (1368), was printed in Kasan in 1314. In addition to the commentaries mentioned in *G. A. L.*, i. 292 by al-Kabindī (viith century), the prince of Yaman al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaḡḡ al-Mubīn, written in 782 (1380), and by al-Ḳōnawī about 1000 (1591), we have also those of Muḥammad b. Dihkān 'Alī al-Nasafī, which Schulthess, *loc. cit.*, used, and that of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rabā'ī (d. 971 = 1564; see *G. A. L.*, ii. 368), written in 967 (1560), see Lévi-Provençal, *Les Mss. arabes de Rabat*, N^o. 421, and the Turk. transl. by Yūsuf Ṣiddīq Efendi, pr. Stambul 1283; 2. *Rabī' al-Abrār fi-mā yasurru 'l-Khawāṭir wa 'l-Afkār* (cf. v. Hammer, *Wiener Jahrb.*, lxiii., *Anz. Bl.*, p. 231), pr. Cairo 1292; a synopsis with additions from other sources was prepared by Muḥammad b. al-Khaṭīb Ḳāsim (d. 940 = 1533; see *G. A. L.*, ii. 429) and entitled *Rawḍ al-Akhyār*, pr. Būlak 1279, 1288, Cairo 1292, 1306, 1307; 3. *Aṭwāk al-Dhahab* (*Samascharis Goldene Halsbänder als Neujahrgeschenke arabisch und deutsch von J. v. Hammer*, Vienna 1835); new translation by H. L. Fleischer, Leipzig 1835; again transl. by G. Weil, Stuttgart 1863; *Les colliers d'or, allocutions morales de Z.*, ed. and transl. by C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1876 as *al-Naṣā'ih al-ṣiḡhār*, by which name it is also cited in the *Kashshāf*, in Leyden MSS. N^o. 2153 and Brit. Mus. Suppl. N^o. 1003 (see de Goeje, in *Z. D.M.G.*, xxx. 569), pr. Bairūt 1314, with Turk. transl. Stambul 1286, with commentary *Ḳalā'id al-Adab* by Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Asīr (d. 1307 = 1889; see *Hilāl*, iii. 869), Bairūt 1293, 1322; Cairo 1321. Imitations entitled *Aṭbāk al-Dhahab* were compiled by the otherwise unknown Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Naḥwī, see Cat. Brill-Houtsma, N^o. 496, 13, and the Persian poet 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Hibat Allāh al-Isfahānī, who flourished about 600 (1203), printed along with the *Aṭwāk* Stambul 1289, alone Cairo 1329, on the margin of Muḥammad Efendi Sa'd's *Tuhfat Ahl al-Fukāha fi 'l-Munādama wa 'l-Muzāha*, Cairo 1307, 1326, with commentary by Muḥammad Sa'id al-Rāfi', Cairo 1328, with glosses by Yūsuf b. Ismā'il al-Nabahānī (President of the High Court in Bairūt), Būlak 1280, Cairo 1880, Bairūt 1309.

He composed a series of moral discourses opening with the address *Yā Aba 'l-Ḳāsim* to himself and called *Maḳāmāt*, after the older meaning of this word [q.v.]; they are also known as *al-Naṣā'ih al-kibār*, and he added 5 pieces of a different nature, on grammar, prosody and the *Aiyām al-'Arab*, after recovering from a severe illness in 512 (1118); printed with the author's commentary Cairo 1313, 1325, transl. by O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maḡāmenliteratur*, fasc. 6, Greifswald 1913. The *Kitāb Nushat al-muta'annis wa-Nahāt al-muḡtabis* also belongs to *adab* literature; it is a kind of

"lexikographische Belletristik", preserved in the Aya Sofia N^o. 4331 (cf. Rescher, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxiv. 508).

Of his poems, which were collected into a *Diwān*, *Fihrist*, Cairo 2, iii. 131, a *Marḥi'a* on his teacher Abū Muḍar has been printed in al-'Izzī's *Maḡnūn*, ed. by Yāhuda, p. 16 sqq.

He composed only two works on the field of Tradition: 1. *Muḡhtaṣar al-Muwāfaqa baina Al al-Bait wa 'l-Ṣaḡāba*, in the library of Aḥmad Taimūr, see *R. A. D.*, x. 313; 2. *Ḳhaṣā'is al-'Ashara al-Kirām al-Barara*, see Ahlwardt, Berlin MS. N^o. 9656; *Hespérus*, xii. 117, 991.

Bibliography: al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alib-bā*, p. 469—473; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Būlak 1299, ii. 107; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, vii. 147—151; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 388; *Liber de interpretibus Korani*, ed. Meursing, p. 41; Ibn Kuṭlūbugha, *Krone der Lebensbeschreibungen*, ed. by G. Flügel, N^o. 217; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaiy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bakiya*, p. 87; Djamil Bek, *Uḡūd al-Djawahar*, i. 294 sqq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, iii. 34, 7—17; Barbier de Meynard, in *J. A.*, 1875, ii. 314 sqq.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 289 sqq.; Sarkis, *Mu'djam al-Maṭbū'āt*, col. 973 sqq.; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qurāns*, ii. 174; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koran-auslegung*, p. 117—177. (C. BROCKELMANN)

ZAMĀN (A.) is the word generally used in the terminology of philosophy to express the conception of time. *Dahr*, *waqt* and *ḥin* are synonyms. To distinguish it from time as perceived of the senses, time in the abstract is often called *dahr* (Pers. *zurvān*) or described as *zamān ma'nawī*, *zamān muṭlaq*, *zamān 'alwī* etc.

Speculations on time (or space) as the highest principle of the world, with which Islām was acquainted from Hellenistic and Persian tradition, were of course strictly avoided. The doctrine that time, like space, was one of the five principles of the All was widely known, if it found little acceptance. Similar pentads, with different components and names, are found among the followers of hermetic wisdom (cf. J. Kroll, *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos*, in *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Philos. d. M. A.*, xii. 2—4, Münster 1914, p. 67 sqq.), among the Ṣābi'ans of Harrān, among the Ismā'ilis, Druses etc. (S. Guyard, *Fragmentes relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis*, in *N. E.*, xxii., Paris 1874, p. 331 sqq. and *Die Drusenschrift Kitāb Almoḡat Waldawāir*, ed. Chr. Seybold, Leipzig 1902, p. 68). The physician Rāzī (d. 923 or 932) gives them in the following order: 1. God-Creator; 2. World-Soul; 3. Original Matter; 4. Absolute Space; 5. Absolute Time (*Alberuni's India*, ed. E. Sachau, London 1887, p. 163; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Milāl wa 'l-Nihāl*, Cairo 1317, i. 24 sq. [where *malā* should be read for *mudda* for absolute time]). As, according to Muslim belief, only God is absolute, infinite, eternal, this doctrine was condemned as heresy.

The metaphysical pentad (God, etc.) found an analogy in physics. Al-Ya'ḳūbī (second half of the third = ninth century) says with reference to the Aristotelian system of physics that there are five things (*ashyā'*) in all the beings of nature, namely matter, form, space, motion and time; the last three however are accidents (al-Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 148). Al-Kindī (d. after 870 = 1466) wrote a small book, which survives only in the Latin

translation, *De quinque essentiis* (in *Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Faṣṣūb ben Ishāq al-Kindī*, ed. Alb. Nagy, Munich 1867, p. 28—40) in which after a general introduction the same five things are discussed, mainly on the basis of Aristotle's *Physics*, iv. These five things are discussed more fully but in the same order by the *Ikhwān al-Ṣarāʾ* (Bombay, ii., *Risāla* xv.; in Dieterici's selection Leipzig 1883, i. 24 sqq. it is *Risāla* xiv.). They give various views about them. It is however clear that they not only give form precedence to matter, but put space as an accident of the body below motion and time which are in the soul and proceed from it. It is probably from this point of view that we are to understand the problem which we find in Tawhīdī's *Mukābasāt*, Cairo 1929, p. 172 sq.: "Which is better, space or time?" The answer is: "Time is better, for space is of the senses but time is spiritual, space is in the world but time surrounds it"; etc.

While the older literature is often satisfied to detail the different views about time, acquaintance with Aristotle's exposition seems to have produced agreement among the philosophers. The matter is however complicated because the neo-Pythagorean and neo-Platonic distinction between perceptible and abstract time is retained. The physical treatment of time in connection with place and motion in space is based on Aristotle's *Physics*, iv. although not without Stoic influence. Metaphysics, in which the relation of the temporal to the eternal is dealt with, is influenced by neo-Platonism, mainly transmitted through the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*, the *Liber de Causis* and neo-Platonic commentaries on the works of Aristotle.

Physical time is distinguished as past (*zamān māḍī*), present (*ʾān*, *z. ḥāḍir*) and future (*z. mustakbal* or *mustaʿnaf*). Since time, like motion, is according to Aristotle a continuous quantity, it does not consist of separate moments (contrary to the theological atomic theory). Consequently the present is strictly not time. Nevertheless the present moment is the only real one in time. This paradox led either to scepticism or to speculations about a real continuation of the past in the present.

With Aristotle, time was more nearly defined as the number (*ʿadad*), measure (*miqḍār*) and the quantity (*kam*, *kamiya*) of motion in its before- and afterness. Vice versa, motion was defined as the number or measure of time. Aristotle, who was concerned with pointing out the functional relation between motion and time, gives in one passage (*Physics*, iv. 12, 220^b, 14—16) the latter definition but it becomes the regular one among the neo-Platonists. Finally it may be mentioned that time, as defined by Aristotle, has, like motion, neither beginning nor end. World space is limited and the point in space may be the point at the end of a line, because this line is at rest, but time as a measure of motion flows always on.

The definition of time as interval or duration (*mudda*, *imtidād*, *maḍāʾ*) differs from this Aristotelian conception. Most probably we have here translations of *διάστημα* and *διάστημα*, which mean interval among the Stoics and are explained by Plotinus in the higher sense as duration of the life of the soul (cf. H. A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle. Problems of Aristotle's Physics in Jewish and Arabic Philosophy*, Cambridge-Harvard 1929, p. 638 sqq.). It is called interval, when Abu 'l-Hudḥail al-ʿAllāf defines *waqt* as *farḥ* or *maḍāʾ*

between the separate acts (*aʿmāl*) (*Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islams* by al-Ashʿarī, ed. H. Ritter [*Bibl. Isl.*, 1b], Constantinople 1930, ii. 443). Similarly Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makḍisī says that in the Muslim view time (*zamān*) is the movement of the sphere of heaven and *maḍāʾ* between actions (*aʿfāl*) (*Le livre de la création et de l'histoire d'Abou Zéid Ahmed ben Sahl el-Balkhī*, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1899, i. 41). On the other hand, *mudda* means duration in the *Kitāb Maḥāṭih al-ʿUlūm* (ed. G. van Vloten, Leyden 1895, p. 137 sq.) where we read: "Time is a duration (*mudda*) which is counted i.e. measured, by movement, as by the motion of the spheres of heaven and other things in motion". Strictly we have here the above mentioned distinction between perceptible time measured by bodies in motion and abstract duration which cannot be measured, but is perceived by the soul and directly experienced (cf. H. Bergson's distinction between *temps* and *durée*; *mudda* is also found in Rāzī's terminology [cf. al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*], and the *Ikhwān al-Ṣarāʾ*. In the *Risāla* xv., already mentioned, they speak of [physical] time as a duration which is measured by the motion of the sphere of heaven).

Mudda as the pure duration of life of the soul should probably be described as a mean between *zamān* (accident of bodily motion) and *dahr* (duration of the spirit). This leads us to metaphysical considerations of the relation between time and eternity. The terminology here varies not only because they endeavour to bring Aristotle and Plato into harmony with one another but also because each writer and especially the mystic likes to use his own terms.

In a metaphor in the *Timaios* Plato conceives of time as the image and emblem of eternity (cf. *Die sogenannte Theologie des Aristoteles*, ed. Fr. Dieterici, Leipzig 1882, p. 107, with *Timaios*, p. 37 sqq., and H. Leisegang, *Die Begriffe der Zeit und Ewigkeit im späteren Platonismus* [*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Philos. im M. A.*, xiii. 4], Munich 1913, p. 1 sqq.). Only after the creation of the world-soul and the arrangement of the chaotic matter of the world did time begin with the regular movement of the sphere of heaven. The beautifully planned world and with it time will probably not come to an end. From Platonic tradition, especially through the intermediary of the Pseudo-Plutarch and Galen, came the doctrine of beginning without end, and also speculations about time as identical with the motion of the sphere of heaven or with the sphere of heaven itself or even with the world-soul. If time was identified with the sphere of heaven and with the world-soul, it was called a substance (contrary to Aristotle who called it an accident).

After Aristotle became known, the suspect philosopher was recognized by his doctrine of the beginninglessness of time. Following the neo-Platonists, the followers of this doctrine were convinced that it was a reality in the form of a stair-case and it was therefore obvious that every kind of being has its own time or eternity. Only God is in the proper sense eternal, if not supereternal. That being and doing coalesce in the first cause (God) was certain to the philosophers, following Aristotle. God is eternal and therefore creates the world. The first creation, intelligence (*ʿaql*; *Le livre de la création* [see above], i. 154 sq. gives it as a Muslim conception, that higher time was the first creation,

i. e. the moment of the act of creation, while lower time comes from the motions of the sphere of heaven), is less eternal but in everlasting duration (*dahṛ*) and rest. The soul arising out of the intelligence is above time for it is the cause of time. This is the teaching of the so-called *Theology of Aristotle* (ed. Dieterici, p. 13 sqq.) with Plotinus. It is formally stated in the *Liber de causis* (Proklos): God as first cause is above duration, intelligence is equal to duration, the soul is below duration but above time, and nature is the field of the temporal (ed. O. Bardenhewer, Freiburg i. Br. 1882, p. 61 sq.). The activities of a being who is above time are, of course, carried on without consideration of time. They are compared with the activity of human thought, with the combination of form and matter, with the transmission of light through the world, all of which are timeless (on the question of sudden change, taking place in a flash, i. e. timeless, cf. H. A. Wolfson, *op. cit.*, p. 498 sqq., 543 sqq.).

For the theologians the question was at first very simple: an eternal God and a temporal world; there is no mean. The followers and opponents of the Muslim atomic theory were alike agreed on this. It was the fundamental principle of the atomists, to assert most emphatically that space contains a finite mass of atoms, and the duration of the world is limited to a finite number of moments of time.

The doctrine of a beginning and end of the world in time was defended by Ghazālī in the name of Muslim community against Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā in his *Tahāfut*. He attacks with vigour the Aristotelian doctrine of the beginninglessness of the world but a concession is made to Platonism. He cannot agree with Abu 'l-Hudhail when the latter asserts that an infinite number of revolutions of the sphere of heaven can be imagined in the future as little as in the past. Ghazālī finds the endlessness of the world conceivable but appeals to religious dogma, which clearly points to an end of the world (Algazel, *Fahāṣot al-Falasifat*, ed. Bouyges, Bairūt 1927, p. 80 sq.).

Ibn Rushd rightly insists in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, Bairūt 1930, p. 64 sqq.; also *Kitāb Falsafa*, Cairo 1313, p. 10 sqq. and L. Gauthier, *La théorie d'Ibn Rochd sur les rapports de la religion et de la philosophie*, Paris 1909, p. 103 sq.) that much in this polemic is a matter of words only. Theologians as well as philosophers distinguish between the eternal unending being (God) and the changing world: this is the main thing. It is a minor point whether this world as a whole is called temporal or eternal or always arising and decaying.

Only for the mystic, who lives in the eternal, does time in every form disappear. In a state of grace (*ḥāl*) the changing *waḳt* in him becomes consolidated in the life in the eternal presence of God (*The Kashf al-Mahjūb*, transl. Nicholson, Leyden 1911, p. 367—370).

Bibliography: There is no monograph on the subject. We may mention the following in addition to the works already quoted: P. Duhem, *Le Système du Monde*, i. 271 sqq.; ii. 465 sqq.; H. Junker, *Über iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aion-Vorstellung* (Vortr. d. Bibl. Warburg, i.), Hamburg 1923; see also the articles DAHR, KHALḲ, ḲIDAM, MĪḲĀT, WAḲT. (T. DE BOER)

ZAMĀN (pl. *azmān*, *azmun*, *azmina*), time. As a guide to the distinction in use between *zamān* (common to the Semitic languages) and *waḳt* (only Arabic with the meaning of "time") the following rules may be deduced from the Arabic works of a scientific nature, although they appear to be not infrequently broken even in works that have been compiled with great care. *Zamān* is used predominantly for time as a philosophical or mathematical conception in contrast to *makān*, "space" (the similarity in sound between these two words has possibly not been without influence on the preference given to *zamān* over *waḳt* in this connection), for longer periods, centuries, length of reign of dynasties, historical epochs, and also in astronomical usage for the numerical value of a period of time which is variable by nature, e. g. the longitude, which differs with latitude and season of the year, of the "temporal hours" (*al-sā'at al-zamāniyya*, Gr. *ḥorai kaiptikai*, Lat. *horae temporales seu inaequales*) which, in contrast to our "equinoctial hours" which are always of the same length (*sā'at al-i'tidāl*, Gr. *ḥorai isoneptikai*, Lat. *horae aequinoctiales*), are obtained by dividing the period of daylight into twelve; in this case they also talk of *azmān* (more rarely *awḳāt*) *sā'at al-nahār wa 'l-lail al-zamāniyya*. In contrast to this, *waḳt* (pl. *awḳāt*) means in astronomy definite points in time, also (usually constant) spaces of time (*waḳt intiṣāf al-nahār*, the astronomical noon; *waḳt intiṣāf al-lail*, midnight; both meanings are found together in al-Battānī, *Opus Astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, iii. 192; *al-waḳt* ["space of time"] *alladhī ta'addu fihi 'l-shams ila 'l-djuz' alladhī kīnat fihi fī waḳt* ["point of time"] *al-ibtidā'*), and in general, periods of time of short duration, e. g. the length of a man's life or of a generation. *Waḳt* is also used with the meaning of *καρπός* for the "correct time"; it may also mean the astronomical time of observation, but in this meaning the technical term *mīḳāt* (pl. *mawāḳit*) from the same root is more usual, which in turn can also mean the art of compiling calendars and the time of prayer [see MĪḲĀT]. *Zamān* and *waḳt* are also both found meaning "seasons of the year" as synonyms of *faṣl*.

In his *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrār al-Ta'wīl* (ed. Fleischer, Leipzig 1846, i. 105) al-Baiḍāwī, discussing the word *mawāḳit* in the *Kur'ān*, Sūra ii. 185, gives the following definition of *mudda*, *zamān* and *waḳt*: "*al-mudda* means, strictly speaking, the period of revolution of the sphere from beginning to end (i. e. it means the totality of time, "from eternity to eternity"); *al-zamān* is subdivided *mudda* (i. e. a considerable space of time) and *al-waḳt* the *zamān* chosen for any purpose (i. e. *waḳt* arises out of *zamān* by further subdivision and means definite shorter intervals or points)". This schematised definition coincides in essentials with that above given.

Calculation of time. a. The pre-Muḥammadan Calendar. Our knowledge of the early Arab method of reckoning time, which is based on scattered references in what remains of the old poetry is still very incomplete and cannot by any means be regarded as satisfactory on all points. There is much in favour of the view — especially the meaning of the majority of the old names of the months (Ṣafar I, II, Rabī' I, II, Djumādā I, II,

Ramaḍān) — that the old Arab year was lunisolar in character and resembled in some degree the Jewish year ("Tishri year"). We must however make this limitation that it is hardly safe to assume a uniform division of time for the whole of Arabia in the early period. Among the Arab Beduin tribes as well as among other nomad peoples, there was originally a calendar based on the moon only — a so-called pure lunar year, and the adaptation to the solar year only took place later. This assumption is also supported by the statements of various Muslim scholars (used by Mahmoud Effendi in his article in *J. A.*, 1858, ser. v., vol. xi.); for example al-Birūnī (*Āthār*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878) agreeing with Abū Ma'shar Dja'far b. Muḥammad al-Balkhī (*Kitāb al-Ulūf fī Buyūt al-'Ibādāt*) with whose work he was acquainted, mentions that the transition from pure lunar years to lunisolar years took place about two centuries before the Hidjra under the influence of the Jewish year. The later theory adopted by F. K. Ginzel (*Chronologie*, i. 248) from Mahmoud Effendi (*Mém. des savants étrangers de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, xxx., 1861) which assumes the existence of a pure lunar year in the period immediately before the Hidjra cannot be quoted as a sound argument against the preceding, as it is not sufficiently established that the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in March 571 — the "conjunction of religion" (*kirān al-dīn*) — actually took place immediately before the birth of the Prophet and that we have not here to deal with a later conjunction. The Arab lunisolar year, like the Jewish, began in autumn; the year itself consisted of 12, in leap years 13 months, which were reckoned from *hilāl* to *hilāl* (new moon). The intercalation of the thirteenth month which was necessary to fix the beginning of the year at a definite period in the solar year was done empirically from time to time, on the average every two or three years. The much disputed word *naṣī'* (*Sūra* ix. 37) indicates, as Moberg has recently conclusively shown (Axel Moberg, *An-Naṣī' in der islamischen Tradition*, Lund 1931), this intercalation of the extra month; this was first expressly prohibited by Muḥammad in the year 10 A. H. (*Qur'ān*, *loc. cit.*). The time of the *ḥaḍḡ* [q. v.] originally associated with autumn — i. e. fixed by the solar year — was fixed presumably by the cosmic setting (*naṣī'*, pl. *anṣā'*) of one of the 28 stations of the moon (*manāzil*); this method of fixing solar dates is also found at a later period (cf. the "*Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961*", ed. Dozy, Leyden 1873) and we find it also in early periods in other parts of the world (China, India, Egypt). In Muḥammad's time however as a result of insufficient skill in observing and intercalating, the lunisolar year had advanced so far in front of the solar year that the beginning of the year, with the month *Dhu 'l-Hiḍḡja* which preceded it and the time of the *ḥaḍḡ*, fell in the spring.

In the later period of the *Djāhiliya* the names of the months were already fixed as we know them in the Muslim period, except that al-Muḥarram [q. v.] in the latter took the place of *Ṣafar* I; they were *Ṣafar* I, *Ṣafar* II, *Rabi' I*, *Rabi' II*, *Djumādā I*, *Djumādā II*, *Radjab*, *Sha'bān*, *Ramaḍān*, *Shawwāl*, *Dhu 'l-Ka'da*, *Dhu 'l-Hiḍḡja*; it is to be noted that the first half year consisted of three double months. The names of the early Arab months as given us by al-Birūnī are quite different;

these, supplanted by those just mentioned, were al-Mu'tamir (= *Ṣafar* I), *Nādjir*, *Khawwān*, *Buṣṣān*, *Ḥantam* or *Ḥanam* (vocalisation uncertain), *Zabbā'* or *Zubbī*, al-Aṣamm, 'Ādil, *Nāfiḡ*, *Waghī*, *Huwā'*, *Burak*; some of them are still occasionally found later as epithets of the corresponding Muḥammadan months, e. g. al-Aṣamm for *Radjab*, 'Ādil for *Sha'bān*. In addition to these, al-Birūnī, al-Ma'sūdī and the Sabaeen inscriptions give many other names of months, which differ considerably with the different tribes and sources so that no deductions can be made from them about the earliest period of the Arab calendar.

According to Wellhausen (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1897, p. 96 sq.), the year was originally divided into three months: the period of rain, of drought and of heat. In the old Arab poetry we find a division into four, *Khariḡ* or *Rabi'*, *Shitā'*, *Ṣaif* and *Kaiḡ*, roughly corresponding to our autumn, winter, spring and summer; it is possible there was also a sixfold division into *Rabi'* (late harvest), *Khariḡ* (autumn), *Shitā'* (winter), al-Rabi' al-thānī (early harvest), *Ṣaif* (early summer) and *Kaiḡ* (summer).

The use of the week of seven days can be proved to have existed at a very early period among the pagan Arabs. According to al-Birūnī (*Āthār*, p. 64), the old names of the days of the week were *Awwal* (Sunday), *Aḥwan*, *Djubār*, *Dubār*, *Mu'nis*, *Arūba* and *Shiyār*. It should not however be assumed that the seven day week was an original invention of the Arabs; on the contrary, many things point to its having been taken from Babylonia or the Jews, among whom it was established at a very early period.

The days were grouped within the month into ten groups of three each, the names of which, reckoned from the new moon (*hilāl*) were *Ḥurār*, *Nufal*, *Tusa'*, *Uṣhar*, *Bid*, *Dura'*, *Zulam*, *Ḥanādis* or *Duhm*, *Da'adi* and *Mihāk* (cf. al-Birūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 63 sq.). The day itself began at sunset, as among the Jews and as was later the custom in Islām. There is no evidence of the division of the day into 24 hours in the pre-Muḥammadan period.

Epochs. The fixed points or epochs used in the pre-Muḥammadan period from which to reckon years seem to have been very numerous. Al-Birūnī mentions battles, memorable events, the year of the restoration of the Ka'ba etc. as epochs of the different tribes (*op. cit.*, p. 34). More general seems to have been the reckoning from the "days of treason", *aiyām al-fidjār* (probably between 585 and 591 A. D.), and from the "year of the Elephant", *'ām al-fil* (probably about 570 A. D.), the latter, being according to some authors, the year of Muḥammad's birth (571).

b. The Calendar in Islām. By the already mentioned prohibition of the *naṣī'* in the year 10 A. H. by Muḥammad there came into use the system of reckoning by pure lunar months which is characteristic of Islām (one pure lunar month = 12 synodical months of 29^d 12^h 44^m 3^s = 354^d 8^h 48^m 36^s; the term lunar year is really stupid!). An adaptation to the annual course of the sun was now no longer possible and the beginning of the Muḥammadan year therefore falls about 11 days behind each solar year, coming back to the same solar time in about 33 years; 33 lunar years are therefore almost equivalent to 32 solar years. From this proportion we get the approximation formulae

for transforming years A. H. into years A. D. and vice versa:

$$\text{A. D.} = \frac{3}{2} \text{A. H.} + 622 \text{ or } \text{A. H.} = \frac{2}{3} (\text{A. D.} - 622).$$

For exact calculations the *Vergleichungstabellen* by Wüstenfeld and Mahler are indispensable (see *Bibl.*).

According to the *Kur'ān* (Sūra x. 5, etc.) which expressly makes the moon the measurer of time, the beginning of the month and of the year must be established as in ancient times by actual observation of the new moon and as a matter of fact the popular calendar still does this at the present day. For reasons which are readily intelligible, at quite an early period a cyclic reckoning established itself which, starting from the fact that the period of two lunations is approximately 59 days, gave the months alternately a length of 30 and 29 days so that 1 (Muharram), 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 have each 30 days and 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 have 29 days. The ordinary year thus has 354 days. The difference of 8^h 48^m 36^s (almost exactly $\frac{11}{30}$ days) by which the astronomic lunar year is longer was made good by intercalating 11 days (*yawm al-kabs*) in every 30 lunar years. The most widely disseminated in Muslim lands is the practice of making years 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26 and 29 in the cycle of 30 leap years (*sana kabisa*). The intercalated day itself is always given to the month *Dhu 'l-Hijja* which in the ordinary year has 29, in leap year 30 days (on other systems of intercalation, especially the Turkish eight year cycle, see Ginzel, *Chronologie*, i. 255).

The day (i. e. the *νυχθήμερον*, *al-yawm bi-lailatihi*) in the period of the *Djahiliya* was reckoned from sunset; as al-Farghānī emphasises, this method of counting comes from the fact that the first day of the month is fixed by the *hilāl* (first light of new moon) which is always to be observed at sunset. The division of the *νυχθήμερον* into 24 hours is however to be traced to Greek influence. In ordinary reckoning of time temporal hours (see above) alone are used, on the other hand the astronomers very often use equinoctial hours and always expressly describe them as such.

Instead of the old names of the days of the week, we find in Islām simply the cardinal numbers in altered form (from Sunday to Thursday), Friday becomes "the day of assembly" and Saturday the "Sabbath", as follows: *Yawm al-Aḥad* (Sunday), *Yawm al-Itḥnain* (Monday), *Yawm al-Thalāthā* (Tuesday), *Yawm al-Arbaʿa* (Wednesday), *Yawm al-Khamis* (Thursday), *Yawm al-Djumʿa* (Friday), *Yawm al-Sabt* (Saturday). (In the days of the week it should be remembered as already explained that *Yawm al-Aḥad* begins on the evening of our Saturday, *Yawm al-Itḥnain* on the evening of Sunday, and so on, so that the Arabic and European names do not cover exactly the same 24 hours).

In Muslim chronology the year begins on 1st Muharram of the year in which the Prophet made his *Hidjra* from Mecca to Yathrib (not the day of the *Hidjra* itself or of the arrival in Medina, which is usually taken to be the 8th Rabi' I, i. e. Sept. 20, 622). It was Thursday (*Yawm al-Khamis*) July 15, 622 A. D., called *Tā'rikh al-Hidjra* (in the Julian reckoning by days, day 1, 948, 439). The introduction of this era only took place under the Caliph 'Umar.

Besides the reckoning by years from the *Hidjra* the most varied foreign eras were also in use

[see *TA'RIKH*]. The most important was the Alexandrian era (called *Tā'rikh al-Kibṭ* — "Copts", Egyptians — or *Tā'rikh al-Shuhadā* — "of the Martyrs") reckoned by the *shuhūr al-Kibṭ* which was the earliest in use. This is a solar era, unlike the Muslim. The year, the length of which, like the Julian, is 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, has 12 months of 30 days not dependent on the phases of the moon, in which 5 days were added to the last month and 6 in leap years. Every fourth year is a leap year. The Egyptian names of the months, some in corrupt form, were used. According to al-Battānī (*Op. Astr.*, iii. 100) they were: Tūt (in the Greek historians *Θώτ*), Bāba (*Φαωφί*), Atūr (*ἄθούρ*), Kiyahk (*Χοιάκ*), Tūba (*τυβί*), Amshir (*μεσίρ*), Barmahāt (*Φαρμενώτ*), Barmūdha (*Φαρμουδί*), Bashans (*παχών*), Bawūna (*παῦνι*), Abib (*ἐπιφί*), Misri (*μεσορή*). The five or six intercalated days were called as among the Copts the "little month", *al-shahr al-saghīr*. The years of this era are generally reckoned from 284 A. D., the year of the accession of the emperor Diocletian; on the other hand in al-Battānī from Friday, Aug. 29, 25 B. C. (Nallino, i. 244 gives an explanation of this). — Another era in frequent use is the Seleucid called *Tā'rikh al-Rūm* or *Tā'rikh Iskandar*, usually *Tā'rikh Dhi 'l-Qarnain* after the "two-horned Alexander". It is usually reckoned from Monday, Oct. 1 (in al-Battānī, from Saturday, Sept. 1) 312 B. C. and uses the Julian year and the Julian intercalation, with the Syriac-Arabic names of the months, *shuhūr al-Rūm*, so-called because each of these months corresponds to one in the Roman calendar, as follows:

| | | |
|------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Tishrīn al-awwal . . . | October | 31 days |
| Tishrīn al-thānī . . . | November | 30 " |
| Kānūn al-awwal . . . | December | 31 " |
| Kānūn al-thānī . . . | January | 31 " |
| Shubāt | February | 28 or 29 days |
| Adhār | March | 31 days |
| Nisān | April | 30 " |
| Aiyār | May | 31 " |
| Hazirān | June | 30 " |
| Tamūz | July | 31 " |
| Āb | August | 31 " |
| Ailūl | September | 30 " |

These names of months are also used in the calendar of the Syrian Christians. — On other eras see al-Battānī, ch. xxxii. and Nallino's notes, i. 242 sqq.

The Arabo-Egyptian land-tax year (*al-sana al-kharādjiya*), which was introduced after the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs and used for long periods, was a solar year, the beginning of which coincided with that of the Egyptian solar year. The years were counted from the date of the *Hidjra*; there thus arose differences between the number of *Hidjra* years and those of the *kharādj*-years, which frequently caused confusion in dating. In Egypt itself this form of year was also in everyday use among the people (for further information see Ginzel, *op. cit.*, i. p. 264—265).

The Turkish financial year (*mālīye* year) which, along with the *Hidjra* (lunar) year used mainly for religious purposes, was the official year, is in form — apart from its date of commencement — identical with the Julian year. The names of the months are with slight variations the same as those of the Syrian-Arab year already mentioned. The year begins on March 1; Feb. 29 is the intercalated day and also the last day of the year;

the leap-years are therefore, as can easily be understood, always a year in advance of those of the Christian era. The Turkish financial year goes back to an Arabic year introduced in the ivth (xth) century under the 'Abbāsids; it was introduced among the Turks in 1087 (1677). The years themselves are numbered by Hidjra years; in order to equate, in this system of counting, with the shorter lunar years, a year is dropped every 33 years, which is called *siwīsh* (Turk. = cancellation). The year 1288 (1871) which ought strictly to have been Siwīsh was deliberately counted as a full year which threw the *māliye* years out for a time. — Quite recently the Gregorian calendar has been officially adopted in Turkey.

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ZAMĪNDĀR (P.), a landholder, the possessor of a landed estate. In Bengal these holdings are usually extensive and the *zamīndār* is responsible to the Government for the rent of his estate and also in some degree for the maintenance of order therein. In other parts of India *zamīndārs* have smaller estates, held sometimes in common, under a settlement periodically renewable.

Bibliography: Ghulām Ḥusain Khān, *Siyar al-Muta'akkhkhīrīn*, Lucknow 1897; R. Orme, *History of the military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, London 1805; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1907–1909; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. William Crooke, London 1903; Official Records.

(T. W. HAIG)

ZAMORA (Ar. SAMMŪRA), a town in the N. W. of Spain, capital of the province of the same name, 2,130 feet above sea-level on the left bank of the Duero, has now a much reduced population (16,000). The Arab geographers of Spain describe it as a town in the country of the Galicians (al-Djalālika). It was, after the conquest of al-Andalus, peopled by Berbers and had to be evacuated at the beginning of the viiith century as a result of the territorial gains of the Christian kingdom of Leon. Retaken by the Muslims, it was reconquered and rebuilt in 280 (893) by Alfonso III. 'Abd al-Rahmān III attacked it in 327 (939) but without success; at the end of his reign he assisted Sancho of Navarre to reconquer it on his own account in 348 (959). When the ḥādīb al-Manṣūr [q. v.] Ibn Abī 'Amir, after disposing of his father-in-law, the general Ghālīb, undertook in 371 (981) an expedition against Galicia, he gave the Umayyad prince 'Abd Allāh called "Dry Stone" the task of taking Zamora. He was not able to take the citadel of the town and contented himself with ravaging the country round and carrying off 4,000 prisoners. When al-Manṣūr had conquered Galicia and Bermudo II had arisen

there again, the ḥādīb, in 378 (988–989) after taking Leon, laid siege to the Christian prince in Zamora; Bermudo fled and the inhabitants handed the town over to al-Manṣūr. A little later in 385 (999), the ḥādīb placed a Muslim population in Zamora and gave the government of the town to Abu 'l-Aḥwaṣ Ma'n b. 'Abd al-'Azīz [q. v.] al-Tudjībī. This occupation did not last long, for Zamora was attacked by the second 'Amirid ḥādīb 'Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar in his expedition of 395 (1005) against Galicia. After this the Muslim chroniclers make no mention of Zamora, which was now to play an important part in Castilian history down to the end of the middle ages, especially in the period of the Cid.

Bibliography: al-Idrisī, in Saavedra, *La Geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid 1881, p. 59; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ii. 184–250; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard i. 363; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 146; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (*Analectes*), i. 223; Ibn Ḥaiyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. Antuña, Paris 1933, *passim*; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii. and iii., *passim*; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leyden 1932, index; Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-âge*, Leyden 1881, i. 165 sqq.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du X^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1932, index; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, i. 197 sqq. (with plans of the town and its environs and pictures of its old walls).

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ZAMZAM, the sacred well of Mecca, also called the well of Ismā'il. It is in al-ḥaram al-sharīf S. E. of the Ka'ba opposite the corner of the sanctuary in which the Black Stone is inserted. It is 140 feet deep and is surmounted by an elegant dome. The pilgrims drink its water as health-giving and take it home with them to give it to the sick. Zamzam in Arabic means "abundant water" and *zamzama* "to drink by little gulps" and "to mutter through the teeth".

Muslim tradition connects the origin of this well with the story of Abraham. It was opened by the angel Gabriel to save Hagar and her son Ismā'il, who were dying of thirst in the desert. Hagar was the first to catch its water by building a wall of stone around it. It is at least certain that it was held in reverence at a very early period. In the pre-Islāmic period the Persians used to come there as a line of an old poet shows: "The Persians muttered their prayers around the well of Zamzam from the earliest times". According to another poet, the well was visited by Sāsān son of Bābak, the ancestor of the Sāsānids.

In the period of paganism, the Djurhumis filled in Zamzam and threw all their treasure into it. Mas'ūdī however remarks that the Djurhumis were poor and that the treasures buried there must have been brought not by them, but by the Persians.

The well was rediscovered and dug out by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the ancestor of the Prophet, who provided it with walls of masonry; he took out of it two gazelles of gold, some 'Qal'iya' swords and some cuirasses. With the swords he made the door of the Ka'ba, which he covered with plates of gold made from one of the gazelles and he put the other inside the sanctuary. The water of the well was distributed to the inhabitants of Mecca.

In 297 (909) Zamzam overflowed, a thing which had never been known before and several pilgrims were drowned.

Bibliography: Cf. the art. KA'BA, i. and iii.; Mas'ūdī, ed. and transl. Barbier de Meynard, s. index; H. Kazem Zadeh, *Relation d'un Pèlerinage à La Mecque en 1910—1911*, Paris 1912; descriptions by various travellers: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, Naam- en Zaak-register, s. v. Zamzam; picture in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leyden 1889, Nrs. i., iii.; *The Travels of Ali Bey*, ii., pl. lvii. (B. CARRA DE VAUX)

ZANDAQA. [See ZINDĪK.]

ZANDJ, the name of the negro tribes of the east coast of Africa, given by the Arab historians to the rebel slaves who, having previously rebelled in 75 (694), for fifteen years (255—270 = 868—883) terrorised lower Mesopotamia.

This rising is very important for it is a war of a classical type, a regular "social war" directed against Baghdad like those of Eunus (140 B.C.) and Spartacus (73—71 B.C.) against Rome, like that of Toussaint Louverture in Haiti (1794—1801), like the strikes of Natal coolies led by Gandhi (1906—1913) against European colonisation.

The rebels were, according to Ṭabarī, our principal source, employed as navvies (*kassāhīn*); their task was to make lower Mesopotamia arable, to remove the *sebākā*, and to pile it up in mounds to make the nitrous lands of the *Shatt al-'Arab* cultivable (*shūrā'iya*, from *shūra*, nitre, a Persian term used also in 'Omān; cf. de Goeje, *Glossaire de Ṭabarī*, s. v. *k-s-h*, following the *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*). They were mainly recruited from imported negro slaves and from the peasants of the country, grouped in gangs of 500—5,000 labourers and penned there homeless and hopeless, all their food being a few handfuls "of flour, semolina and dates". Through contact with the Islām of their masters, by a process of spiritual induction, these unfortunate creatures learned that they had a right to exist and to a minimum of justice; the influence of the Muslim cenobites of the neighbouring hermitages of 'Abbādān was perhaps also felt.

These slaves then found a leader who was resolved to put an end to their misery, an 'Alid pretender with a disputed but perhaps genuine pedigree, for al-Birūnī says that the Shī'is still celebrated his festival on Ramaḍān 26; he took the name of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Isā b. Zaid b. 'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Ḥusain b. 'Alī and was called al-Burkū'ī "the veiled". Assisted by a certain Rashīd Kūrmātī (perhaps connected with the Karmāṭian propaganda then just beginning), by a miller and a lemonade seller, he had the oath of fealty sworn to him by his runaway slaves (*ubbāk*) in an oath *bi 'l-talāk* in the Karmāṭian fashion [cf. KARMATĪANS, SURĀIDJĪYA]; he raised the standard of rebellion on the 7th Ramaḍān 255 (868) and uttered the Qur'ānic verse called of the *shurūt* (ix. 112) devoting himself to war to the knife (*khurūdī ghadhān bi 'llāh*).

Our sources unfortunately give few details of his system of government which was of a communistic type. They refer almost exclusively to the course of the war which was waged mercilessly on the Zandj by the 'Abbāsīd regent Muwaffaq. Setting out from Djubba', the Zandj leader divided his forces, armed with slings, into two divisions (1. the Zandj in the strict sense, 2. *Furā'iya*, *Kūrmātīya*, *Nūba*)

and supported by the Arab tribe of the Banū Tamīm with a fleet he took in succession Ubulla, 'Abbādān, southern Ahwāz and finally the great city of Basra. He advanced as far as Wāsiṭ (264 = 877), Djabbul, Nu'māniya, Djarḍarā'iya and Rām-hurmuz. The regent, realising the greatness of the danger, mobilised all his forces for a second offensive. It took him three years to finish the war; first he broke through the five enceintes of the camp of Man'ā, then laid siege to the Zandj headquarters at Mukhtāra (268 = 881), on the canal Abu 'l-Khaṣīb south of Basra; it only capitulated in 269 (882) and al-Burkū'ī was killed on 2nd Šafar 270 (883). The rebellion was savagely suppressed, those who had fled returned and the old order was restored.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1742—1787, 1835—2103; Th. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 146—175; P. Casanova, in *Revue Numismatique*, 1893, p. 510—516; J. Walker, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1933, p. 651—656.

(L. MASSIGNON)

ZANDJĀN, a town in northern Persia, capital of the province of Kḥamsa which lies between Kāzwīn, Hamadḥān, Ādharbāidjān and Gilān.

Geography. The town of Zandjān is situated on the river Zangānarūd (the old name of which, according to the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 221, was Madj-rūd), which runs from east to west and joins the Safid-rūd [q. v.] on its right bank. Zandjān is an important station on the great road from Ādharbāidjān to Kāzwīn and thence to Tihirān and Khurāsān. Zandjān is also at the junction of several other roads: to the north, that to Ardabil [cf. TĀROM] and Gilān (via Māsūla); to the S. W., that to Marāgha [q. v.] and to Sa'in-Kal'ā [q. v., No. 1]; to the south, that to Hamadḥān. This last road used occasionally to be used by pilgrims coming from the north who wished to avoid the proximity of Kurdistan.

The country to the south of Zandjān which is under it has been rarely visited by travellers but is represented on our maps with sufficient clearness. In 1880 several engineers worked there on behalf of the Persian government, who had learned that there were deposits of gold there.

The 17 districts of the province of Kḥamsa are as a rule named after the rivers of the Safid-rūd basin (H. Schindler): Abhar-rūd (cf. Yāqūt, i. 104, in Persian: Awhar, explained as "mill water"; its waters flow to the plain of Kāzwīn), Do-dānge, Khodā-bāndelū, Sudjās-rūd (cf. Yāqūt, iii. 40 and Iṣṭakhrī, p. 196; the present capital is Madjīd-ābād), Sohraward (Yāqūt, iii. 203: شهرور often confused with شهرزور, *Shahrzūr*; q. v.), Idjarūd (to the south of the Zandjān-Takht-i Sulaimān road), Kīzīl-gāci-rūd, Angūrān, Ūryād (< Oyrat), Golābārūd, Bizina-rūd, Kani-beglū, Armoghān, Tārom [q. v.], Khuyūn-ṭay, Garmāb, Zandjānarūd.

Although Zandjān lies considerably to the east of Ādharbāidjān, it belongs to the Turkish linguistic zone (cf. Fortescue, *The Western Elburz*, in *G. J.*, 1924, April, p. 310). The province is mainly inhabited by Afshārs [q. v.] whose amirs were still able to play a part in politics in 1914—1916. Besides the Afshārs, there is the tribe of Doweyrān, who consider themselves Shāh-sewān [q. v.].

History. Andreas (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.*, i. 731) has very ingeniously identified Zandjān with

᾿Αγάνζαυα (*Aǧanyawa) in Ptolemy, vi. 2, 11. Thomas Artsruni (transl. Brosset, p. 193) calls it Žangan. According to the *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 61, the town was built (rebuilt) by Ardashir Bābakān under the name of *Shahīn*. Zandjān is rarely mentioned in history. The Muslims coming from Raiy took it in 24 (= 645; Balādhuri, p. 322; Yāqūt, ii. 948).

Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 57, includes Zandjān in the "Pahlawi" countries (*biṭāḍ al-Bahlawīyīn*) and it is curious that according to the *Nushat al-Kulūb* the people of Zandjān "speak pure Pahlawi", i. e. a northern Iranian dialect. The intermediary position of Zandjān is reflected in the Arab geographers, who treat it sometimes under al-Djibāl (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 198), sometimes under Dailam (*ibid.*, p. 195) sometimes under Ādharbāidjān (Muḥaddasī, p. 386), sometimes under Raiy (Muḥaddasī, p. 386).

In the tenth century, Zandjān came within the sphere of the activities of the Dailamis [cf. MUSĀFIRĪ]. The stronghold of Sar-djāhān is often mentioned in the N. E. of Zandjān (to the north of the Kōhrūd; cf. SA'IN-KALĀ, No. 2; *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 64). Under the Mongols Zandjān was ruined and the region between Zandjān and Tabriz attracted the tribes of the conquerors. The name of the district of Ūryād still preserves the memory of the Oyrat. The Īlkhān Arghūn was buried in the district of Sudjās (*koruḡ-i Arghūn*, "Arghūn's sanctuary"; *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 64; transl. p. 69). At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Zandjān was close to the new capital Sultāniya [q.v.]. The *Nushat al-Kulūb*, written in 1340, contains many details about the region of Zandjān (p. 56, 61, 106, 182, 217, 221). At this time the revenues of the town were 12,000 dinārs and those of the district 8,000 dinārs. In the post-Ṣafawid period, the arena of Turco-Persian struggle extended as far as Zandjān. In the sixteenth century Zandjān was best known as one of the centres of the Bābīs who in 1266 (1850) there offered armed resistance to the government (cf. *Tārīkh-i djadūd*, transl. Browne, p. 135-169).

Bibliography: Morier, *A Journey*, 1812, p. 261; Ouseley, *Travels*, 1819, iii. 386 (reckons 10,000 inhabitants in Zandjān); Ritter, *Erkunde*, viii. 623-624; Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage*, iii. 91-94; Khanikow, *Khoḡdeniye v Kerbelu*, in *Trudi Vost. Otd. I. Arkheol. Obsht.*, 1864, viii. 353-383 (journey of a pilgrim from Tabriz to Karbala' via Zandjān-Hamadān; the distance between the two last named places is estimated at 30 farsaks); de Filippi, *Note di viaggio in Persia*, Milan 1865, p. 180-193; Houtum-Schindler, *Neue Angaben d. Mineralreichtümer Persiens und Notizen über die Gegend westlich von Zandjan*, in *Jahrbuch d. K. K. geolog. Reichsanstalt*, Vienna 1881, p. 161-191; do., *Reisen im n.-w. Persien*, in *Z. Ges. Erdk.*, Berlin 1883, xviii., p. 320-331 (gold at Kāwand; 20-24 thousand inhabitants in Zandjān; altitude 5,185 feet); cf. *ibid.*, 1875, xiv., p. 65; Browne, *The Bābī insurrection at Zandjān*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 761-827; do., *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 72-74; Stahl, *Reisen in Zentral- und West-Persien*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, li., 1905, map 2 (roads west of Zandjān); do., *Reisen in Nord- und West-Persien*, *ibid.*, liii., 1907, p. 121-126, map (road: Tabriz-Zandjān-Hamadān; 25-30 thousand inhabitants in Zandjān); Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Caliphate*, p. 221, 223; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 729-731. (V. MINORSKY)

AL-ZANDJĀNĪ, 'IZZ AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB B. IBRĀHĪM B. 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB B. ABU 'L-MA'ĀLĪ AL-KHAZRADJĪ, also called AL-'IZZĪ, an Arabic grammarian, who lived in the first half of the viith (xiiiith) century. The place and date of his birth are unknown and the date of his death is also uncertain. The few facts that we know of his life are given us by Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, who in giving the works of al-Zandjānī adds what the latter says about their date and place of composition. We thus know that he stayed in Mōsul in 637 (1239) where he finished his *al-Mu'rib 'ammā fi 'l-Ṣiḥāḥ wa 'l-Mughrib*, a work on the dictionaries *Ṣiḥāḥ* and *al-Mughrib*. Later he was in Baghdād, where, as he tells us at the end of the works, he finished the commentary called *al-Hādī* on his grammatical work *Mabādī fi 'l-Taṣrif* in 654 (1256) and the two volume commentary *al-Kāfī* on his grammatical work *al-Hādī fi 'l-Nahw*. He also finished his *Minan al-Hādī fi 'l-Nahw wa 'l-Taṣrif* at the same time. Next year he completed a commentary on the *Kustās fi 'l-Arūd* of al-Zamakhsarī, called *Taṣṣiḥ al-Mikyās fi Tafsīr al-Kustās*. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, he died some time after 655 (1257) but we do not know the exact date. Besides these and other works on grammar, he wrote a book on the use of the astrolabe and made a collection of Arabic poems. The latter book, called *al-Maḍnūn bihi 'alā ghairi Ahlihi*, is an anthology on the lines of the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām or of al-Buḥturī. It contains verses by Arab poets of the time of the Djāhiliya, of the Muḥaddamūn [see MUKHADRAM] and of the post-classical period, which he took from their diwāns and earlier anthologies. A commentary on it was written by 'Ubaid Allāh b. 'Abd al-Kafī b. 'Abd al-Maḍjid al-'Ubaidī. Neither Ḥādjdjī Khalifa nor al-Suyūṭī, who mentions al-Zandjānī in the *Bughyat al-Wu'at fi Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyīn wa 'l-Nuḥāt* (Cairo 1326, p. 318), mentions this collection.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 283, 474; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, cf. index, vii. 944; E. J. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de Bibliographie Arabe*, Cairo 1928-1930; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'at fi Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyīn wa 'l-Nuḥāt*, Cairo 1326, p. 318; al-Zandjānī, *al-Maḍnūn bihi 'alā ghairi Ahlihi*, ed. I. B. Yahuda, Cairo 1913-1915.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

ZANGĪ. [See ZENGĪ.]

ZANZIBAR (AL-ZANDJABĀR), capital of the island of the same name, which lies off the east coast of Africa in 6° South Lat. The town is on the west side of the island 26 miles N.E. of the harbour of Bagamoyo in 6° 9' S. Lat. and 39° 15' East Long. and forms a triangular peninsula 1½ miles in length, which runs from east to west and affords a roomy anchorage, one of the best in Africa. The peninsula is connected with the mainland of the island by a narrow isthmus on which there is a cemetery; on the bay is the native quarter n'Gambo and there is also an Indian and a European quarter. The town which, since the Anglo-German agreement of July 1, 1890, has been the centre of the judicial, military and administrative authorities of the English protectorate and at the last census (1931) had 45,276 inhabitants, owes its rise to Sultān Saiyid Sa'īd of Maskat and Zanzibar who made it his capital in 1832 and by able policy made it the principal commercial centre of

East Africa from Cape Guardafui to Delagoa Bay. He and his successors have also done a great deal for the architectural development of the town. Sa'ïd himself built a palace in Zanzibar and at Mtoni, three miles away, Sulţān Barghash built a new palace in Chukwani, which was connected with Zanzibar by a railway, and other buildings in the town and brought water from Mtoni to Zanzibar. The town is noted for its fruits: bananas, lemons, mangoes, oranges, cocoa-nuts; it is connected by good motor roads with the towns of Mkokotoni, Chwaka, and Fumba and by seven miles of railway with Bububu. The Eastern Telegraph Company maintains a cable between Mombasa [q. v.] (Munbasa) and Zanzibar which secures communication with the ports of East and South Africa, 'Aden, Egypt, India, China and Europe. There is wireless telegraphy between Pemba and Zanzibar, which are also connected by telephone. Connections by sea are maintained by a number of steamship lines, such as the Clan-Ellerman-Harrison and Ellerman-Bucknall lines, the German East Africa line from Hamburg via the Cape of Good Hope and Suez, the Compagnia Italiana Transatlantica with Genoa, Maşawwa', 'Aden, Italian Benadir and Kenya, the Navigazione Libera Triestina with Venice via the Cape of Good Hope and Suez, the United Netherlands Navigation Company with the Dutch Indies and Holland, the Koninklijke Paketvaartmaatschappij with Java, the Osaka Shose Kaisha with Japan and South America, the Cowasjee Dinshaw & Brothers with Kismayu, the British India Steam Navigation Company with Bombay and Durban. In 1931, 346 ocean steamers with a total tonnage of 1,467,000 tons called at Zanzibar as well as 316 coasting steamers of 125,000 reg. tons, 3,562 dhows with a total of 69,000 reg. tons. The principle article of commerce is the clove, the cultivation of which was introduced by the Arabs in 1820, and copra. It is to these that Zanzibar owes its wealth. The other local products play a smaller part in the export trade, hides and leather, pepper, soap and copal. Articles imported for export to the mainland are cotton goods, rice, colonial products, petroleum, soap and provisions. Imports from Africa consist mainly of copra, ivory, hides, leather, copal resin, which are sent to England, India, America and Europe. The harbour is a base for whale-fishers in the Antarctic seas and as such of considerable importance. Zanzibar is also the headquarters of all the firms that trade with the mainland, English, German, Portuguese and Indian. Among the population the industrious Indians with 10,926 take second place after the 26,646 Africans. The Parsis, mainly from Bombay, are the largest contingent. Some of them engage in intellectual professions but they are mainly merchants and officials in the English service. The Muslim population is Sunnī of the Shāfi'ī school; only the ruling dynasty and its relatives are of the Ibādi sect [see ABĀDITES]. Zanzibar has three Christian missions. The Church of England Universities' Mission to Central Africa (founded 1864) maintains a hospital, a training school for teachers and a high school; there is also a cathedral. The Roman Catholic Pères du Saint-Esprit have had a mission in Zanzibar since 1856.

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(A. GROHMANN)

II. The Swahili population.

Swahili, a name "nowadays generally accepted to mean the mixed race — a blend of the aboriginal coast natives, slaves brought from the up-country region, and Arabs — which lives in most of the towns on the coast and in Zanzibar" (Ingrams, p. 30; for a list of the principal tribes referred to, see p. 220). The word is evidently derived from *Sawāhil* (pl. of *Sāhil*), a name used from the earliest times by Arab writers to denote the east coast of Africa, but it is not clear when it was first applied to the people, who are usually called *Zandī* [q. v.]. Strandes points out (p. 161) that the name "Swahili" nowhere occurs in the Portuguese records. The mixed race originated as early as the beginning of the Christian era, probably earlier; since the author of the *Periplus* mentions it as an established fact that Arab traders settled on the coast and married native women (Schoff, p. 28). Of post-Islāmic settlements, the most northerly would seem to be the oldest; Pate, if tradition can be trusted, was founded in 69 (689). Swahili in general seem to look to this northern area as the country of their origin (*nchi ya asili*) and consider the dialects of Lamu and Mombasa as, in a sense, classical. The language of the older poems, which has supplied the conventions of modern poetry, is called *Kingori* and is said to have been spoken in the district about Malindi (Steere²). Duarte Barbosa mentions that the "Moors" of Kilwa spoke Arabic, and this has continued to be the case with recent immigrants and those Arab families who have kept this descent unmixed; but, with the prevalence of slavery and the multiplication of half-castes, many, if not most of whom attained the status of free men, a language gradually grew up, African in structure, but strongly influenced by Arabic as regards vocabulary. The language, naturally, would vary locally, according to the tribes with whom the Arab settlers were chiefly brought in contact, or whence their slaves were drawn, but it is clear that these were mainly, if not entirely, Bantu-speaking. It is true that, according to Lamu tradition, the natives found by the first settlers on the island of Pate were Waboni, a hunting tribe who still inhabit the forests of the Tana Valley, speaking a non-Bantu language, of which very little has hitherto been recorded. Whether this is so or not, no trace of Boni speech seems to be discoverable in Swahili.

It is clear that no distinct "Swahili" tribe existed prior to and apart from the extraneous infiltrations above indicated — Arab, Persian (possibly pre-Islāmic and certainly dating from, at least, the settlement of Kilwa, 975 A.D.; Ingrams, p. 76, 126; Hollis, p. 275, 282), possibly Indian and Indonesian. — A Swahili, at the present day, may be pure African, without a trace of Arab or other foreign descent.

As might be expected from the circumstances, there is no uniform physical type, but nearly all,

except a minority of pure Arabs, show definite African characteristics. Within the same family there may be various gradations of colour, while some members have woolly hair and others wavy or straight. Burton's description (p. 414 *sqq.*) appears somewhat of a caricature, and this applies still more to his account of their character; but he was apt to look on everything African with a jaundiced eye (cf. Ingrams, ch. xlvii.). All Swahili, with insignificant exceptions (conversions to Christianity are very few), are professed Muslims, usually Sunnis of the *Shāfi'i* school; the Arabs are all, or mostly, *Ibādī* (Ingrams, p. 188—193, 434). But, as elsewhere, among the less instructed, there is a considerable infusion of animism. At Mombasa, e.g., vows and offerings are made at the grave of a saint known as *Shehe Jundani*, usually in order to injure some enemy. Ingrams (p. 435 *sqq.*) enumerates various superstitions and magical practices, with references (p. 501, 505) to some abnormal occurrences (apparently related on good authority), which have never been satisfactorily explained.

The Swahili language, as already stated, is essentially African — and specifically Bantu — in structure, though it cannot be said to be based on any one Bantu language. The Pokomo of the Tana Valley would probably be the tribe with whom the early settlers of Pate and Lamu came most in contact; and, certainly, the influence of their language on the Lamu dialect of Swahili is unmistakable. On a superficial view it would seem that they were the only Bantu-speaking tribe within the reach of the northern Arab settlements until the sixteenth century, when, according to their tradition, the "Nyika" tribes moved south-westward from "Shungwaya". But there is no evidence that this place (now included in Italian Somaliland) was their original home. There is no reason to doubt that this migration was preceded by unrecorded movements from the south or the west. Ingrams's argument (p. 64) that the natives mentioned in the *Periplus* could not have been Bantu is hardly conclusive; it must be borne in mind, *inter alia*, that "Bantu" is no more a racial designation than "English-speaking peoples" would be.

The general characteristics of the Bantu languages may be summarised as: agglutinative structure, the system of noun-classes and absence of grammatical gender. The noun-classes in Swahili have undergone considerable attrition, indicating a long course of development and, also, extensive foreign contact. One is struck by the comparative rarity of vocal images (*Lautbilder*), so remarkable a feature in e.g. Zulu, Nyanja and Yao, and also by the development of the relative clause — a stumbling-block to European students, which is absent in the more primitive forms of Bantu speech.

Of foreign elements in the Swahili vocabulary, the Arabic is obviously the most conspicuous. It has played the same part in Swahili as Latin in the Teutonic tongues, more especially in English. As might be expected, many such are technical terms of theology or ritual: *dua*, *kusali* (*ku-* being the infinitive prefix), *kusufudu*, *imamu*, *hotuba*, etc. The adoption of such words as *sultani*, *amiri*, *dola* is an obvious necessity; also names of objects introduced by the Arabs: *sahani* = plate, *sufuria* = metal pot, *orofa* = upper story of a house, *jahazi* = sailing-ship, and many more. In some cases the

introduction of an Arabic word seems quite unnecessary, e.g. *samaki*, for the old Swahili *sawi* = fish (found in Pokomo as *nswi*), *wasili* for *fika* = arrive, *rudi* for *uya* = return (cf. Zulu *buya*), *samani* for *kale* = long ago, *mahali* for *pantu* = place. Arabic influence on Swahili grammar is confined to the introduction of prepositions and conjunctions (parts of speech noticeably wanting in Bantu), such as *hatta*, *lakini*, *wala*, (*kwa*) *sababu*, *billa*, etc., which may be said to supply a felt want and certainly facilitate literary composition.

The pronunciation of Arabic words has, naturally, been considerably modified, largely by the introduction of vowels between two consonants, as *riziki* from *rizk* since all Swahili syllables are open. An interesting point emerges in connection with the words *harufu* ('arf) and *harusi* ('urs), where the aspirate, in popular pronunciation, has taken the place of ' (it is omitted by some speakers, which, indeed, is considered more correct). Elsewhere ' is reduced to a mere glottal stop, or simply disregarded; *gh* — except by pedantic Arabizers — is pronounced sometimes as *g*, sometimes as *h*. The vocalisation of Arabic verbs has occasioned some perplexity: *ruzuku* from *razaka*; *safiri* from *safara*. But, as Seidel has pointed out (p. 101), Arabic verbs in Swahili are taken from the imperfect, not from the ground-form. Persian loan-words occur sporadically, some, possibly, imported at an early stage, e.g. *boma*, "a fortified enclosure"; *pamba*, "cotton"; *kiboko*, "hippopotamus" (but primarily the whip made from the animal's hide), from *čabuk*. Some have probably come through Arabic, as *surwali*, "trousers"; *marijani*, "coral"; *bustani*, "garden". Loan-words from Portuguese are not numerous: *mesa*, "table"; *gereza*, derived from *igreja*, but now used to mean "fort" or "prison"; *mvinyo*, from *vinho*, and several words connected with card-games. Recently there have been extensive borrowings from English.

It is uncertain how long the Arabic script has been in use for writing Swahili; no MSS. as yet discovered would appear to be more than 200 years old, yet such a poem as the *Inkishafi*, which Taylor (Stigand, p. 94) conjectures to have been composed earlier than 1498, can hardly have been orally transmitted, and, in fact, presupposes a long period of culture. The Arabic script is still extensively used for correspondence, especially at Zanzibar and the towns north of Mombasa, though an increasing acquaintance with the Roman character, acquired in Mission and Government schools, is tending to displace it, indeed, is far better adapted for rendering the sounds of Swahili.

The Persian ب and ف are very generally used for *p* and *f*, though less educated writers sometimes employ ب and ف; e.g. بَب, فَب, for *pepo*, *vitu*. *Ch* (č) is rendered, sometimes by ش, sometimes, chiefly by Northern scribes, by ك; *g* by غ occasionally by ج, and *ng* by غ. A nasal before another consonant (as in the common combinations *mb*, *ny*, *nz*) is usually omitted (thus *nyumba* is written نِب), but *nd* is frequently rendered by the sign نَ (نْ, for *kwenda*). It follows that Swahili in Arabic script cannot be read with-

out the vowel points, and even with them, if carelessly placed. An example of the confusion thus produced is quoted by Steere¹ (p. 6).

The existing Swahili literature (apart from that produced, under European encouragement, during the last few decades) is confined to poetry. The lyrics ascribed to Lioṅgo Fumo, if genuine, probably go back to the xiiith century at latest. Of the numerous poems collected by the late C. G. Büttner, three were published by him in *Anthologie*, and one, since his death, by Meinhof, in *Z. K.* (ii. 1911—1912). The collections of the late W. E. Taylor still remain in MS. The art of poetry is still being cultivated, as shown by the recent work of Muḥammad b. Abū Bakar b. ‘Omar (Kijuma) at Lamu and Bwana Silimu at Mombasa.

The metric system, originally borrowed from Arabia, has been modified in accordance with the genius of the language, with its uniform penultimate stress and richness of vocalisation.

It must not be forgotten that, side by side with these products of conscious literary art, we find a living stream of folk-poetry, comparable to that of Southern Europe. Specimens of such folk-songs have been collected by Zache, Velten and others.

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(ALICE WERNER)

ZĀR is in Arabic a loanword from Amharic, as the popular beliefs in the genii *zār* were imported from Abyssinia into the Islāmic world. Similar ideas about genii who may temporarily become incarnate in particular human beings, are found in various Muslim countries of Asia and Africa where they have special names: such as *būri* (Nigeria and Tripolitania) and *amok* (Malaya). This article, however, is concerned only with the habits of the *zār* adopted with that name in Egypt, Hīdžaz and ‘Omān, besides Abyssinia.

In Abyssinia itself the name *zār* is of non-Semitic origin. *Zār* is very probably derived from the name of the supreme divinity of the pagan Kushites, the God-Heaven called in Agau (Bilen): *djār*; and in Sidama languages (Kafia): *yarō*; (Buoro): *darō*. The ancient pagan god became in christianized Abyssinia a malevolent genius; and in this way the animistic practices, which in the paganism of the Kushites were

directed only to the minor superhuman beings, passed into Abyssinian Christianity (and then into Islām) with the proper name of the God-Heaven who had been reduced to a minor rank.

In Abyssinia Christians and Muslims believe that the *zār* (who lives especially in rivers, streams and other running waters) may be driven out of the body of the possessed person by the use of amulets or rites common to the followers of both religions. During these rites the *zār* is summoned “to tell his name”; because that would cause him to lose his power.

By the peoples of Southern Ethiopia (Galla and Sidama), however, besides these exorcistic rites, there are other ceremonies intended to force the evil spirit to enter the bodies of initiated persons. When the evil spirit has possessed these persons, they prophesy and each word or gesture by them is believed to be a revelation by the spirit.

In Egypt the ceremonies connected with the *zār* were probably imported in the xixth century; and their Amharic name *zār* and their exorcistic character are clear evidence of their origin from Northern (Semitic) Abyssinia. (The popular Arabic etymology recorded by Zwemer: “*zār* because he is a [sinister] visitor” has, of course, no real basis). The exorcistic ceremony is often conducted by a woman: the *sheikha* or *‘arifa al-sikka*. The spirit must be differently treated according to its place of origin (they distinguish genii from Cairo, Upper Egypt, Sūdān etc.). It is necessary, therefore, to get “the right melody, the right song and right clothes”, all these things being different for the Cairne or Sūdānese etc. spirits. The songs are accompanied by little drums and dances. A sacrifice of fowls is also usually offered to the spirit. The ceremony may last, in special cases, many nights. Pamphlets condemning the *zār* practises have been printed in Cairo.

In the Hīdžāz the belief in the *zār* was imported, according to Snouck Hurgronje, by Abyssinian slaves. It has the same characteristics as in Egypt and is widely diffused among Meccan women. The *sheikha*, who conducts the rites, tries to ascertain the nationality of the *zār* by questioning him either in vulgar Arabic or in a particular *zār*-language known only to initiated persons.

To ‘Omān the *zār* has come in the same way. A plural (*zārān*) of the name *zār* in the dialect of ‘Omān seems to be unknown elsewhere.

In Somaliland only do we find, besides the exorcistic rites, other ceremonies intended to procure the incarnation of the genius (called in Somali: *sār*).

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ZARANDJ, a town in Persia, the former capital and principal town of Sidjistan to the south of Herāt, at a distance of ten days' journey in a desert traversed by canals led from the river Hindmend (Hilmend). Attacked by al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī in 30 (651), he left it to the satrap Parwiz on payment of 200 slaves, each carrying a basin of gold. At the end of 2½ years, al-Rabī' was replaced by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura who besieged the satrap in the citadel and made peace on payment of 2,000,000 dirhams and 2,000 slaves. At one time fortified and surrounded by a ditch as was its suburb, it had five iron gates: the new gate and the old on the Fārs side in the west, the gate of Karköye on the Khwāsān side in the north, the gate of Nishak on the Bost side and the gate al-Ta'ālm towards the villages. The houses were built in vaulted porticoes of brick (*āsādjī ma'kūda*) because wood there was eaten by ants. It had been a palace of Ya'qūb b. Laith, the white Ṣaffārid [cf. ṢAFFĀRIDS] and of his brother 'Amr; inside the town was a building called Arg (fortress, *arx*) which was the treasury built by 'Amr. There were markets around the principal mosque; one of them was built by 'Amr who made it a *wakf* of the mosque; a hospital, and a mosque called Ḥaram. There were canals inside the town. Two great reservoirs of running water supplied the greater part of the private houses and gardens. The two minarets of the great mosque were famous.

It was taken by Timūr in 785 (1383) and destroyed; its inhabitants were massacred. Its ruins lie around the modern villages of Zāhidān (remains of a tower) and Shahrīstān, along the old bed of one of the canals led from the Hilmend and dried up since the middle ages.

Zarandj was, in early times, the name of the province (*zaranka*) and of the people who inhabited it (*Zarānyan*, Arrian).

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AL-ZARNŪDĪ, BURHĀN AL-DĪN, an Arab philosopher. His *ism* is not known and his period can only be approximately stated. Ahlwardt in the Berlin Catalogue under N^o. 111 says that Maḥmūd b. Sulaimān al-Kaffawī (d. 990 = 1562) in his *A'lām al-Akḥyār min Faḡḡahā' Madhhab al-Nu'mān al-Mukhtār* puts our author in the twelfth class of the Ḥanafīs and from this calculates that he flourished about 620 (1223). In agreement with this is the fact that Eduard van Dyck, *Iktifā' al-Ḳanū' bi-mā huwa maḥbū'*, Cairo 1896, p. 190, describes our philosopher, in agreement with Ḥādjdī Khālifa, N^o. 3134, as a pupil of the author of the *Hidāya fī Furū' al-Fiḡh*, i. e. Burhān al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Farghānī al-Marghinānī [q. v.]. The latter died in 593 (1197); and al-Zarnūdjī in fact quotes him in his *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim* several times as his teacher and with the eulogy for the dead. The other authorities cited in this book, so

far as their dates are known, also confirm Ahlwardt's date. For example al-Zarnūdjī mentions Fakhr al-Islām al-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-Farghānī Qādikhān [q. v.], who died in 592 (1196), as his teacher. In another passage he records that the Shaikh Zāhir al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Marghinānī recited verses before him (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 379 puts him rather too late, for his father died in 506 [1112] and the above mentioned Qādikhān was his pupil; see vol. iii., p. 280, N^o. ii.). He further tells us that he heard a story from Shaikh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Kāshānī. The reference is certainly to Abū Bakr Maṣ'ūd b. Aḥmad (*G. A. L.*, i. 375, d. 587 = 1191). Finally he tells us that Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Imām Khwāharzāde recited something to him and according to *G. A. L.*, i. 429 he lived about 560 (1165). If we take all these data together, we come to the conclusion that our author flourished a little earlier than Ahlwardt thought but his work was certainly composed after 593.

The only known and only surviving work of al-Zarnūdjī, *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim Taṭarīḡ al-Ta'alum*, is a little vademecum for students to teach them the ethical outlook of the man of learning. The whole book consists simply of utterances of earlier writers but they are not unskilfully chosen and presented in an attractive way. This fact and the brevity of the book are the causes of its tremendous popularity, on the details of which see *G. A. L.*, i. 462. It is interesting to notice that the authorities cited by the author, so far as they do not belong to the first century, are almost without exception Ḥanafīs, although the subject matter has practically nothing to do with the doctrine of any *madhhab* — Ibn Ismā'il's commentary was printed at Cairo in 1311.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(M. PLESSNER)

ZĀTĪ, one of the most important Ottoman poets of the preparatory classical period. His real name was 'Iwaz or Bakhshī or Yakhshī (according to Laṭīfī). Born in 876 (1471—1472) in Balıkesir in Ḳarasī, the son of a shoemaker, he followed the same trade. He had no education. In spite of all obstacles his poetical ability displayed itself. He was a born poet. In the time of Sultān Bāyazīd he came to Constantinople. As his original plan of becoming a qāḍī after some training fell through on account of his deafness, which also prevented him from obtaining any public appointment, he lived the life of an unattached poet, supporting himself by the presents his poems brought him from the sultān and the notables. He dedicated qāṣidas to the three sultāns in whose reigns he wrote, Sultān Bāyazīd, Selim I and Sulaimān al-Ḳānūnī, in return for which he received presents and even a fief which was however later taken from him as he did not give military service.

His talent brought him a large number of patrons and friends (the grand vizier 'Alī Pāshā, the Qādī'asker Mu'ayyad-zāde, the Nishāndjī-zāde Tādījī-zāde Dja'far Čelebi, the Defterdār and later grand vizier Piri Pāshā, Qadri Efendi, etc.). But as they in turn lost their offices or their lives, he was left penniless. He therefore worked as a fortune-teller (*rammāl*) and wrote amulets (*wafk*; q. v.). He had his booth first of all in the court of the Bāyazīd mosque and later besides Qodja İbrāhīm Pāshā's baths. There the intellect of Constantinople used

to gather, including the poets *Khayālî*, *Yahyâ*, *Bakî* and others. *Zatî* was for a period a recognised leader and master. He lived in great poverty, besides he drank. He was celebrated for his ready wit and in spite of his ugliness was a popular companion. He died in *Ramadhân* 953 (Nov. 1546) and was buried outside of the *Adrianople* Gate.

Zatî's poetic output was prodigious. This was partly the result of his poverty which forced him to write. *Latîfî* credits him with 3,000 *ghazels*, 500 *kaşidas* and 1,000 *rubâ'î's* and *kit'a's*. *Zatî*'s own figures however are 1,600 *ghazels* and over 400 *kaşidas* (according to *Qınalî-zâde*). In the *Divân* collected by *Pîrî Çelebi* there are 600 *ghazels* and 80 *kaşidas*.

Zatî also wrote two mesnewis: *Şem' u-Perwâne* (*hesedî*) and *Ahmed u-Mahmûd* (*remelî*); a *Şeh-rengiz* of *Adrianople*; a *Ferrukh-nâme*; *Fâl-i Kur'an*; *Siyer-i Nebî*; a *Mewlûd*; *Laghuzlar* (puzzles), a *Madjma' al-Laṭā'if*, and a collection of anecdotes about his contemporaries. None of his works has been printed. His *Divân* is very scarce; there is a copy in the *Hamidiye* Library in *Constantinople*.

In view of his lack of training and education, *Zatî*'s high poetic gifts are surprising: the vigour of his poems and the power and richness of his language especially in his best period. Later he became feeble and artificial and continually repeats himself. With *Ahmad Pāshā* and *Nedjātî* he is considered a master in the use of proverbs. Many of his sayings have in their turn become proverbial.

Zatî was the chief of those who prepared the way for the perfect classical style, as typified in *Bakî*. After *Ahmad Pāshā* and *Nedjātî*, he is the third founder of the Ottoman poetical language. He surpassed all his predecessors in power of language and poetic conception. The depth of his religious conviction, which is evident in his poems, may be mentioned. He belonged to the *Wefā'* order.

Bibliography: *Latîfî*, *Teskere*, *Constantinople* 1314, p. 156—161; *Sehî*, *Hesht Bihisht* (*Teskere*), 1325, p. 107—108; *Ziyā' Pasha*, *Kharābān*, 1292, iii. 24—27; *Mu'allim Nadjî*, *Esāmî*, 1308, p. 141—142; do., *Medjmu'a-i Mu'allim*, N^o. 16, p. 121—122; *Thuraiyā*, *Sidjill-i 'othmānî*, ii. 341; *Sāmî*, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, iii. 2224; *Shihāb al-Din Sulaimān*, *Ta'rikk-i Edebiyāt-i 'othmāniye*, 1328, p. 59—65; *Köprülü-zāde Mehmed Fu'ad* and *Shihāb al-Din Sulaimān*, *'Othmānî Ta'rikk-i Edebiyātî*, 1332, p. 254—258; *F. Reshād*, *Ta'rikk-i Edebiyāt-i 'othmāniye*, 1328, p. 232—245; do., *Eslāf*, N^o. 54 in *Khazine-i Fünun*, ii. 63—64; *Brusall Mehmed Tahir*, *'Othmānî Mü'ellifleri*, ii. 176—177; *Ibrāhim Nedjîmî*, *Ta'rikk-i Edebiyāt Dersleri*, 1338, i. 75—77; *Hammer-Purgstall*, *G. O. D.*, ii. 240—248; *Basmadjian*, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature turque*, *Constantinople* 1910, p. 44—45. (TH. MENZEL)

ZATÎ (SULAIMÂN), a *Şüfî* Ottoman poet, of *Gallipoli* (not *Brussa*, as often stated), *khalîfa* of *Shāikh Ismā'il Hakkî*. He died in 1151 (1738) as *püst-nishîn* of the *Khalwetî* monastery in *Keshan*. He left a *Divân* with *Şüfî* poems and a treatise in verse: *Sawānîh al-Nawādir fî Ma'rifat al-Anā'ir* (printed together); and two prose works: *23 Es'e-le-i mütesawwifāneye Djewāb-nāme* and *Miftāh al-Masā'il*.

Bibliography: *Brusall Mehmed Tahir*, *'Othmānî Mü'ellifleri*, i. 72—73; *Thuraiyā*, *Sidjill-i 'othmānî*, ii. 342; *Sāmî*, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, iii. 2224. (TH. MENZEL)

ZĀWA, a town in Persia, in *Khorāsān* near *Naisābūr*. In the time of *Muḥaddasî*, it was a rural district which did not contain a town; but later (xivth century) there was a fine town there with a citadel built of brick. It contains the tomb of the *shāikh* *Ḳuṭb al-Din Ḥaidar*, who was still alive in 617 (1220) whence the name of *Turbat-i Ḥaidarî* now given to the town. *Muḥaddasî* mentions a town of the same name near *Ghazna* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 50, 297).

Bibliography: *Yāqūt*, *Mu'djam*, ii. 770, 910 = *Barbier de Meynard*, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 282; *B. G. A.*, iii. 319c; *Ibn Baṭṭūta*, *Voyages*, iii. 79; *Ḳazwini*, *Āthār*, p. 251; *Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfî*, ed. *Le Strange*, p. 154; transl., p. 152; *F. Goldsmid*, *Eastern Persia*, p. 353; *Le Strange*, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 356. (CL. HUART)

AL-ZAWĀWĪ. [See *IBN MU'TĪ*.]

ZAWILA, the name of two towns in North Africa.

1. *Zawilat al-Mahdiyya* (according to *al-Bakrî*: *Zuwaila*) built by the *Fāṭimid* *Uḡbad Allāh al-Mahdî* (d. *Rabî' 1* 14, 322) situated a bowshot distant from *al-Mahdiyya*, of which it was a suburb. According to *Idrisî* the two towns formed one. It had fine bazaars and buildings and many merchants resided there who went to their businesses in *Mahdiyya* in the day. The town was surrounded by a wall even on the side facing the sea; the land side was further protected by a great ditch. The wall built by *al-Mu'izz b. Bādîs Sharaf al-Dawla* (d. *Shawwāl 1*, 453) was 2 miles long and had iron gates weighing 1,000 cwt, 30 spans high, each studded with 6 lbs. of heavy nails. In the vicinity of *Zawila* were hamlets, farms and country houses, belonging to the people of the town who practised agriculture and cattle-rearing here; the principal products were barley and olives, the oil went to the Levant.

2. *Zawilat al-Sūdān* (according to *Idrisî*: *Zāwila*), capital of *Fazzān*, 10 days' journey north of *Waddān* on that frontier of the *Bilād al-Sūdān* which adjoins the province of Africa. The town, which lay at an important road junction in the middle of the desert, had no walls, had a mosque, baths and bazaars, palmgroves and cornfields, which were watered by camels. The Muslims who lived here were *Ibāḍis*. Many traders from *Khurāsān*, *al-Kūfa* and *Baṣra* used to come here. The exports were slaves and leather. The town was taken by *Uḡba b. Nāfi'*, a general of *'Amr b. al-'Āṣ*. The poet *Di'bil b. 'Alī al-Khuzā'i* is buried here.

Bibliography: On 1: *Yāqūt*, *Mu'djam*, ed. *Wüstenfeld*, ii. 961; *al-Idrisî*, *Nuzhat al-Muḥtāk*, French transl. by *Jaubert*, i. 258 sq.; *al-Bakrî*, *Kitāb al-Mughrib fî Dhikr Bilād Ifrīkiya wa'l-Maghrib*, ed. *G. de Slane*², *Algiers* 1911, p. 29 sq.; *al-Iṣṭakhri*, *B. G. A.*, i. 40, 44, 46; *Ibn Ḥawkal*, *B. G. A.*, ii. 66; *al-Muḥaddasî*, *B. G. A.*, iii. 246.

On 2: *al-Yā'qūbî*, *B. G. A.*, vii. 345; *al-Idrisî*, *Nuzhat al-Muḥtāk*, French transl. by *Jaubert*, i. 115; *Yāqūt*, *Mu'djam*, ed. *Wüstenfeld*, ii. 960 sq.; iii. 890; iv. 911.

(A. GROHMANN)

ZĀWIYA, properly the corner of a building, was at first applied to the cell of the Christian monk (cf. the Greek *γῶνία*), then to a small mosque or praying room; the word still has this meaning in the Muslim east in contrast to a more important mosque (*masǧid* or *dǧāmi*). On the other hand the term *zāwiya* has retained a much more general meaning in North Africa and is applied to a building or group of buildings of a religious nature, which resembles a monastery and a school. An excellent definition of the Maghribi *zāwiya* was given as early as 1847 by Daumas (*La Kabylie*, p. 60) and it seems to be in essentials appropriate at the present day (cf. the quotation in Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.) All or several of the following are found in a *zāwiya*: a room for prayer with a *miḥrāb*; the mausoleum of a marabout or Sharifan saint, which is surmounted by a dome (*kubba*); a room set aside exclusively for the recitation of the *Qurʾān*; a *maktab* or *Qurʾān* school; finally rooms for the guests of the *zāwiya*, pilgrims, travellers and students. The *zāwiya* is usually adjoined by a cemetery with the tombs of those who have during their lifetime expressed a wish to be buried here. "The *zāwiya*" says Daumas, is, to sum up, a religious school and a free hostel, in these two respects it has much in common with the mediaeval monastery".

The conception of a *zāwiya* has, it seems, undergone a somewhat characteristic change since the middle ages, at least in the Muslim west; in the east on the other hand the term very soon acquired a definite meaning so that it was applied only to the more humble mosques and is not there used as an alternative for the more precise terms like *dair*, *khānqāh* or *tekke*, which are used particularly for monastic institutions which as a rule owe their origin to Persian Muslim mysticism. In the Maghrib on the other hand the term *zāwiya* appears about the xiiith century as synonymous with *rābiʿa*, i.e. hermitage, to which a holy man retired and where he lived surrounded by his pupils and devotees (cf. G. S. Colin, transl. of al-Bādisi's *Maḥṣad*, in *A. M.*, xxvi. [1926], p. 240, s.v.). This *zāwiya* or *rābiʿa* is however not always identical with the *ribāʿ*, an institution which served another purpose and was primarily of a military character. In this connection however we may note a statement of Ibn Marzūḥ of Tlemcen (d. 781 = 1379), who in his monograph on the Marinid Sultān Abu l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥasan*, devotes the 42nd chapter to the *zāwiyas* built by this ruler and says the *zāwiya* corresponds to what in the east is called *Ribāʿ* or *Khānqāh*. It may be added that the word *ribāʿ* is also found in Morocco used for institutions in which the military activity was particularly directed to spreading Islām among heretics with the sword: this for example was the case with the *ribāʿ* Asfi (cf. SAFI) and Sidi-Shiker on the Wādi-Tansift. The first *zāwiya* hermitages undoubtedly developed very quickly and became not only places of refuge from the world but also centres of religious and mystic life, where the *taṣawwuf*, hitherto the sole possession of urban scholars, was to be brought nearer the masses. They now became centres of attraction, religious schools and to some extent free hostels for travellers in search of spiritual perfection. This explains how Ibn Marzūḥ could say when speaking of the *zāwiyas* of his time: "It is clear that with us in the Maghrib the *zāwiyas* serve to give shelter to

wanderers and food to travellers" (cf. also RIBĀʿ).

In Muslim Spain we find no *zāwiyas* before the time of the Naṣrids of Granada. They therefore belong to the same time as those of the Marinid sultān Abu l-Ḥasan and their foundation must have met the same needs. In 1903 W. and G. Marçais put forward the attractive hypothesis that the Maghribi *madrasas* were in the intention of their founders, the Marinid and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid rulers of the xivth century, only an "official recognition" of the schools attached to the *zāwiyas*. It is perhaps more possible that these rulers endeavoured by their foundations alongside of the great centres of religious instruction (notably the *Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawīyīn* in Fās) to weaken to some degree the competition already caused in the towns and outside of them by the *zāwiya* schools.

At the present day the most important North African *zāwiyas*, whether they are now in the large towns or in the country — where little townships have almost always grown up around them — are the mother houses or branch settlements of the Marabout or Sharifan religious brotherhoods [see ṬARIQA and SHURFĀ].

In addition to their religious and intellectual influence the *zāwiyas* of the Muslim west have exercised a direct political influence on the population of the country in areas remote from the seat of the central government. The most striking example of this is the *Zāwiya al-Dilāʾ* (in the district of Tādla, in Central Morocco on the banks of the Umm Rabiʿ), the heads of which took advantage of the troubled times after the fall of the Saʿdian dynasty (in the second half of the xviith century) to extend their secular power over the greater part of the district which was dependent on Fās. In more recent times the example of the Berber *zāwiyas* of Iliḡh in Tāzarwalt and Aḡaṣāl in the Central Atlas can be quoted.

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, p. I, *Égypte*, Paris 1903, p. 174, 244; W. and G. Marçais, *Les Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, Paris 1903, p. 270–272; G. Marçais, *Note sur les ribāʿs en Berbérie*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii. 395 sqq.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Le Musnad d'Ibn Marzūḥ*, Paris 1925, p. 70–71; R. Dozy, *Suppl. aux dict. arabes*, i. 615–616. — On the modern North African *zāwiyas* there are a number of monographs, e.g.: E. Doutté, *Les Marabouts*, Paris 1900; L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1884; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers, 1897. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL) ZĀY. [See ZĀʾ.]

ZAYĀNIDS (BANŪ ZAYĀN or BANŪ ZIYĀN, the two vocalisations *zayān* and *ziyān* are classical; we also find *zaiyān*), a Berber dynasty of kings of Tlemcen, who reigned over Central Maghrib from the xiiith to the xviith century A.D., whose claim to noble descent from Idris is disputed (cf. *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, iii. 328 and *ibid.*, the words attributed to Yaghmurāsān). They are called by the chroniclers also ʿAbdalwāḥids (q.v., i., p. 64^b). This is because ʿAbd al-Wāḥid [q.v.] and Zaiyān were two of the ancestors of the kings of Tlemcen, centuries apart however, the former living before Islām and the latter being the father of Yaghmurāsān (end of the viiith [xiiith] century).

After Yaghmurāsān (first independent king of the dynasty from 633 = 1236) and beginning with his son Abū Sa'īd 'Oḥmān I, four kings, all direct descendants of Yaghmurāsān, occupied the throne in succession till 737 (1337). The kingdom of Tlemcen was then twice conquered and occupied by the Marinids from 737 to 749 (1337—1348) and from 753 to 760 (1352—1359).

The first Zayānid restoration (749 = 1348) brought to the throne the brothers Abū Sa'īd 'Oḥmān II and Abū Thābit but it was their nephew Abū Hammū I (son of their brother Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf) who in 760 (1359) restored the dynasty to its old position; his descendants ruled till the Turkish conquest in 962 (1554).

The only genealogical difference between the two ruling branches of this dynasty is that the first consisted of the direct descendants of Yaghmurāsān, through his eldest son 'Oḥmān I while the second line consisted of the direct descendants of his younger son 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

There is no reason — and no document to justify it — to believe with Bargès (cf. *Tlemcen, anc. cap.* etc., p. 194 and *Hist. des B. Zeijon*, transl. *Introd.*, p. xli.) that it was only the kings of the younger line who took the name of Banū Zayān (from 794 = 1348); all being direct descendants of Yaghmurāsān, were Zayānids as well as 'Abd al-Wādids, for both lines included among their ancestors 'Abd al-Wād and Zayān.

As to the relationship of these kings to the Marinids [q. v.] of Fās, it has been established by the Muslim genealogists who place Wasān, grandfather of 'Abd al-Wād, among the ancestors of Marin b. Wurtādjin, ancestor of the Marinids (cf. especially Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbers*, ii. 240; transl. iv. 25; *al-Dhakhīrat al-saniyya*, p. 10).

Bibliography: To the *Bibl.* in the articles 'ABD AL-WĀD and 'ABDALWĀDIDS, the following can now be added: Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Rawḍat al-Nisrin fī Dawlat Banī Marin*, ed. and transl. Gh. Bouali and G. Marçais, Paris 1917, with a *Histoire des Banu Zayān de Tlemcen* (from the transl. by Dozy in *J.A.*, 4th series, vol. iii., p. 382—416); *al-Dhakhīrat al-saniyya*, *Chronique anonyme des Mérinides*, ed. Moh. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1921; Alfred Bel, *Tlemcen et ses environs* 2, Toulouse n. d.

(ALFRED BEL)

ZĀYIRDJA, an astrological magic table common in Morocco, the making and use of which is fully described by Ibn Khaldūn in the *Muḥaddima*. The word is connected with *Ziḍj* [q. v.]; its fuller name is *Zāyirḍjat al-Ālam*. The inventor is said to have been the Šūfī Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Šibtī (i. e. of Ceuta) who lived in the time of the Almoḥad Ya'qūb al-Manšūr, i. e. at the end of the viith (xiiith) century. The table has on one side a system of concentric circles with divisions corresponding to the signs of the zodiac and others for telling fortunes and answering questions on important matters, with a corresponding system of radii, filled with numerals and letters. On the reverse of the table is a rectangle, divided into 55,131 small compartments, some empty, some with letters in them. Two verses by Malik b. Wuhaib are used in connection with it; the letters in them are used as starting points in the consultation.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, transl. de Slane, i. 245—253 and iii. 199—205; Dozy, *Suppl.*, s. v.

(J. RUSKA)

ZE'ĀMET (A.), popular form for *zi'āma*, Turkish pronunciation *zeamet* and *ziamet*: 1. the quality of *za'im*, 2. (military) fief of a *za'im* (the other meanings of *ze'āmet* will be found in the Arabic dictionaries). — The word *za'im*, plur. *zu'amā'*, has several meanings which may be grouped round that of "person who puts forward a claim, who intercedes for or answers for one or more weaker individuals". It means, in effect: 1. "caution, surety" (Kur'ān, *Dirwān* of Imru'u 'l-Kais, treatises on Muslim law); 2. "spokesman of a group of individuals or metaphorically of animals, acting in name of the group", as in the *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'*, Cairo 1928, ii. 117 sqq.; 3. "the head of a non-Muslim community" (therefore not enjoying full civil rights). *Ḳalkaṣhandī* (*Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā'*, iv. 194) gives the name *zu'amā' ahl al-dhimma* to the various "patriarchs of the Christian communities"; 4. "the two provosts-m Marshals or chiefs of police or of the watch in Cairo and Bulāḳ", a synonym of the Arabic *wālī (al-shurṭa)* and the Turkish *subaşı* (cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, p. 39, notes 1 and 2). — These officials had the supervision of the Christians especially; 5. "honorific title given in Egypt to high military officials and to certain foreign Muslim sovereigns" (for details, cf. *Ḳalkaṣhandī*, vi. 51); cf. the title *za'im al-djuyūsh* given to the Turkish prince of German [q. v.] (*ibid.*, viii. 13); the expression *al-za'im al-a'ṣam* was applied to the highest imām, even to the caliph (*ibid.*, iv. 444 and 448); 6. (modern Egypt usage) "leader of a political party" (e. g. the late Zaghlūl); 7. (Turkish usage, probably since 1375) "holder of a military fief, of an annual revenue of at least 20,000 aspers (*akā* or *akçe*)". — This development of the meaning is perhaps analogous to that given under N^o. 5 above (thence meaning of "more important leader than a simple timariot"), but it is more probable that it is due to the fact that the *za'im* had under this jurisdiction, mainly fiscal, groups of *raias* or peasants, for the most part Christians. We know also [cf. *TĪMĀR*] that some of the holders of fiefs had the rank of *subaşı*. Now the *subaşı* were not simple timariots but *za'im*. Besides the *subaşı* [q. v.] in as much as they were police officers dealt mainly with the Christians. We have already given above under N^o. 4 another example of the similarity of meaning between *za'im* and *subaşı*.

It is with the seventh and last significance that we are here concerned.

Details of the Turkish military fiefs in general and of the *zeamet* in particular are to be found in the article *TĪMĀR*. Here we shall mainly confine ourselves to adding that this article has been criticised by the eminent scholar Köprülüẓāde Mehmed Fu'ād who rightly reproves the author for not having cited the article *İKTİS* in this Encyclopædia and the articles by C. H. Becker (*Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tē'siri hakkında bazı mulâhazalar* "Some remarks on the influence of Byzantine institutions on Ottoman institutions", in *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* "Review of the History of Turkish Law and Political Economy", Istanbul, Ewḳāf Maṭba'ası, 1931, vol. i. [all that appeared], p. 165—313; ch. x. of this important contribution is devoted to the *Timar sistemi* ["the Timar system"], p. 219—241).

According to Köprülüẓāde Mehmed Fu'ād, the system of Ottoman military fiefs was not borrowed

from the Byzantines but from the Saldjüks. I ought indeed to have mentioned the latter [cf. İQTÄ', p. 462b] and it was quite natural for the institution to have been transmitted from them to the Ottomans.

It is nevertheless true that it is difficult to admit that an organisation so closely bound up with the soil as this could have disappeared from Anatolia with the fall of the Byzantine empire to be replaced by another of the same kind. The Byzantine organisation was not only amalgamated with the Saldjük organisation but continued to exercise its influence on that which the successors of the Saldjüks in Asia Minor adopted. The fiscal system of the *tīmār* bears clear traces of this. This Byzantine influence was perhaps less strong than western scholars, who have not had direct access to the Oriental sources, have thought, but it seems indisputable.

It is not however certain that the organisation of the military fiefs of the Saldjüks themselves was not influenced by that of the Byzantines who preceded them (the use of cuirassiers, in full armour or *djebeli*, in particular, goes back to Rome itself). At the present day, we can see how easily military practices are borrowed from one country by another and Turkish military organisation at a very early period attained a perfection which enabled it to accept improvements from foreign countries without hurting the national amour-propre.

While giving due credit to the importance of the Saldjük organisation we would ask that the Byzantine elements should not be omitted in a study of the Turkish *tīmār*.

The few notes that follow are intended to supplement the article *TİMÄR*.

Za'im. — According to a MS. note by the late René Basset in his copy of Kazimirski's Arabic-French dictionary, the word *za'im* also means "supervisor, convict guard" (*Ḥasawāt*, p. 4). It would have to be investigated how far this term is connected with *zamel* or maritime fiefs. The same remark applies to the word *za'im* used for a kind of ship in the Red Sea.

A Turkish saying has it: *üstü başlı za'im çadırlına döndü* "he is dressed like a *za'im* tent"; cf. the French "comme une chässe" (Tekezade M. Sait [Sa'id], *Atalar sözü*, 1312, p. 55). This saying shows that the tents of the *za'im* were very luxurious.

There was a style of head-dressing called *za'imî* (cf. Ahmet Rasim, *Osmanlı tarihi*, p. 236 and 473).

The name *za'im müteferrikan* was given to the *müteferrika* of the Palace chosen from the *za'im* (of the province). Cf. Aḥmad Rafik, *Fatihin sarayı*, *İkdam* of June 8 and 12, 1923.

A specimen of an imperial *berat* granting a *xiamet* is given in Belin, *Du régime des fiefs* . . . , p. 109.

Tīmār. — Köprülüzade Mehmed Fu'ad (*op. cit.*, p. 238—239, note) observes rightly that, contrary to what I have said, the word *tīmār* has in Saldjük texts the meaning of "grant of lands" but he himself adds that this term has a vague meaning in the passages cited. The same vague meaning is found in texts referring to the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire (cf. 'Ashikpashazade, *passim*).

On the expression *tapu kılmaḥ* "to pay homage" cf. 'Ashikpashazade, ed. Giese, p. 68, l. 15.

Bibliography: Cf. the bibliographies to the articles İQTÄ', *TİMÄR* and *TIYÜL*. We may add: R. V. Scala, in Helmholtz, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. v. (cited by Köprülüzade Mehmed Fu'ad); Sokolov, *Zemelniya otosheniya v Turtsii do Tansimata*, Noviy Vostok, Moscow 1924, N^o. 7 (cf. also the same periodical, 1925, N^o. 8—9); Jouannin and van Gaver, *Turquie (L'Univers)*, Paris 1840, p. 35: à propos of the *bedel djebeli*; cf. however: *zuhuri bedeli timar* in Na'imā, v., p. 8 (events of the year 1060); Hammer, *Histoire*, ii. 206 of the French edition (à propos of the demi-fiefs created by Mehmed I); *Histoire des Turcs de Chalcondyle*, Paris 1662, ii., illustrations . . . , col. 100; J. H. Seyfried, *Imperii Turcici imago, das ist Beschreibung etc.*, Sultzbach 1685, p. 75; W. Björkman, *Ofen zur Türkenzeit*, p. 85; C. Jireček, *La civilisation serbe au Moyen-âge*, French transl. by Eisenmann, Paris 1920; article *KAṢASİ*, *supra* (after the conquest of Kaṣas in 735—736, the fiefs were left to the Timariots); de la Guilletière, *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle*, Paris 1675 (first edition of this year), p. 354 sqq., 438; Rich. Pococke (Pockocke), *Voyages*, French transl., iv. 202; Alfio Grassi, *Charte Turque*, 2nd ed., Paris 1826, i. 104—134; K. J. Jireček in British Museum Catalogue. (J. DENY)

ZEIBEK, the name of a Turkish tribe in the region of Smyrna. The origin of the Zeibek has not yet been fully explained. Just as it used to be the custom to say the Takhtadjî [q. v.] were descendants of the earliest inhabitants of Asia Minor, so the ancestors of the Zeibek were sought in the remnants of Thracians who had settled around Tralles. In favour of this we have also the fact that they were called *Gjaur* by orthodox Turks (Lord Keppel, *op. cit.*, ii. 266). This view however is undoubtedly wrong; we must rather see in the Zeibek one of those Yürük tribes, who settled in considerable numbers in the west of Anatolia although their descent still requires elucidation in detail. Religious reasons may have played a part in the settlement of the Yürüks [q. v.] in the particular district of Aidineli [q. v.] and F. W. Hasluck has called attention to the connection in his study *Heterodox Tribes of Asia Minor* (in the *Journal of the Royal Anthrop. Institute*, li. [1921], p. 310 sqq., reprinted in *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, i., Oxford 1929, p. 124 sqq., cf. esp. p. 127; cf. at the same time F. Babinger in *Isl.*, xi. [1921], 100 and xii. [1922], 103). Older views on the origin of the Zeibek have been collected by M. Tsakyroglos in his little book *Περί Γουρουνίων* (Athens 1891), p. 13 sqq. and 22. The name has been connected in meaning with the Greek *palikari* (παλικάρη) (cf. W. v. Diest, *Reisen und Forschungen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien*, i. 27), but hardly with justice. So far we have no early notices of the coming of these warlike and turbulent highlanders whose peculiar dress — disproportionately high head-dress, short trousers, which leave most of the legs uncovered, brightly coloured vests, richly embroidered, called *çepken* — distinguishes them from their neighbours. The earliest references to them are found in the travellers of the xviiith and xixth centuries. It looks as if the Zeibek were at one time connected with the Derebeys [q. v.] around Smyrna and with the Kara 'Othmān-oghlu's [q. v.] and served them as

soldiers. With the disappearance of this family under Sultān Murād II the Zeibek militia was disbanded; the Ottoman governor Ṭāhir Pāshā forbade them to serve as soldiers and also prohibited their striking dress. The result was a dangerous rising under their leader (*efe*) Kel Mehmed, in the course of which many Zeibek lost their lives and they had finally to yield to superior force. Down to modern times the Zeibek were recruited as a kind of auxiliary police to support the *zabīyes*, whose chief duty was to convoy travellers. They were remarkable not only for their dress but also for their usually slim, powerful figures. Gradually they adapted themselves more and more to the life of their neighbours and their picturesque dress fell more and more into disuse. In the post-War period the name Zeibek again attained notoriety when the Turkish president Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pāshā endeavoured to make the dance peculiar to this tribe (*Zeibek oymu*) a Turkish national dance.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text cf. George Keppel, *Narrative of a Journey across the Balcan etc.*, London 1831, ii. 124 (history), 253, 263, 265, 316, 322, 339 (on their dress); Lord Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, London 1834, ii. 212 sqq.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 349 sqq. (full details of the dress of the Zeibek with its distinguishing features). Pictures of Zeibek in Keppel, *op. cit.*, vol. i., coloured frontispiece; Eugen v. Philippovich, *Nikolaus v. Philippovich, das Leben und Wirken eines österreichischen Offiziers*, Vienna and Tübingen 1913, p. 26 (wrong title "ein Vornehmer aus Kleinasien"). The Zeibek plays a great part in the Turkish shadow-play; cf. the picture 48 of one of these Zeibek figures in H. Ritter, *Karagös, türkische Schattenspiele*, Hanover 1924. — Further literature is given by W. Heffening, in *Isl.*, xiii. 251, where reference is made to further illustrations; J. H. Mordtmann, in *Vier Vorträge über Vorderasien und die Türkei*, Berlin 1917, p. 101 (according to whom there were also Zeibek in the wilāyet of Brussa).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ZENĀTA. The Arab historians of the middle ages give this name to one of the two great groups into which the population of Barbary falls. According to the genealogical fiction which formed the frame-work of their ethnical classification, the Zenāta, who are descended from Madghis al-Abtar, are distinguished from the Ṣanhādja who are descended from Bernes; Bernes and Madghis were the sons of one father, Berr. Other theories connect the Zenāta with a certain Shana or Djana, who was said to be either of the line of Kanaʿān, son of Shem, or of that of Goliath (Djālūt). The desire to have an imposing Biblical pedigree is sufficient to explain this claim which seemed to be to some extent justified by the kind of existence led by the majority of the Zenāta. While the majority of the Ṣanhādja led a settled life, the Zenāta groups were mainly nomads "in the manner of the Arabs", rearing camels and living in tents. They were found scattered throughout Barbary but mainly in the steppes and deserts from Ghadāmes to the extreme Maghrib. The west of the central Maghrib and the adjoining Ṣaharan regions seemed to be and were to remain their particular domain. They were distinguished from other groups by language. The

Berber dialects spoken in the oases of Mzāb, Wargla, Wed Righ, in the west of Algeria, including the massif of Warsenis, and in the east of Morocco are still called *Zenāṭiya*.

As in the case of the Ṣanhādja [q. v.] the chroniclers distinguish several Zenāta stocks or rather several waves of population which after living obscurely in the nomad state emerged in succession to the light of history, favourable circumstances enabling them to found empires or impose themselves upon the great existing empires, either as allies or as enemies.

To the first stock of Zenāta belonged the Djārāwa, the Banū Ifren, the Maghrāwa, the Wamānū and the Īlūmī. The Djārāwa were said to have their main centre in the Awrās, where the celebrated Kāhina [q. v.], their queen, played in the second (viiith) century her well known part in the resistance to the Arab conquest. When this resistance, of which the Awrās was one of the strongholds, took the form of the Khāridjī heresy, the Zenāta Banū Ifren [q. v.] were its most stubborn champions. Abū Kurra the Ifrenid founded in the second (viiith) century a Khāridjī kingdom at Tlemcen. In the fourth (xth) century, the Ifrenid Abū Yazīd, "the man with the ass" [q. v.], raised the people of eastern Barbary, including the Awrās, against the Fātimid caliphs in the name of the ancient heresy. At the same time Ifgān (12 miles S. W. of Mascara) and Shella near the site of the future Rabat were capitals of two principalities of the Banū Ifren.

The most powerful of the Zenāta of the first wave were those who belonged to the great tribe of the Maghrāwa. Among the latter special mention may be made of the Banū Khazar, whose lands lay in the plains of Urania and eastern Morocco. Vassals of the Omayyads of Cordova, they resisted not without difficulty throughout the tenth century and a part of the eleventh (ivth—vth A. H.) the repeated attacks of the Ṣanhādja, supporters of the Fātimids of Ifrikiya. One of the chiefs of the Banū Khazar, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiya, had installed himself in Fās, after the fall of the Idrisids, and held out there till the coming of the Almoravids (455 = 1063). The eleventh century also saw the flourishing of the other little Maghrāwa kingdoms, that of the Banū Yaʿlā of Tlemcen, that of the Banū Khazrūn of Sidjilmāsa, to which the Almoravid conquest was to put an end.

After this, the history of the Zenāta of the Central Maghrib enters upon an obscure period. We have a struggle between two clans of the same stock: the Īlūmī and the Wamānū. The latter were to bring the Almohads into the country of Tlemcen.

The Zenāta only became important again with the decline of the successors of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, when the Zenāta of the second wave came to the front. They were regarded as forming part of the group of the Banū Wāsin, whom the thrust of the nomad Arabs (Banū Hilāl), at first lords of Ifrikiya, had driven westwards, in the south of Orania and Morocco. In the course of the first half of the viiith (xiiith) century, the Zenāta Banū Wāsin, who had only just abandoned a nomadic life, took from the Almohads the central Maghrib and the extreme Maghrib. The Merinids founded the kingdom of Fās [q. v.], the ʿAbd al-Wādis the kingdom of Tlemcen [q. v.]. The latter who were in the traditional territory of the Zenāta tribes, had much difficulty in subduing their brethren,

especially the Banū Tūdjin. The latter, much weakened in the plains where they had become the serfs of the nomad Arabs, were still quite powerful in the Warsenis, but they led a settled existence there. Their descendants are still to be found in these mountains. The name given to the Berber dialect which they speak survives as one of the few memories retained by the Zenāta of the period of their glory.

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ZENDE-RŪD, one of the principal rivers of Central Persia. Its source lies about 90 miles W. of Isfahān in the province of 'Arabistān (Khūzistān) in the Zardeh-Kūh, "the yellow hills" (so-called after the yellow limestone found there) which are included among the Bakhtiāri mountains, in which also rises the Kārūn [q. v.], the greatest river of southern Persia. After leaving the mountains the Zende-rūd flows through the district of Isfahān after which it is often called Isfahān-Rūd, "the river of Isfahān", and flows about 80 miles E. S. E. of Isfahān into a large brackish swamp called Gāo Khāneh. According to the erroneous view of the mediaeval Arab and Persian geographers, the river continued on a subterranean course and reappeared about 60 *farsakh* (= ca. 40 miles) from where it disappeared and then flowed to the sea; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was the first to point out this error (cf. thereon: Schwarz, *op. cit.*, iii. 216—217).

On entering Isfahān the Zende-Rūd separates Isfahān proper on its north bank from its southern suburb, Djulfa [q. v.] or New Djulfa. The connection between the two is maintained by three great bridges (cf. ii., p. 529 and also the descriptions in Ouseley, *op. cit.*; Stack, *op. cit.*, p. 23; C. J. Wills, *In the Land of the Lion and Sun*, London 1883, p. 194 sq.; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887, p. 154—155; J. Basset, *Persia, the Land of the Imams*, London 1887, p. 154—155; Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii. 44—50 and E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p. 289). In Isfahān during the summer months the bed of the river, which is much used for irrigation purposes, is frequently dried up completely. The river-system of the Zende-Rūd, especially its upper part, still requires more careful exploration; cf. Stack, *op. cit.*, ii. 23, 84 sq., and Bishop.

The name Zende (Zinda)-Rūd (cf. Vullers, *Lexic. Persico-Latin.*, i. 151, 152) means "river of life"; the form Zāyinde (Zāyende)-Rūd = "life-giving river", i. e. the river that invigorates or fertilises the land, is now more common. At an earlier period we also find the name Zarin-Rūd = "golden river"; on the reason for this name nothing definite is known; it may be added that a valley quite near the source of this river is called Zarin valley (cf. Bishop, *op. cit.*, i. 269).

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(M. STRECK)

ZENGĪ, 'IMĀD AL-DĪN B. QASĪM AL-DAWLA AKSONKOR B. 'ABD ALLĀH, atābeg of al-Mawṣil and one of the most distinguished emirs of the Saldjūk period. His father Aksonkor al-Ḥādijb ("the chamberlain"), a Turkish Mamlūk in the service of Sulṭān Malikshāh [q. v.], had received from the latter the town of Ḥalab as a fief; but when Aksonkor on the death of Malikshāh rebelled against his brother Tutush [q. v.], he was taken prisoner and put to death (487 = 1094) and the young Zengī, who was then only ten years old, lost his father's estates which went to Tutush and the emirs who had sided with him. Zengī several times distinguished himself under the next rulers of al-Mawṣil and as a result was appointed governor of Wāsīt in 516 (1122—1123) by the governor of Baghdād Aksonkor al-Bursukī, who then supervised the whole of 'Irāk, and later received in addition the governorship of Baṣra. In 518 (1124—1125) Aksonkor was transferred from Baghdād to al-Mawṣil but in Dhū 'l-Qa'da 520 (Nov. 1126) he fell a victim to the dagger of the Assassins, who hated him as an ardent supporter of the caliphs and Saldjūks. In the following year his son Mas'ūd also died, probably poisoned by one of the Syrian princes with whom he was on terms of enmity. A minor brother of Mas'ūd now came forward as heir to the governorship of al-Mawṣil and his claims were supported by the commander in al-Mawṣil, one of Aksonkor's Mamlūks, named al-Djāwālī. When the latter sent the kādī of al-Mawṣil and a chamberlain of Aksonkor's to Baghdād to recommend Mas'ūd's young brother to the sulṭān Maḥmūd, the two envoys to whom al-Djāwālī's plans seemed by no means free from difficulties, were won over by a relative of Zengī's to his side and he was appointed governor of al-Mawṣil and made his formal entrance into the city in Ramaḍān 521 (Sept.—Oct. 1127). The sulṭān gave him his two sons Alp Arslān and Farrukhshāh to educate and Zengī therefore received the title of atābeg. In the same year he took possession of Djazirat Ibn 'Omar, Naṣībīn, Sindjār and Ḥarrān. In Muḥarram 522 (Jan. 1128) he took the town of Ḥalab [q. v.] where utter anarchy reigned until Zengī appeared and restored order. In the following year he got possession of Ḥamāt [q. v.] through treachery; on the other hand, he failed against Ḥimṣ and Damascus. Of his other enterprises in this period special mention may be made of the capture and destruction of the fortress of al-Athārib between Ḥalab and Anṭakiya, which was occupied by the Crusaders. In the struggle for the sulṭānate between the Saldjūk prince Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad [q. v.] and his brother Saldjūk, Zengī sided with

the former (526 = 1131—1132) and when the uncle of the two brothers Sandjar [q. v.] wished to exert his suzerainty he was joined by Zengi and Dubais b. Šadaqa [q. v.]. The attacks of the two latter on Baghdad were however unsuccessful and the caliph al-Mustarshid was equally unsuccessful in his attempt to take al-Mawšil, which he besieged for three months (527 = 1132—1133). When his successor al-Rāshid quarrelled with Sulṭān Mas'ūd, Zengi at first joined the former but was persuaded to approve of the deposition of al-Rāshid and paid homage to al-Muktafi. In 531 (1137) Zengi after besieging Hims for several months in vain, attacked the fortress of Ba'rin (Monsferrandus). The Christian commander appealed for help to king Fulk of Jerusalem but the latter was routed and Ba'rin had to surrender. A new enemy now appeared in the field, namely the emperor John II of Constantinople, who had first of all intended to reduce to obedience the rebel ruler Leo of Little Armenia and his ally Raymond of Antioch, but after making peace he made an alliance with the leaders of the Crusaders. After taking the fortress of Buzā'a, he advanced against Halab but soon abandoned his plan of subduing it by a long siege and attacked Shaizar. But when the inhabitants defended themselves bravely, the emperor accepted the commander's terms and returned to Antioch (Ramaḍān 532 = May—June 1138) pursued by Zengi who took many prisoners and much booty. In the same year after long negotiations, the ruler of Damascus Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd handed over to Zengi the town of Hims. In Dhū l-Ḳa'da 533 (July 1139) Zengi undertook a campaign against Baalbek; after a vigorous resistance the garrison had to capitulate and were for the most part massacred, although Zengi had promised them liberty to depart. The object of all his efforts was still however the rich city of Damascus and in Rabī' I 534 (Oct.—Nov. 1139) he laid siege to the town. The ruler of Damascus Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad was not inclined to exchange Damascus for Hims and Baalbek and after what had happened at the latter town could not fully trust Zengi. When he died a few months later, the new commander Mu'īn al-Dīn who acted for the minor Muḍjir al-Dīn b. Djamāl al-Dīn applied to the Crusaders and offered them the town of Bāniyās if they would assist him, whereupon Zengi raised the siege and returned to al-Mawšil. After he had taken several strongholds in Northern Mesopotamia, he quarrelled with Sulṭān Mas'ūd, who finally declared war on him. Zengi gave in however and purchased peace (538 = 1143—1144). In Djumādā II 539 (December 1144) he took the important town of Edessa from the Crusaders and two years later attacked Ka'at Dja'bar in Mesopotamia when he was murdered by some Mamlūks on the night of 4th—5th Rabī' II (Sept. 13—14), or according to another story, on the 15th Rabī' II 541 (Sept. 24, 1146). He was succeeded in al-Mawšil by his son Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī I and in al-Halab by another son, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

The Oriental historians bestow the highest praise on the political qualities of atābeg Zengi; on the other hand they are well aware of his unscrupulousness. Ibn al-Athīr (xi. 72) vividly describes how prosperity returned under his care to lands which had been threatened by the Franks and impoverished by the extortions and frequent changes of governors.

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ZENITH, the vertical point, i. e. the highest point in the visible sphere of the heavens in the direction of the vertical (plumb line) above the observer, at the same time the upper (visible) pole of the horizon.

The technical astronomical term for zenith in Arabic is *samt al-ra's* or *samt al-ru'ūs*, which means "direction (*samt*) of the head", corresponding to the Greek κορυφή or τὸ κατὰ κορυφὴν σημεῖον. Plato Tiburtinus reproduces *samt al-ra's* in his Latin translation as *zenith capitis* or *zenith capitum*, the Spanish translation of al-Battānī by *el zonte* (*el zont*) *de la cabeza* (cf. al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ii. 337, s. v. *samt*). — As Golius early noticed, the form *zenith* (h) seems to owe its origin to a slip of the pen which made the *m* in *zemt* (*semt*) into *ni*: *zemt* > *zenith*. (The same word *samt* — in the plural *sumūt* — is found in the astronomical term *azimut* [q. v.], Ar. *samt*, i. e. *min dā'irat al-ufk*, "direction on the circle of the horizon", calculated in degrees. The *Libros del saber de astronomia* translate *samt* usually by *zonte*, and *samt al-ra's* by *cenit*).

The (invisible) pole of the horizon directly under the observer, the counter-pole of the zenith, is called *nadir* [q. v.], from Ar. *naḏīr*. The largest circles which go through zenith and *nadir* are called vertical circles; among them two are specially distinguished, the meridian (*ḥalāk niṣf al-naḥār*, δ μεσημβρινός) in whose plane the axis of the earth lies and which cuts the horizon in the south and north points and the first vertical which stands perpendicular on the plane of the meridian, cutting the horizon in east and west. The east and west points are also the poles of the meridian, south and north points the poles of the first vertical.

The spherical coordinates of a star calculated in the horizon-zenith system are *azimut* (*al-samt*) and *altitude* (*irtifā'*, i. e. *'an dā'irat al-ufk*); while modern astronomy defines the *azimut* as the length of the arc between the vertical circle covered by the star and the meridian, measured on the horizon from S. to W. N., E. to S. from 0°—360° — or, if the direction in the heavens is given, from S. via W. and S. via E. to 180° — the Arab astronomers (which it is important to remember) take the first vertical as the circle of reference, i. e. reckon from the east or west point of the vertical. The altitude of the star is the length of the arc of the star from the horizon, measured on the vertical circle which passes through the star. It is calculated from 0° (on the horizon) to +90° (on the zenith) or —90° (on the *nadir*); negative altitudes are frequently called depressions. The altitude is

frequently replaced by its complement, the distance of the zenith which represents the length of the arc measured on the same vertical circle from the zenith. The zenith distance of the pole of the heavens is equal to the altitude of the equator in the meridian and equal to the complement of the altitude of the pole or geographical latitude ϕ , i. e. $Z = 90^\circ - \phi$.

A plane parallel to the horizon intersects the visible sphere of the heavens in a circle, which connects all points of the same altitude. Such a circle is called in astronomy a horizontal circle or — using an Arabic loanword — Al-mukantarāt (i. e. *al-mukantāra*) [q. v.].

(WILLY HARTNER)

ZENTA (formerly Hungarian Szenta; Turkish زنتا, زنتا, سننه [Zāmūs al-Aʿlām, iv. 2425] and also چننه [in Khalil Edhem, *Düvel-i islāmiye*, 1927, p. 323]; Serbo-Croat Senta), a flourishing town on the right bank of the Theiss in the Bačka (since 1929 in the Danube banate) in Yugoslavia, with 30,044 inhabitants (1931), first mentioned in 1216 and made a free city in 1516. After the battle of Mohács (1526) Zenta became Turkish and belonged to the sandjak of Segedin (Szegedin; cf. e. g. Fekete, *Türkische Schriften*... *des Palatin N. Esterházy*, 1932, p. 110 and 324). Ewliya Čelebi (vii. 363) who visited Zenta in the xviiith century, describes it as a small *palanka* (fortress) in the above mentioned sandjak and proposes a childish etymology (سننه باش یعنی) (اوپورک) of its name.

Zenta is celebrated in history as a battle-field. When Muṣṭafā II was retiring from Peterwardein, where Prince Eugène of Savoy had shut himself up, after an unsuccessful siege, he wished at first to attack Szegedin but soon decided to cross the Theiss at Zenta and go to Temesvár. Küçük Djāfar Pāshā (on him see *Sāḡill-i ʿoṯmānī*, ii. 75) was taken prisoner by Prince Eugène and being threatened with death betrayed the Sultān's plans. Prince Eugène then advanced rapidly to Zenta and surprised the grandvizier Elmās Mehmed Pāshā (cf. above iii., p. 692 and the article MUHAMMAD PĀSHĀ ELMAS) just as he was about to transfer the remainder (the greater part) of his army to the left bank. After the onslaught of the imperial troops, the Turks made a wild rush for the bridge, which was being heavily bombarded and it soon collapsed; the Turks were thus cut in two and by evening utterly routed (Sept. 11, 1697). Besides the grandvizier, four other viziers, 13 beglerbegs and about 30,000 men fell or were drowned. The Sultān himself only escaped with difficulty. In the popular mind this defeat became a synonym for any disaster, as may be seen from the Serbo-Croat proverb *Prokopsao kao turski car na Senti* ("he has met the fate of the Turkish emperor at Zenta"). The defeat at Zenta forced the Turks to the peace of Carlowitz [q. v.] and meant that they were now definitely driven back into the Balkan Peninsula.

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(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

ZER MAHBŪB, "beloved gold", a Turkish gold coin (sequin). In the reign of Aḥmad III (1115—1143 = 1703—1730) a new gold sequin was issued weighing 40 grains (2.6 grammes), in addition to the older sequin of 53 grains (3.44 grammes) (*funduk altūnī*) which continued to be issued alongside of it. This coin, known as the zer maḥbūb, remained in circulation till the great Medjidiye recoinage of 1280 (1844), being reduced in weight to 37 grains (2.4 grammes) by Selim III (1203—1222 = 1789—1807) and to 25 grains (1.62 grammes) in the last years of Mahmūd II (1223—1255 = 1808—1839). Double, quadruple and half and quarter pieces of this denomination were also issued.

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(J. ALLAN)

ZIĀMA. [See ZEĀMET.]

ZIKRAWAIH B. MIHRWAIH, a Ḳar-maṭiān. After ʿAbdān, the brother-in-law and secretary of the founder of the Ḳar-maṭiān sect Hamdān Ḳar-maṭ [q. v.] had been disposed of in 286 (899), Zikrawaih took his place as a Ḳar-maṭiān missionary. Out of fear of the energetic caliph al-Muʿtaḍid [q. v.], he had however to remain in concealment and is said to have lived in a hiding-place for four years and only to have come out into the light of day after al-Muʿtaḍid's death in Rabiʿ II 289 (April 902). In the meanwhile the Ḳar-maṭiān emissaries had succeeded in winning numerous followers among the Banu ʿl-Ulāiṣ, a clan of the great Beduin tribe of Kalb b. Wabara in the Syrian desert, and towards the end of 289 (902) a large army set out against Damascus. Syria was at this time under the rule of the Ṭūlūnids, but the general Ṭughdī in Damascus was almost independent of the central government in Egypt. On the approach of the Ḳar-maṭiān troops he set out against them but underestimated the greatness of the danger and when he came to give battle, was forced to flee and return to the capital. Soon afterwards the grand-master of the Ḳar-maṭiāns (*ṣāḥib al-nāḩa*) fell at the siege of Damascus; he was succeeded by his brother, the *ṣāḥib al-khāl*, who forced the people of Damascus to purchase peace and then continued northwards, plundering and murdering as he went. Several towns like Ḥamāt, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Baalbek and Salamiya were sacked, the men massacred and the women and children carried off as slaves. Finally however, the new caliph's general Muḥammad b. Sulaimān succeeded in completely defeating the Ḳar-maṭiāns; the *ṣāḥib al-khāl* was taken prisoner and brought to Baghdad where the caliph had him executed in the cruellest fashion. But the power of the Syro-Irāḳian Ḳar-maṭiāns was not broken. A disciple of Zikrawaih's, Abū Ghānim ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd who had taken the name Naṣr, stirred up the Kalbi Beduins; they joined the Ḳar-maṭiāns proper and ravaged the country east of the river Jordan as far as Damascus. When the caliph's troops approached, the Ḳar-maṭiāns retired into the desert, filling up the wells so that their pursuers could not reach them for want of water. But when an army under Muḥammad b. Ishāk b. Kundādīk finally penetrated to their

camps in the desert, they had to give in, murdered Naṣr and sent his head as a token of submission to the victor. Zikrawaih then at last came out of his hiding-place, appointed al-Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad leader of the 'Irāk Ḳarmāṭians and had himself worshipped as a saint, never allowing himself to be seen unveiled. In *Dhu 'l-Hijjā* 293 (Oct. 906) they advanced on Kūfa, entered the town and massacred the people in the streets but after desperate fighting with the troops of the governor Ishāk b. 'Imrān had to give way and return to the district of Ḳādisiyya. In the very same month an army which the caliph sent against the Ḳarmāṭians at Ishāk's request was defeated near Ḳādisiyya; but when al-Muktafi equipped a new army under the command of Muḥammad b. Ishāk b. Kundādīk, they retired into the desert to waylay caravans. In Muḥarram of the following year (Oct.—Nov. 906) Zikrawaih fell upon the great pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca; his people killed not only the men but also a number of the women and carried off the rest. In Rabi' I, according to the most probable statement on the 22nd (Jan. 10, 907), the caliph's troops led by Waṣīf b. Ṣuwārtagīn came upon the Ḳarmāṭians near Khaffān in the district of al-Ḳādisiyya and fought them till sunset without a decision being reached. On the following day Zikrawaih was wounded in the head, whereupon his followers fled on all sides. On the way to Baghdād he succumbed to his wounds and his corpse was exhibited in the capital. — Cf. also the article *ḲARMĀṬIANS*.

Bibliography: al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, see Index; 'Arib, ed. de Goeje, p. 9, 10, 12, 14—18, 36; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vii. 311, 353, 368, 374—381; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf*, B. G. A., viii. 374—376; de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn*², *passim*. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ZINĀ' (A.), fornication, i. e. any sexual intercourse between persons who are not in a state of legal matrimony or concubinage. To the pre-Islāmic Arabs, zinā' was not a sin but regarded in certain circumstances as an injury to the rights of property of a fellow-tribesman. In the *Qur'ān*, however, apparently under Jewish or Christian influence, warnings are uttered against zinā' and chastity represented as a mark of the believer, e. g. *Sūra* xvii. 34; xxv. 68; xxxiii. 30. Zinā' is then dealt with more fully in *Sūra* iv. (probably of the period after the battle of Uhud in the year 3): "(19) If your women be guilty of whoredom, then bring four witnesses against them from among yourselves: and if they bear witness to it, shut them up in their houses until death releases them or Allāh gives them a way. (20) Punish both of those among you who commit this sin; but if they repent and mend their ways, let them be: for Allāh is the pardoner and the merciful. . . (29) . . . (The believing slave-girls whom you marry) shall be chaste and modest and have no lovers". Verse 20 is sometimes with less probability referred to sodomy. A new law was made as a result of 'Ā'ishā's celebrated adventure in the year 6 in *Sūra* xxiv.: "(2) Scourge each of the fornicators with a hundred lashes and have no mercy upon them in Allāh's religion, if you believe in Allāh and the last day; a number of the believers shall attend their punishment. (3) The whoremonger shall only marry a whore or an idolatress and the whore shall only marry a whoremonger or an

idolator. Such marriages are forbidden to the believers". *Sūra* iv. 30 must be later than the law in xxiv. 2, of which it is a continuation: "But if after marriage they commit adultery then inflict upon them half the punishment of chaste (free married) women". *Sūra* xxxiii. 30 (probably dating from the last part of 5 A. H.) refers to the punishment in the other world. *Sūra* xxiv. 33 cannot be exactly dated but certainly Medinese ("Force not your slave-girls to prostitution, if they wish to remain chaste, from a desire for gain in this life; if any one forces them, then after they have been compelled, Allāh will be forgiving and merciful to them") and *Sūra* lxv. 1 is also later (divorced women must not be driven out of their houses during the *'idda* "unless they have committed proved adultery"). The so-called "verse of the stoning" is said to have been an original part of the *Qur'ān* as it was acknowledged as such by the caliph 'Omar: "If a man and woman who by have reached years of discretion commit adultery, stone them in every case, as Allāh's punishment". It is improbable that this verse is genuine, the traditions relating to it and the mention of 'Omar are clearly tendentious; the stories that the Prophet punished by stoning are also unworthy of credence. This punishment, which must have entered Islām quite early, certainly comes from Jewish law (*Deut.* xxii. 22) as can still be seen in a *ḥadīth*. Other traditions emphasise the rules of the *Qur'ān* and develop them; zinā' is a very grave sin and not compatible with belief; profit from zinā' and prostitution is unclean; sodomy etc. are included under zinā'; the flogging which remained as a punishment alongside of stoning is combined with a year's banishment. In the system of *fiqh* and already in many traditions stoning and flogging are separated as *ḥadd* punishment for zinā' in two categories of criminals, according as they are *muḥṣan* or not. By *muḥṣan* the law means in this case every individual who has reached years of discretion, is in possession of his faculties, is free and has had sexual intercourse in a legal marriage; they however always remain *muḥṣan* even after their marriage is dissolved; the distinction is therefore not based on any moral grounds. According to Ḥanafis and Ḥanbalis, both the guilty parties must fulfil these conditions; the Ḥanafis also demand that the *muḥṣan* should be a Muslim, while the Mālikis consider neither of the punishments applicable to a non-Muslim. The banishment for a year after the flogging is limited by the Mālikis to the man, by the Ḥanafis left to the discretion of the imām. Slaves are punished with fifty lashes, and according to the Shāfi'is banishment for six months. Zinā' can only be proved by the evidence of four male, competent witnesses; as they must report all the details of the incident and, if their evidence is not sufficient, are liable to the *ḥadd* for *kadhf* [q. v.], the *ḥadd* for zinā' in practice can hardly ever be inflicted, unless the culprit himself confesses his guilt. According to the Ḥanafis and Ḥanbalis, this confession must also be made four times, and according to the general teaching can be withdrawn. Marriage within the forbidden degrees is simply zinā' as is rape, which can also be regarded as doing bodily harm. If the husband kills the guilty couple *in flagrante delicto* he is not liable to punishment. In practice the place of the legal regulations was often taken by summary and usually secret action either by the authorities

or by the relatives of the guilty woman; in this case drowning was a common form of punishment.

Bibliography: Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 279; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i. 248 sqq.; Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. Zinā'; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 301 sqq.; do., *Handleiding*³, p. 305 sqq.; Kresmárik, *Beiträge zur Beleuchtung des islamitischen Strafrechts*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lviii, p. 101 sqq.; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v. adultery and fornication; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, chap. vii. (end) and xiii. (towards the end). (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

ZINDĪK (pl. *zanādika*; abstract *zandaqa*), the term used in Muslim criminal law to describe the heretic whose teaching becomes a danger to the state; this crime is liable to capital punishment (by the application of *sūra* v. 37; xxvi. 49; cf. *R. M. M.*, 1909, ix. 99—103) and to damnation (the *Mālikis* think it useless to ask the culprit to recant [*istitāba*] contrary to the *Ḥanafis*; *takfir*, often theoretical, is not so strong a term as *zandaqa*).

The term was borrowed in the 'Irāk from the 'Irānian vocabulary of the Sāsānian administration; Schaeder, correcting Darmesteter, has shown that Mas'ūdī (followed by Hudjwiri) was right in saying that among the Mazdaeans, *zandik* was the heretic, who introduced a new gloss, an allegorical interpretation of a passage in the Awesta (cf. in the ninth century, the *zandik* Abālīsh, studied by Barthélemy; cf. *Menōkhebrat*, xxxv. 16; *Shāyast nē Shāyast*, vi. 7); and more especially the Manichaeen, follower of Mani (testimony of the Armenian writer on heresies Eznik, of the fifth century, transl. Schmidt, p. 95), or, in a more restricted sense still, the follower of the Manichaeen schismatic Mazdak (according to Khwarizmī).

The term being 'Irānian, A. Siddiqi has shown that we must reject the Aramaic etymology (*zaddīk*) suggested by Bevan as well as the Greek (*γυνωκιστής*) proposed by Vollers. The word *zindik* must have become arabicised in the mixed Arabo-'Irānian society of the *mawālī* *Hamrā* of Hira and Kūfa (cf. the exiling of the Mazdakis to Hira, in which we can see the explanation of the *Shīrī* gnosticism of Kūfa in the following century). Indeed it appears for the first time in the 'Irāk in 125 (742) in connection with the execution of Dja'd b. Dirham; then from 167 (783) to 170 (786) as an official inquisition was instituted by the 'Abbāsīd caliph under a special judge (*'arif*); it was then that Bashshār b. Burd and Šāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Kuddūs were executed. The term became a technical one and literary tradition designates three famous writers, Ibn al-Rāwandī, Tawhīdī and Ma'arri, as the "three *zanādika* of Islām". But in general use, the term lost its precision and if the official definition of the *zindik* (a dualist ascetic, then a Muslim who is secretly a Manichaeen), according to the caliph Maḥdī (Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, iii. 588), is already carelessly applied to the three first men executed mentioned above, it is clear that it does not at all explain the psychology of the three "*zanādika* of Islām". In practice, the polemics of the conservatives describe as a *zindik* or "free thinker" any one whose external profession of Islām seems to them not sufficiently sincere (cf. the poet Dj. S. Zahāwī in Baghdād or the critic Ṭaha Husain in Cairo). This is the meaning in which it is already used by Ma'arri in his *Risālat al-Ghufrān*. The

chief works representing this free, radical way of thinking have been brought to light by P. Krans (Ērānshahrī, Abū 'Isā Warrāk, Ibn al-Rāwandī, Rāzi, *Thughūrī*); they are preserved in Isma'īlitic refutations.

The evolution of the term is explained by its political character; it brands the heresy which imperils the Muslim state (this is already clear in the trial of al-Ḥallādj); and as the only crime systematically punished by the Prophet himself by death had been *sabb al-rasūl*, the jurists more and more made *zandaqa* an intellectual rebellion insulting to the Prophet's honour (cf. Ibn Taimiya and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī).

The stages of this evolution can be brought closer together by summing up the definitions given of the word *zandaqa* by the various Muslim schools.

The Ḥanbalis, according to *Khashish* (d. 253 = 867), recognise five sects of *zanādika*: *mu'aṭṭila*, who deny the creation and the Creator, reducing the world to an unstable mixture of the four elements; *mānawīya* (Manichaeans) and *mazdakiya* who are dualists; *'abdakiya* (vegetarian Imāmī ascetics of Kūfa; cf. Massignon, *Recueil*..., p. 11—12) and *rūḥāniya* (four ecstatic sects, who seek to free themselves from the constraint of observances and laws by an amorous union of the soul with God, a union denounced as implying identity of nature between the Creator and his creatures; in it Sunnī mystics like Rabāḥ and Rābī'a are ranged alongside of an Imāmī alchemist like Ibn Ḥaiyān). Ibn Ḥanbal himself describes Djahm as a *zindik* for having maintained that the spirit (*rūḥ*) is an immaterial emanation, therefore divine.

The *Mālikis* of the west (Spain and Morocco) studied by Milliot and Lévi-Provençal instituted trials for *zandaqa*, especially for "insults to the honour of the Prophet" (trial of Abū 'l-Khair at Cordova in the reign of al-Ḥakam II, of Ibn Ḥatīm al-Azdi at Toledo in 457 (1064) and later of Ibn Zakūr at Fās). Similarly the *Ḥanafis*, especially during the Ottoman empire (*fatwās* against the *Shī'a*; trial of Kābid in 934 (1527); cf. Nābulusi, *Ghāyat al-Maflūb*, Pers. MS., folio 77).

As to the theologians, the Mu'tazilis at first saw in *zandaqa* an amorous devotion seeking liberation from obligatory duties (cf. *Thumāma*, in al-Baghdādī, *Farq*, abbr. and ed. Hitti, p. 105), then a tendency to the *ibāḥa* of the *Khurramīya*; Ghazālī defines it as a tendency to atheism.

The *Šūfis* were early persecuted as *zanādika* in view of their doctrine of the divine love (trial in the year 262 (875) of Nūrī; execution of al-Ḥallādj); al-Ḥallādj (cf. *Tawāsīm*, v. 2) himself recognises in a curious psychological analysis that on the threshold of transforming union, mysticism obtains a feeling of identity with God, which is *zandaqa* (*Akhbār*, No. 52, p. 80*, l. 7).

The moderate *Shī'is* like to describe the extremist *Shī'is*, for an analogous reason, as *zanādika* (emanations that give union with the divine: *da'wā ila 'l-rubūbiya*). The Zaidī imām Kāsim is credited with the authorship of a refutation of the *zindik* Ibn al-Muḥaffa' [q. v.] which Guidi has edited and translated.

Lastly, in his *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, p. 338), Ibn al-Nadīm has given a very heterogeneous list of *zanādika* (the value of which is sometimes overestimated, it is rather imaginative; G. Vajda is

preparing a critical study of this subject) in which Marwān II and the Barmecides are found alongside of Ismā'ilis, like Abū *Shākir* and *Djahānī*, an Imāmī like *Nāshī* and an independent critic like Abū 'Isā al-Warrāk [q. v.].

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(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

ZINDJIRLĪ, a village in Northern Syria in the valley of the *Qaraṣū* between the Amanas and the Kurd *Dāgh* not far from *Islāhiye*. Near the village is a tell, the ruins of the old Aramaean town of *Sham'al*, the capital of the little North Syrian state of Ya'dī (Assyr. *Yaudi*). It was discovered in 1883 by Hamdy Bey, F. v. Luschan and O. Puchstein and excavated in 1888, 1890—1891, 1894 and 1902 by the Berlin Orientkomitee under the leadership of K. Humann, F. v. Luschan and F. Winter with the co-operation of J. Euting and W. Koldewey.

The citadel of *Sham'al* was surrounded by two concentric circular walls. In addition to reliefs, colossal lions and bulls, there were found at Zindjirli and the adjoining tells of *Gerdin* (*Gerdjin*) and *Takhtal* Buṅar several Aramaic inscriptions in old Canaanite script and a stele of Asarhaddon of Assyria from which we learn the names of several rulers of the ixth and viiith centuries B. C. of *Sham'al*-Ya'dī, namely Gabbaru, Bamahu, *Khaiyā*, *Shā'el*, Kilamūwa, Karal, Panamūwa (Pa-namū) I, Barṣur, Panamū II and Barrekub. The finds from Zindjirli are for the most part preserved in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the State Museums in Berlin; the remainder are in the Museum in Stambul.

In the Arab period there is no trace of Zindjirli rulers unless we have a corruption of this name in that of the fortress of Zandjara (mentioned in al-Nuwairi, Paris Bibl. Nat., Ms. arab., N^o. 1579,

fol. 161^r, quoted in Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv. [1920], 602, note 2).

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(E. HONIGMANN)

ZİRIDS, the name of two mediæval dynasties of the Muslim west.

1. ZİRIDS or BANŪ ZIRĪ, a Berber dynasty which held a part of Eastern Barbary from the end of the fourth (tenth) century to the middle of the sixth (xith). The Zirids were connected with the great confederation of the *Ṣanhādja* [q. v.] and led a settled existence in the central Maghrib. Zirī b. Manādhad founded *Ashir* [q. v.] in the mountains of Titteri about 940. He made it the capital of his territory and a bulwark against the attacks of the *Zenāta* Maghrāwa [q. v.], allies of the Umayyads of Cordova. By their resistance to the *Zenāta*, the Zirids rendered considerable service to the plans of the *Fātimids* of Ifrikiya. Their most signal service was the relief of al-Mahdiya when it was besieged by the *Kharidjī* agitator Abū Yazid. The timely assistance which they rendered to the *Fātimids* on this and several other occasions was rewarded. When the Umayyad caliph al-Mu'izz left Ifrikiya for Egypt in 363 (973) he appointed Buluggin b. Zirī governor of Ifrikiya and gave him by anticipatory investiture all the lands which he might conquer from the *Zenāta*.

Against these hereditary enemies the struggle was continued under Buluggin [cf. *BULUḠḠIN*] who marched victoriously through the Maghrib and seized all the important towns with the exception of Ceuta, under al-Manṣūr b. Buluggin (373—385 = 984—995) and under Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (385—406 = 995—1016). During the latter emir's reign took place the division of the Zirids into two kingdoms: one in the west went to the *Ḥammādids* who lived in the *Qal'a* and the other in the east to the Zirids with *Qairawān* as capital. An amicable arrangement regularising the division was made in 408 (1017) under al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs [q. v.]. In spite of this loss of territory, eastern Barbary enjoyed an undeniable economic prosperity during the reign of al-Mu'izz (406—454 = 1016—1062) which enabled the emir to enrich *Qairawān* and *Ṣabra*, the official city, with very fine buildings (ceilings and *maqṣūra* of the great mosque of *Qairawān*). This wealth encouraged al-Mu'izz to cast off *Fātimid* suzerainty and to repudiate their doctrine which the people of Ifrikiya had only accepted with great reluctance. The caliph in Cairo punished this secession by sending in 444 (1052) against the rebels the Arab nomad tribes of the Banū *Hilāl* and Banū *Sulaim* [q. v.]. This was the great disaster. The open country was ruined completely; al-Mu'izz had to leave *Qairawān*

and seek refuge in al-Mahdiyya. While the Arabs held the plains, the towns formed republics and independent little principalities. Al-Mu'izz's son Tamīm (454—501 = 1062—1108) tried without much success to regain possession of his kingdom and to thwart the ambition of the Ḥammāids. His successors were to continue this difficult task. What really gives interest to the later Zīrids, Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz, Yaḥyā b. Tamīm (501—509 = 1108—1116), 'Alī b. Yaḥyā (509—515 = 1116—1121), al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (515—563 = 1121—1167), is the maritime activity developed by these former landsmen now paralysed on the mainland and the repeated attempts made by them to retake the command of the sea from the Normans of Sicily. This struggle which generally took the form of piratical enterprises did not however end to the advantage of the Zīrids. After an effort to come to an arrangement with the Normans, the emīrs could not prevent the enemy raiding the coast of Ifrīkiya and plundering the coast towns. In 543 (1148) al-Mahdiyya was taken by George of Antioch. Al-Ḥasan driven from his capital sought refuge at Bône, then in Algiers. He was reinstated in al-Mahdiyya by the Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min and spent eight years there before being again exiled, to die in obscurity in the extreme Maghrib in 563 (1167).

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2. ZĪRIDS OF SPAIN, a secondary branch of the Berber family of the Banū Zīrī of Ifrīkiya, who founded an independent principality with Granada as capital at the time of the dismemberment of the Ūmayyad caliphate of Cordova.

The establishment in Spain of the Ṣanhādja family had taken place only a few years previously. It originated in the rebellion in Ifrīkiya of the members of the family of the Zīrid princes Buluggin and al-Manṣūr who had been deprived of their positions. These malcontents gathered round one of Zīrī's sons, Zāwī, who persuaded them to leave Ifrīkiya. They offered their services, which were at first welcomed, to the 'Amīrid ḥādīb of Cordova, 'Abd al-Malik al-Muza'far [q. v.]; accompanied by numerous followers they went to Spain where they soon played an important part in the Berber army raised by the 'Amīrids in which they formed one of the main elements. When the caliph Sulaimān al-Musta'in at the beginning of the vith (xith) century distributed lands to his principal auxiliaries, he gave the Banū Zīrī the district of Elvira [q. v.], the old capital of which was gradually being supplanted by Granada, a town of quite recent foundation mainly peopled by Jews. Zāwī b. Zīrī without adopting the

sovereign title at once began to act as an independent ruler in Granada. Taking up the cause of the pretender to the caliphate 'Alī b. Ḥammūd [q. v.], he inflicted on the supporters of another pretender, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Murtadā, in 407 (1016—1017) a serious defeat in the region of Granada. His authority was naturally strengthened by this success; it is therefore all the more difficult to explain the decision he soon took to abandon his principality and return to his native land of Ifrīkiya. It was dictated no doubt by the ancient hatred, still alive in Spain, which had divided Africa into anti-Fāṭimid Zenāta and pro-Fāṭimid Ṣanhādja. The Zenāta were daily gaining ground in Spain, where they occupied the mountainous region of the centre and west of Andalusia. Zāwī however retook Ḳairawān with only a very small body of followers in 416 (1025).

On the departure of Zāwī b. Zīrī, his nephew Ḥabbūs b. Māksan assumed command of the Zīrids in Granada. He adopted a sovereign title, that of ḥādīb, and the honorific *laḳab* of Saif al-Dawla. He reigned for over 10 years until 429 (1038). He concluded alliances with the petty neighbouring dynasties and at his death had increased his kingdom by the districts of Jaen [q. v.] and Cabra. He had entrusted the conduct of his kingdom to a Jewish vizier, Samuel Ibn Nagh-zāla, a thing unprecedented in Muslim Spain. The fame of this vizier, not only an able minister, but author of many original works in Hebrew, spread far and in 1027 the Jews of Spain revived for him the princely title of *naghīd*.

On the death of Ḥabbūs b. Māksan, power passed to his son Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs, whose long reign marks the culminating point of Zīrid power in Spain. He began by inflicting a bloody defeat on the prince of Almeria, his former ally Zuhair [q. v.] who lost his life in the battle fought in the pass of Alpuente (429). Emboldened by this success and by the victories which he won without difficulty over the troops of the prince of Valencia and Seville, Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs threw off the suzerainty (at best only nominal) of the petty Ḥammūdīd caliph of Malaga and annexed his dominions (c. 450 = 1058). The years following were marked by the anti-Berber policy of the Arab king of Seville, al-Mu'taḍid [q. v.] Ibn 'Abbād, who successfully annexed the little Berber kingdoms of Ronda [q. v.], Jerez (Ar. *Sharish* [q. v.]) and Acros. As a result the power of the Arabs in Spain increased considerably and the only bloc of Berber resistance which was still really solid was that of the Ṣanhādja Zīrids of Granada. Bādīs could not help being disturbed by this advance of the 'Abbādīd kingdom in the east of Andalusia and at the same time by the increasingly marked signs of disaffection among his own Arab subjects. Bādīs in these unpropitious circumstances and against the advice of the vizier Samuel, whom he had retained on his accession, went to war with Seville, but without success. A Seville army led by the prince al-Mu'tamid was fortunately checked in its advance on Malaga.

On the death of the vizier Samuel, his son Joseph succeeded him as Bādīs's first minister. Unlike his father, the new vizier soon turned against himself not only the Arabs of the Zīrid kingdom but also the Berbers themselves, by his extravagance and the luxury with which he surrounded himself and the favours he bestowed on his co-religionists. If

we may believe the Arab historians, his ambitions increasing, he had the heir presumptive of Bādīs poisoned, his son Buluggin, succeeded in exalting himself with his master and for a time thought of creating a Jewish kingdom in Spain for his own advantage. He was in secret correspondence with the lord of Almería, Ibn Šumādīh, and offered to surrender Granada to him, on condition that Almería became the capital of a Jewish principality of which he should be ruler. The reaction was inevitable and rapid. On the appeal of the Arab poet Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī in a poem that became famous, a conspiracy was got up against the Jews of Granada and on 9th Šafar 459 (Dec. 30, 1066) Joseph Ibn Naghẓāla and 3,000 Granada Jews were massacred and their houses plundered.

The reign of Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs lasted till 466 (1073). Granada had now become an important city grouped around the citadel which stood on the west bank of the Darro; it had been built by Ḥabbūs b. Māksan and enlarged by Bādīs. The residence of the latter, according to local tradition, was called "house of the weathercock" (*dār dīk al-riḥ*) which is preserved in that of "casa del Gallo". A bridge over the Darro still called "Puente del Cadi" was built in 447 (1055) by the kādī of Granada 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Tawba. A mawla of Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs, Mu'ammil, left his memorial in Granada in several public works also built in the Zīrid period.

When Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs died, he left two grandsons, Tamīm, then governor of Malaga, and 'Abd Allāh; the latter assumed power in Granada while his brother set up as an independent ruler in Malaga. This division was to be maintained till the end of the Zīrid dynasty. Events were however soon to move rapidly with the advance of Christian arms. The taking of Toledo [q. v.] in 1085 by Alfonso VI was followed next year by the famous victory won by Yūsuf b. Tāshfin at al-Zallāka [q. v.] in which Tamīm and 'Abd Allāh took part with their contingents. When in 1090, Yūsuf returned to Spain, one of his first cares, after the failure of the siege of Aledo, was, on the advice of the kādī of Granada Abū Dja'far al-Kulā'i, to seize Granada and dethrone 'Abd Allāh. The latter abandoned by all had to go to the Almoravid sultān who made him a prisoner and soon afterwards dethroned his brother Tamīm in Malaga. 'Abd Allāh was exiled to Aghmāt [q. v.] on the northern borders of the Moroccan Great Atlas. Tamīm was forced to live in Marrākush where he died in 488 (1095). Almoravid governors were installed at Granada and Malaga to mark the completeness of the fall of the Zīrid dynasty in Spain.

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Los Reyes de taifas, Madrid 1926, p. 28 sqq.; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, p. 60-64, 72-73. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ZİYÂ GÖK ÂLP (MEHMET ZİYÂ BEY), Turkish author and poet, sociologist and nationalist leader. Born in Diyârbekr in 1875, from a family of Ottoman government officials, he attended the veterinary school in Constantinople; becoming compromised through his relations with the Revolutionary Committee, he was obliged to leave the capital, and return to his province. After the revolution of 1908 he figured among the members of the Union and Progress Committee, took part in the Salonica Congress (1909), and began to spread his social and nationalist ideas through the review *Ghendj Kalemiler*, which was published in that city. From 1912 he occupied the chair of Sociology at the University of Constantinople, was among Enver Pasha's supporters during the European war, and was exiled to Malta during the Allied occupation of Constantinople.

In spring of 1921 he returned to Anatolia and remained a year at Diyârbekr, where he published the review *Küçük Medjmi'a*; he was then appointed president of the "Translation and Composition Committee" at Angora; he was among the heralds and supporters of the People's Party (*Khalḳ Fırkası*), founded by Muṣṭafâ Kemal Pasha, and resumed his teaching at the University of Constantinople, where he died, still young, October 25, 1924. His funeral, celebrated by the Great National Assembly of Angora, to which he belonged as member for Constantinople, was a tribute from the whole nation to his memory.

Ziyâ Gök Âlp was a son of his times, and in a certain sense an anticipator of events, which his strong national feeling foresaw in examining the history of the people and the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire. Especially after his death he was recognised as the father of Turkish nationalism. There is however an evolution in his thought from 1908 to 1924, which bears a relation to the events in his country. From his early manifestation of a spirit of modernism and freedom, justified by 'Abd al-Ḥamid's tyranny, he passed, under the influence of books and of currents already dominating the westernized Turkish classes, to the preaching of Panturanism. This programme appears in almost all his early works, it still prevails in the later, and is embodied especially in the poem *Turân*, published in 1914 in the collection *Kızıl Elma*, which ends with the lines: "The fatherland of the Turks is neither Turkey nor Turkestan, our fatherland is a great and eternal country: Turân". Ziyâ Gök Âlp dreamed of an Ottoman fatherland, an Ottoman empire, comprising the provinces it still possessed in 1914, a Muslim empire with a constitutional Sultān, where Ottomans would be preeminent politically and intellectually, and which would give rise to a new civilisation, capable of influencing the other peoples of Turkish race, and absorbing them to the point of creating an immense Turanic empire. These same ideas are poetically rendered in the poem *Kızıl Elma*, which gives the volume its title, and in the prose writings mentioned below. Prose and poetry, for Ziyâ Gök Âlp, are slightly different expressions of an identical idea.

In his later years, after the loss of the Ottoman

Empire's provinces, the writer's hopes centred around Muştafâ Kemâl's form of democratic dictatorship; the Panturanic idea remains in the distance, as a far-away goal, and he tries to strengthen a pure Turkish nationalism, modernising and westernising: Ziyâ Gök Alp departs from the *Edebiyât-ı âdîde* school and opens the contemporary movement; he has, however, a singular individuality, which distinguishes him from his contemporaries and from his latest imitators. In his works, which are the fruit of individual study and feeling, it is not difficult to discern the influence of European writers, especially French, whom he mentions, e.g. the sociologists G. Tarde and E. Durkheim, and, in history, L. Cahun. An interesting side of his literary activity is its simple and melodious form; some of his poems seem deliberately written with a pedagogical purpose, but they are inspired by strong feeling, and between the lines flash bold conceptions.

Ziyâ Gök Âlp is also one of the first, if not the first Turkish writer to have perceived the importance of folk literature as a fount of inspiration for a sincere national culture; in his works are also to be noticed mystical motives. In language, he favours simplicity and a thoroughly Turkish vocabulary and syntax.

He was a supporter of modernisation in religious and social matters; in this he has been far surpassed by recent Turkish Reforms.

Works. Ziyâ Gök Âlp's writings are partly scattered in many Turkish reviews of the last 20 years, some of which, like *Ghendî Kalemîler*, *Yeni Medîmû'a*, and *Türk Yurdu*, received from him their special character. Many of these articles have been reprinted in his chief works, which we enumerate in chronological order:

1. *İlm-i İdîtimâ Dersleri* (Constantinople 1329);
2. *Kızıl Elma*, collected poems (Constantinople 1330);
3. *Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Mu'âşırlaşmak*, eleven chapters in prose (Constantinople 1918);
4. *Yeni Hayât*, collected poems (Constantinople 1918);
5. *Altın İshîk*, fables, partly in prose and partly in verse (Constantinople 1339);
6. *Türkçülüğün Esâsı*, in prose, lengthy treatise on the principles and programme of Turkism (Angora 1339);
7. *Türk Türesi*, in prose, study of the Turks' ancient beliefs and customs (Constantinople 1339);
8. *Dogru Yol*, in prose, commentary upon the nine points of the People's Party's programme (Angora 1339);
9. *Türk Medeniyeti Târikhi* (Constantinople 1926).

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Yeniliyimiz, vol. 2, Constantinople 1932; 'Alî Nüzhet, *Ziyâ Gök Âlp'in Hâyatı ve Malta Mektupları*, Constantinople 1931; Enver Behnân, *Zilozof Gök Alp*, Constantinople 1933.

(E. ROSSI)

ZİYÂD B. ABÎHÎ, viceroy of the 'Irâk. The sources call him sometimes son of Sumaiya or son of 'Ubaid, sometimes son of Abû Sufyân, most frequently however Ibn Abîhi: a solution which can only be described as one of despair but it is the most non-committal of all as regards historical truth. Partisans and enemies of the Omayyads have for different motives confused the genealogy of this individual as they pleased. Ziyâd's mother was Sumaiya, a slave girl of Tâ'if, a courtesan by profession, adds the anti-Omayyad version. Abû Sufyân is said to have known her and thus would be explained the mystery of Ziyâd's being classed with the Omayyad family. Whatever we may think of this, the young Ziyâd incorporated in his person all the intelligence, alertness and the strength of mind attributed to his kinsmen, the Thakafis. Settling in Başra with his very near relatives, the Abû Bakra [q. v.], Ziyâd early found himself attached as secretary to the service of the first governors of the 'Irâk. 'Alî, becoming caliph, decided to make use of his talents and employed him on very delicate missions. After the death of 'Alî he attracted the attention of Mu'âwiya. The great Omayyad was anxious to gain an auxiliary of this ability. His first advances were rejected and Mu'âwiya then resorted to a plan, which showed what this ruler was capable of when dynastic interests were at stake. This was the *istilhâk*, the official recognition of Ziyâd as a son of Abû Sufyân.

A little later, the caliph appointed his half-brother governor of Başra. A central camp in which were being organised the forces destined to complete the eastern conquests collected from the most restless Beduin tribes whose turbulence constituted a continual threat of anarchy, the post at Başra demanded a man of the first rank. Mu'âwiya intended to devote all his attention to the west of the caliphate. The discourse pronounced by Ziyâd on his arrival in the mosque of Başra has remained celebrated in Arabic literature. It is called the *khutba batrâ'*, the "truncated speech", the orator having, we are told, begun *ex abrupto*. In it he developed his programme, announced the rigorous measures to which he would have recourse if necessary. Examples followed to show his threats were not mere words. Order, which none of his predecessors had been able to establish, soon reigned throughout the vast province of Başra. In return the caliph hastened to entrust Ziyâd with the government of Kûfa also. This town, entirely 'Alid in sympathies, could not after the death of 'Alî be consoled for having lost the title and the advantages of capital of the caliphate. As he had done in Başra, Ziyâd succeeded in restoring promptly in Kûfa the prestige of the Omayyad régime.

Governor of all the 'Irâk and of the provinces depending on it in Arabia and eastern Asia, Ziyâd was able to justify to the end of his life the unlimited confidence shown him by Mu'âwiya. In the Arab historians, he shares with this sovereign the honour of being quoted as the typical statesman, guiding with an experienced hand, without a trace of effort, the reins of government, his ear

to the ground, his eye ever open for events happening in his immense vicereignty. Annalists and collectors of aphorisms frequently hesitate between the two, when they do not quote both, to point a lesson of high politics; Ziyād is numbered among the four *dāhiya*, great statesmen, of the century. The other three are Mu'āwīya [q. v.], al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba [q. v.] and 'Amr b. al-Āṣ [q. v.]. In Kūfa he had to keep an eye on the 'Alid meetings. He came into conflict there with the agitator Ḥudjir b. 'Adī [q. v.], an everyday incident exaggerated out of all proportion by anti-Omayyad tradition, especially by the Shī'a. To checkmate the 'Alid opposition and that of the Arab tribes settled in the 'Irāk, Ziyād had recourse to transplantation. He moved 50,000 Beduins to Khurāsān. He died of the plague at Kūfa in 56—57.

For our information about Ziyād we have to rely upon the historical school of the 'Irāk. The bias of the 'Irāk annalists, very hostile to Ziyād, is inclined to place his birth several years after the Hidjra, in order to be able to dispute his claim to the title of *ṣaḥābi*, Companion of the Prophet. As, on the other hand, he could not have been born long before the Hidjra we may credit him with being about 60 at his death. The best testimony to Ziyād's ability is seen in Mu'āwīya's decision to hand over to his charge the eastern half of the Arab empire, notoriously the most difficult to govern, the most rebellious against Omayyad ideas. The great manager of men, the active ruler, so strong-willed in the case of his own relatives, summoned Ziyād to assist him in the exercise of his power and imposed upon himself, so to speak, the obligation of not interfering in the affairs of the 'Irāk in the lifetime of his lieutenant. The constant favour, the loyal support given by Ziyād to the Omayyad dynasty are sufficient to explain the bitterness of the 'Alid writers against the memory of the Thaqafī statesman.

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ZIYĀDAT ALLĀH B. IBRĀHĪM. [See AGH-LABIDES.]

ZIYĀDĪ, a Yaman dynasty of 204 to 371 (819—981) or 409 (1018) with capital in Zabīd [q. v.]. They were regarded as descendants of Ziyād b. Abīhi [q. v.]. But as the latter's genealogy is uncertain, so not even the name of the father of the founder of the dynasty, Muḥammad, has been handed down with certainty.

The caliph Ma'mūn was harassed by his uncle Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; at the same time tribes in the Yaman became rebellious. The fact that there were 'Alid schemes afoot there and indeed shortly before Ibrāhīm al-Djazzār, a brother of 'Alī al-Riḍā [q. v.], had been plundering in Ṣan'ā', may

have decided the caliph to abandon completely his previous 'Alid policy and to entrust the affairs of the Yaman to a member of the Banū Ziyād, whose hostility to the family of 'Alī was well known, even if he had been himself in the service of the house of Umayya. A scion of the latter house was associated with Muḥammad, as was Muḥammad b. Ḥārūn of the tribe of Taghlib, whose descendants, the Banū Abī 'Aḳāma, held the office of *qāḍī* in Zabīd during the whole rule of the Ziyādīs and of the Banū Nadjāh who followed them. The execution of all three men may have been already decided upon in the interests of 'Abbāsīd policy; they now became its supporters. The Ziyādīs always recognised the suzerainty of the 'Abbāsīds.

Accompanied by trustworthy Khurāsān troops and cavalry and in particular supported by an able freedman Dja'far, Muḥammad b. . . . Ziyād was able to get a firm grasp on the coast, as far, it is said, as Shīhr in Ḥaḍramawt. The lords of the fortresses in the highlands, in *Djanad* and al-Mudḥaikhira, recognised him. But in the interior of the highlands the Baghdād government continued to send special governors to Ṣan'ā' until the Banū Ya'fur [q. v.] made themselves independent there from 247 to 289 (859—901). The second Ziyādī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (245—289 = 859—902), had to hand over Ḥaḍramawt and *Djanad* to Muḥammad b. Ya'fur, although in return for tribute. The first interruption followed Ibrāhīm's death. While the possession of Ṣan'ā' alternated between Zaidī and Karmāṭian Shī'īs, the latter under 'Alī b. al-Faḍl took possession not only of *Djanad* and al-Mudḥaikhira but for a time of Zabīd itself also. Neither the name nor the length of reign nor fate of the third Ziyādī is exactly known. The dynasty revived under Ibrāhīm's other son Abu 'l-Dja'ish Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm in his 80 years' reign (c. 291—371 = 904—981). About 350 (961) even the Hamdānī chief al-Daḥḥāk, then lord of Ṣan'ā', paid homage to him. But in 379 (989) 'Abd Allāh b. Kaḥṭān, who restored the power of the Banū Ya'fur for a short time, by taking and burning Zabīd put an end to the dynasty of the Ziyādīs.

The actual ruler was by now no longer the young fifth Ziyādī, whose name also is uncertain, who followed Abu 'l-Dja'ish, but the Abyssinian Mamlūk vizier al-Ḥusain b. Salāma, who was able again to save the land from catastrophe and secured a fame which has lasted to this day by making pilgrim roads with mosques and wells through the mountains and the plain. Of no importance was the transfer of the title to a sixth minor Ziyādī, probably Ibrāhīm II, as Ibn Salāma was followed by his Mamlūk Mardjān as independent vizier, who in turn divided the government between his two slaves: Nadjāh in the northern provinces and Nafīs (or Anīs) for the southern including the capital. The latter seized the crown himself and had the young king and his aunt Hind immured alive (409 = 1018). It was however not he that founded a dynasty but Nadjāh [q. v.].

Bibliography: see that of the article ZABĪD, especially Kay; also E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 115. (R. STROTHMANN)

ZIYĀNĪDS. [See ZAYĀNĪDS.]

ZIYĀNĪYA, branch of the Shādhilī Order, has its headquarters at *Kenādḥā*; lists of the heads are given by Rinn, *loc. cit.*, Dupont and Coppolani, *Confréries*, p. 498, and Cour, *loc. cit.*;

in the second work a specimen is given of the diploma of *muḥaddam* conferred by the head of the order, with seal. Their practice is said to differ from those of the other *Shādhilis* only in details; their ordinary *dhikr* is reproduced by Rinn, *loc. cit.*, p. 411, and consists in the repetition of certain formulae, a hundred, others a thousand times. Their speciality is the guiding and protection of caravans and travellers against brigands; in Rinn's time (1884) "no trader would venture to send a consignment of goods southwards" without having secured protection in the form of a Ziyānī rider bearing a letter with the seal of a *muḥaddam*, whom the brigands would be afraid to offend. Hence he calls them the pilots of the Sahara. Much the same is said by A. Bernard, writing in 1931 (*Le Maroc*, p. 205). The community appears to be little known outside French Africa; lists of their *sāwīyas* in Algeria with an account of their diffusion in Morocco are given by Depont and Coppolani, *loc. cit.*

The order was founded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Abi Ziyān, died 1145 (1733). In the *R. M. M.*, xii. 360—379 and 571—590, A. Cour published in French some extracts from a MS. biography called *Tahārat al-Anfus wa 'l-Arwāḥ al-djismāniya fi 'l-Tarīka al-Ziyāniya al-Shādhiliya*, itself an abridgment of an earlier work. This is chiefly a record of miracles, but furnishes certain details supplementing those collected by L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan* (1884, p. 408—415). He was born at Thatha near Kenādḥā (S. W. of Figuig in Morocco), studied with Sidi Mubārak b. 'Azza in Sidjilmāsa and after his death went to Fez, where he studied for eight years under Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Fāsi (died 1116 = 1704), Aḥmad b. al-Hādjdj (died 1109 = 1697), and others; according to Rinn, he was expelled from Fez by the emperor on the ground of sorcery, fled to Tāfilālt, where the *muḥaddam* of the Naṣriya branch of the *Shādhiliya* admitted him to the order, after which he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and then on his return established himself at Kenādḥā, where he founded a *sāwīya*. Besides introducing some modifications into the *Shādhili* ritual, and acquiring a reputation for saintliness, he appears to have dug wells and organized irrigation; his most celebrated miracle, which determined the future of his community, consisted in the suppression of brigands. His fame and talents attracted numerous visitors, who presently formed a flourishing colony. Like other Islāmic saints, he was the head of a family, and left the headship of his order to his son.

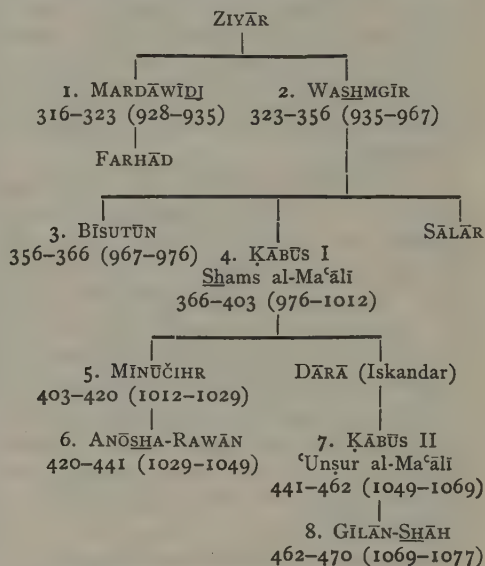
Bibliography: given in the article.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

ZIYĀRA (A.), visit, in the religious sense the visit to a holy place or to the tomb of a saint, especially to Muḥammad's tomb in the mosque of al-Madina, which even under the Wahhābī rule is paid by those who perform the *ḥadjj* [q. v.]. The ziyāra paid to the tombs of the saints was among the *bida'* which were combated by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb [cf. WAHHĀBIYA]. For details cf. W. R. van Diffelen, *De leer der Wahhabieten*, doctoral dissertation, Leyden 1927. That the Wahhābīs were not the first in Islām to question the legality of visiting tombs, and of the practices connected therewith, appears from the materials preserved in *ḥadīth* (cf. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*,

s. v. Grave[s]) and from later literature [cf. IBN TAIMIYA]. (A. J. WENSINCK)

ZIYĀRIDS, a dynasty of vassals of the Sāmānids [q. v.] which reigned over 'Irāq 'Adjamī and Tabaristān, then over Djurdjān from 316 to 470 (928—1077). It took its name from Ziyār, father of Wardān Shāh ruler of Gilān, who was the father of Mardāwīdj, its founder. The following is the genealogical table:



1. MARDĀWĪDJ, see the separate article.
2. WASHMGĪR, see the separate article.
3. His son ZAHĪR AL-DAWLA Abū Maṣnūr Bisutūn made peace with Rukn al-Dawla; he died in 366 (976) in the town of Djurdjān.
4. KĀBŪS I, see the separate article.
5. MĪNŪČIHR, by arrangement with 'Alā' al-Dawla, had returned to Rai; there he was attacked by Sultān Maḥmūd who pursued him into the mountains but made peace on payment of 500,000 dinārs and recognised Maḥmūd as his suzerain (420 = 1029). It was to this prince that the poet Mīnūčihri [q. v.] dedicated his early poems and from him he took his name.
6. ANŌSHA-RAWĀN [cf. ANŌSHARWĀN] recognised the suzerainty of Mas'ūd, son and successor of Maḥmūd; but in 433 (1041—1042) he was attacked by Tughril Beg the Saldjūk who took Djurdjān from him. He shut himself up in a fortress where he died in 441 (1049). During his reign his uncle Dārā, also called Iskandar, was governor of Djurdjān and Tabaristān in the name of Sultān Mas'ūd (c. 426 = 1035).
7. The son of Dārā, KĀBŪS II 'Unsur al-Ma'ālī, son-in-law of Sultān Maḥmūd, accompanied the latter on his Indian campaigns. He died on an expedition led by the emīr Faḍlūn Abū 'l-Sowār of the dynasty of the Banū Shaddād against the Abkhāz, which ended disastrously in 462 (1069). He was the author of the *Kābis-nāma*, a book of good advice addressed to his son Gilān-Shāh, which was translated into German by Fr. v. Diez (Berlin 1811) and into French by A. Querry (Paris 1886).
8. His son GILĀN-SHĀH reigned over the moun-

tainous country only, for Tughril Bey before marching on Baghdād had occupied Tabaristān. He was dethroned by Mālik-Shāh and died in 470 (1077).

FARHĀD is given as the son of Mardāwīdj but his paternity is uncertain and he was not summoned to succeed his father or any of his cousins. In 414 (1023), when he must have been at least 88, we find him a vassal (*mukta*) in Borūdjird. In 417 (1026) he accompanied 'Alā' al-Dawla the Kākōyid on his campaign against the Kurds and remained his faithful ally. He fell in battle against the army of Sultān Mas'ūd (425 = 1034).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornerberg, viii. 59, 139, 172, 195, 201, 207, 226, 262, 276, 291, 333, 353, 378, 402, 411, 426 sqq., 506, 519; ix. 8, 97, 111, 251, 262, 284, 340; Ibn Miskawaih, in *G. M. S.*, v. 271, 345, 367, 435 sqq., 479 sqq., 572; vi. 9, 33, 55, 204, 270, 296 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Būlak, iv. 423, 432, 444, 497; Defrémery, *Samanides*, p. 130, 137, 247, 289; Ibn Isfandiār, *Hist. of Tabaristān*, transl. Browne, p. 202, 205, 217, 220, 228; Zahir al-Din, *Geschichte von Tabaristan*, ed. Dorn, p. 174, 196, 216, 311; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 441; Cl. Huart, *Les Ziyarides*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xlii., Paris 1922. (CL. HUART)

ZOTṬ (pronounced *Zott* in Damascus), the name of a people [cf. also NAWĀZ]. The etymology is certain: *zotṭ* > Pers. *djāt* (for a similar change cf. Pers. *khāne* "house" > Arabic *khann* "rhumb-line").

Firdawsi (d. 1024) relates in his *Shāhnāme* that Bahram Gūr, king of Persia (420—438 A.D.), asked the king of India to send him 10,000 Lūri, men and women, expert at playing the lute (transl. Mohl, vi. 60 sq.).

In his *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, transl. from the Arabic text of Tabari (829—923), Nöldeke has full confidence in this tradition. De Goeje quotes his opinion and adds that there is no reason to suspect Firdawsi's statement (cf. the contrary view expressed by John Sampson, *The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, Oxford 1926, p. 29, note 1, who wrongly regards the statements as pure legend).

At an earlier date than the Persian poet, Balādhuri (d. 892) says that "the Sayābidja [q.v.] had been settled in the ports [of the Persian Gulf since] before Islām. It was the same with the Zotṭ" (ed. de Goeje, p. 373, l. 2 *infra*). The historian Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (early tenth century) who, he tells us, "was very well acquainted with the history of the Sāsānids", says the same thing (ed. and transl. by M. E. Gottwaldt, p. 55 text and p. 40 transl.) as Firdawsi who wrote half a century later.

Many Zotṭ had settled in the marshes between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra. In the reign of al-Ma'mūn (813—833) they were strong enough to rise in open rebellion against the caliph's authority and cut communications between Baṣra and Baghdād; they only submitted in 834 on condition that their lives and property were spared (de Goeje, p. 23 sq.).

In his *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie* (Leyden 1903), de Goeje used these texts which he supplemented from the *Lisān al-'Arab*, the *Tawjīd al-'Arūs* and a number of Arab geographers. As the title of his *Mémoire* shows, he follows the migrations of the gypsies through Asia, which I need not do here. We need only remember

that, according to Arabic and Persian texts, the Zotṭ migrated for some reason or other from India into Persia and from Persia into Hither Asia and Europe.

On the east coast of Madagascar there is a tribe called *Ondzātsi*, generally written in Arabo-Malagasy

أَجَتَة or أَجَت, أَذَت. The old pronunciation of

the three forms is **on-dzāti*. *On-* (pron. *ō-*) is the Malagasy toneless article; *dzāti*, in modern Malagasy *dzātsi*, goes regularly back to an original **djāt* (the change of *-t* > *-tsi* in a toneless final is regular). These are a people, whose ancestors came, they say, from beyond the sea. Although I have been in personal relations with them for several years, I have a feeling that they have not informed me fully about their manners and customs; they have always shown themselves reticent. Their Malagasy neighbours in the southeast say that the Ondzātsi practise incest in secret. The identity of the forms Ondzātsi, Djāt and Zotṭ is too complete to be accidental; it is worth recording.

The region in Asia in which the modern Djāts are mainly found is defined roughly as follows: in the north by the lower ranges of the Himalaya; in the west by the Indus; in the south by a line extending from Haidarābād (Sindh) to Adjmīr and Bhopal; in the east by the Ganges. Beyond the Indus there are a few Djāts at Peshāwar, in Baluchistān and even west of the Sulaimān range. Finally in Kirmān and the 'Irāq we have a mixed population of Djāts and gypsies. There are some 50,000 more in Makrān and Afghānistān (Kalika-Ranjan Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, Calcutta 1925, i. 1).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(GABRIEL FERRAND)

ZUBAIDA BINT DJĀ'FAR B. ABĪ DJĀ'FAR AL-MANŠŪR, UMM DJĀ'FAR, wife of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and mother of his successor Muḥammad al-Amin [q.v.]. She was born in 145 (762—763) and her real name was Amat al-'Aziz "the slave of the Almighty", but on account of her youthful and fresh complexion she was nicknamed by her grandfather, the caliph al-Manšūr, *zubaida* (diminutive of *zūbda* "cream", "fresh butter"; also the name of the marigold, *Calendula officinalis*). Her marriage with Hārūn was celebrated in 165 (781—782) and she died in Baghdād in Djumādā I 216 (June—July 831). On account of her love of splendour, her liberality to poets and scholars and the public works carried out by her, she is little less famous than her husband. Among other things, she had an aqueduct ten miles long laid into Mecca, when it was suffering from a dreadful lack of water.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, cf. Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 241 (transl. by de Slane, i. 532 sq.); Tabari, ed. de Goeje, iii., see Index; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornerberg, v. 437; vi., *passim*; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 164, 182. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

AL-ZUBAIR B. AL-^cAWWĀM B. KHUWAILID B. ASAD B. 'ABD AL-^cUZZĀ B. KUṢAYB B. KILĀB ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH, with the surname of *al-Hawārī* (i.e. the Apostle, an Aethiopic loanword). His mother was Šafiya bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, so that he was a cousin of Muḥammad and a nephew of Khadija (bint Khuwailid).

Al-Zubair was one of the earliest converts to Islām; according to tradition, he was the fifth who, while still a child, recognised Muḥammad as a

prophet; he is also one of the ten to whom Paradise was promised by Muḥammad.

Of his wives Asmā, the daughter of Abū Bakr, is renowned for her spartan attitude to her son ‘Abd Allāh [q. v.]. Another son she bore him was ‘Urwa [q. v.]. The third of al-Zubair’s sons who also plays a part in the history of Islām, is Muṣ‘ab [q. v.]. Al-Zubair is said to have stuck to Muḥammad under hardships and to have taken part in the two hidjras to Abyssinia. After the hidjra to Madīna he was united in brotherhood with Ibn Mas‘ūd, or, according to other reports, with Ṭalḥa or with Ka‘b b. Mālīk. He further took part in all the great battles and campaigns during Muḥammad’s career, being renowned for his gallantry. His epithet *al-Ḥawārī* (cf. above) was given him by Muḥammad on account of his services as a spy in the conflict with the Kuraiza [q. v.], with the words: “Every prophet has an apostle and my apostle is al-Zubair”. For his attitude, exploits and death (the latter took place in the Battle of the Camel, at an age which is given with variations from 60 to 67) under the caliphate of Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān, we may refer to the art. ṬALḤA, because what is said of the latter holds also good of al-Zubair.

Tradition emphasises the high esteem in which Muḥammad held him, by pointing to the fact that Muḥammad in speaking to him, once made use of the formula *ṣidāka abī wa-ummī*. He obtained, it is said, special permission to wear silk. For his testament, cf. Ibn Sa‘d, III/i. 75 sqq.; Bukhārī, *Khums*, bab 13.

Bibliography: Ibn Ishāq, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, index; Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, Berlin 1882, index; Ya‘kūbī, ed. Houtsma, index; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, indices; Ibn Sa‘d, ed. Sachau, III/i. 70—80; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, index; Mas‘ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, general index; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-‘Askalānī, *Iṣāba*, N^o. 2774; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ǧḥāba*, Cairo 1286, II. 196 sqq. The passages from *Ḥadīth* are registered in A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v. — Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, I., Berlin 1861, p. 374 sq., 422 sqq.; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, p. 151, 173; Caetani, *Annali*, indexes in vols. II/ii., vi.; further vol. vii. § 70; viii. § 374 sqq.; ix., § 30—225 *passim*, 616—690; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885, p. 306 sqq.; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, index in vol. III.; W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, ed. Weir, index; G. Levi Della Vida, in *R. S. O.*, vi. 440 sq., 448 sq. (A. J. WENSINCK)

ZUBŪR. [See ZABŪR.]

ZUHAIR B. ABĪ SULMĀ RAḤĪFA B. RABĀḤ B. QURRA AL-MUZANĪ (the genealogy in Ibn Qutaiba is wrong, as it is frequently the case) was an Arabic poet of the time before Islām and by native critics considered, together with Imru’ al-Kais and al-Nābigha, as one of the three great poets of antiquity. Though he was of the tribe of Muzaina, he was born among the tribe of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ǧḥaṭafān and spent the whole of his life among them. His father Rabīfa had married a sister of a certain Ka‘b b. As‘ad of the clan of Murra b. ‘Awf b. Sa‘d b. Dhubyān and had settled among them. He left them owing to a quarrel over some plunder taken in a raid against the tribe of Ṭaiyī’ and took up his residence among

the kindred tribe of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ǧḥaṭafān. Here Zubair was born and married his first wife, a sister of the poet Baṣṣāma b. al-Ǧḥadir. This may be the Umm ‘Awf whom he mentions in several of his poems, and to whom he addressed a poem of regret when he had divorced her. All children by this wife died in infancy. The second wife, Kabsha bint ‘Ammār, of the tribe of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ǧḥaṭafān, was the mother of his sons Ka‘b, Budjair and Sālim. The first two were poets like their father and lived into the days of Islām, Budjair being an early convert, while Ka‘b [q. v.] had to atone for his hostility to the Prophet by his celebrated poem, often called the *Burda*. The third son, Sālim, died as a youth through falling from a horse sent to his father as a present. Zuhair lived during the period of the disastrous war between ‘Abs and Dhubyān, two clans of Ǧḥaṭafān, called the war of Dāḥis. His most celebrated poem, which has found a place in the collection of the *Mu‘allaqāt*, is in praise of the two chiefs of the tribe of Murra b. Ǧḥaṭafān, al-Ḥārith b. ‘Awf and Harim b. Sinān. They had undertaken to pay the whole of the blood-money due to families in both clans for those slain in the fratricidal struggle and even undertook a further payment when the action of al-Ḥusain b. Ḍamḍam nearly doomed the treaty of peace to failure. In earlier poems Zuhair celebrates the father of one of these two chiefs, Sinān b. Abī Ḥāritha, and his *Dirwān* also contains an elegy upon his death. His poems, as far as they are contained in the collections preserved, do not contain a single poem dealing with his own tribe of Muzaina, though his poems are perhaps preserved better than those of any other ancient Arabic poet. Nearly all his poems refer to affairs of the tribe of Ǧḥaṭafān or personal events. There are three poems concerning a slave and cattle robbed from him by al-Ḥārith b. Warḳa’ al-Ṣaidawī of the tribe of Asad. Others are addressed to various tribes with a view of deterring them from making raids against Ǧḥaṭafān; one is addressed to the tribe of Tamīm (Ahlwardt, N^o. 6), another to the Banū Ṣhaibān (Ahlwardt, N^o. 19) and another to the Banū Sulaim. There is also one poem addressed to the king of al-Ḥira, al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundḥir (Ahlwardt, N^o. 17), but according to al-Aṣma‘ī, it is not in the style of Zuhair and is by Ṣirma al-Anṣārī, a poet otherwise unknown. Two poems in the collections of his poetry are also attributed to his son Ka‘b (Ṭḥalab, N^o. 17 and 41). Of the former verses are cited in the *Lisān al-‘Arab*, and elsewhere sometimes in the name of one or the other. As Zuhair is stated to have been a man of wealth, we do not find in his *Dirwān* poems in which he tries to obtain presents from rich persons. Native critics praise him for not indulging in undue praise nor using uncommon words in his verses. In his poems we find also a pious strain which has by some modern critics been assumed to be an indication of his being a Christian, but all we can assert, is, that probably he may have been influenced by Christian thought, which must have been not unknown in the Arabian steppe. In Zuhair and his family we have an example of the art of poetry inherited for several generations, an instance which is by no means isolated in early Arabic poetry. Zuhair is reputed to have been the *rāwī*, transmitter of poetry, of Aws b. Ḥaǧǧar, who in turn was *rāwī* of Ṭufail al-Ǧhanawī, but from several sources we

learn that he inherited the art from his brother-in-law Baṣḥāma b. al-Gḥadīr. As already stated, his two sons Ka'b and Budjair were poets; so his father had been before him, so was his sister Salmā (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ix. 148). His grandsons Sa'īd and 'Uḡba, surnamed al-Muḍarrab, were also poets, so were his great-grandsons 'Amr b. Sa'īd and al-Sawwār and al-'Awwām, sons of 'Uḡba. The latter three had forsaken the desert and lived in al-Baṣra and with them the poetical talent seems to have died out in the family. The poems of Zuhair have come down to us, apart from the *Mu'allaqa*, in three collections, the oldest by al-Sukkārī (died 275 = 888) preserved in the unique MS. Socin in the possession of the German Oriental Society, the recension by the Kūfī grammarian Tha'lab (d. 291 = 904) preserved in two manuscripts in the Escorial and two or three copies in Stambul and a third abbreviated text with the commentary of the Spanish scholar al-A'lam (d. 476 = 1083). The printed editions all are based upon the latter, which is supposed to contain the text as edited by the Baṣrian grammarian al-Aṣma'ī. As the latter employed methods which obscured the ancient tradition rather than elucidated it, by making selections, it is highly desirable that we should have a new edition of the poems of Zuhair based upon the two older recensions, which are in the spirit of the older school of Arabic scholars. The work of K. Dyroff has only partly cleared the issue, especially as he did not recognise that we had two entirely different recensions in the texts which he used.

Bibliography: The various editions of the *Mu'allaqāt* [q. v.]; the *Diwāns of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. Ahlwardt, London 1870; Landberg, *Primeurs*, vol. ii. (contains the *Diwān* in the recension of al-A'lam), Leyden 1889; K. Dyroff, *Zur Geschichte der Überlieferung des Zuhairdiwāns*, Munich 1892; Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Echtheit der alten arabischen Gedichte*, Greifswald 1872; Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r wa 'l-Shu'arā'*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1902; Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Būlāk, ix. 146—158 and *passim*; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, Cairo 1343; Djamahī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Hell, Leyden 1916; Cheikhov, *Poètes Chrétiens*, Bālrūt 1890, p. 510—595 (contains abbreviated text of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and the *Diwān* in the recension of al-A'lam).

The name of Zuhair is not uncommon among Arabic poets and as their verses are sometimes incorporated among the fragments added to the *Diwān*, as e.g. by Ahlwardt, a short notice of the most important may be added.

ZUHAIR B. DJANĀB B. HURĀL AL-KALBĪ, also a poet of the time before Islām and belonging to a generation earlier than Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā. He is reckoned among the long-lived ones (*mu'ammarrūn*) and as he is brought into contact with Kulaib Wā'il and Muhallil he must have lived in the earlier part of the sixth century of the Christian era. The accounts concerning his life are however so legendary that no reliance can be placed upon them. Also in his family the art of poetry was inherited for several generations and Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī enumerates several, the latest in date being perhaps al-Musaiyab b. Rifall b. Hāritha b. Djanāb b. Kais b. Imru' al-Kais b. Abī Djabir b. Zuhair b. Djanāb who in some verses, cited

in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, boasts that one of the members of his family had slain Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in 112 A. H. (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xxi. 93—104; *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, N^o. 117);

ZUHAIR B. DIADHĪMA B. RAWĀḤA AL-'ABSĪ, one of the chiefs of the tribe of 'Abs, was slain by Khālīd b. Kilab (*Naḡā'id*, p. 384; *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 788; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, x. 12—17);

ZUHAIR B. HARĀM AL-HUDHALĪ, called al-Dākhil (*Carmina Hudsailitarum*, ed. Kosegarten, p. 263);

ZUHAIR B. 'ALAS AL-DUBĀ'Ī, better known by his nickname al-Musaiyab (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, N^o. 91);

ZUHAIR B. MAS'UD AL-DABRĪ (*Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, by Abū 'Ubaid al-Bakrī, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, N^o. 22).

The native lexicons cite verses of all these poets. (F. KRENKOW)

ZUḤAL, the planet Saturn. Zuḥal (without nunation) is derived from the Arabic root *z-ḥ-l* "to remove"; the planet takes its name, according to the *Tādj al-'Arūs*, from the fact that it is "far removed, in the seventh heaven". Another name found in texts from Spain and N. W. Africa is *al-Mukātil* "the warlike", just as we have there *al-Kātib* "the writer" alongside of the usual name 'Uḡarīd for the planet Mercury (cf. the note on *al-Kātib* in the article 'UḡARĪD).

In Sumerian, according to Kugler, the name of Saturn was *Lu-lim*, in Accadian *Lu-bat Sag-uš* = *Kaimānu* (*Kewan*); the latter is obviously the source of the Hebrew name of the planet כִּיּוֹן *Kiyun* (Amos v. 26) = כִּיּוֹן and the modern Persian *Kaiwān*. According to Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient*, Paris 1884, p. 78, the Egyptians called Saturn *Har-ka-her*, i. e. the "Creator from above", but according to the same author in his *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient classique*, published 15 years later, they called it *Kahiri* (cf. I. M. Antoniadī, *L'astronomie égyptienne*, Paris 1934, p. 94). Achilles Tatiū in his *Isogoge*, ch. 17, mentions that the Egyptians called Saturn "star of Nemesis" (ὁ τῆς Νεμεσέως), i. e. that it was sacred to the corresponding Egyptian deity. The Greek name of Saturn is Φαίβων, "the brilliant", also (but only in the later period) ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου ἄστρον; the first name, according to Achilles Tatiū, *loc. cit.*, was also used in Egypt "in spite of the low degree of its brilliance". The Latin name is *stella Saturni* or *Saturnus*. In the Talmud it is called *Shabbetai*.

In Arab astronomy, Saturn (as in Pythagoras and Ptolemy) is placed in the seventh sphere (*fulak*) from within, which is also the outermost sphere of the planets; its inner surface is bounded by the sphere of Jupiter while its outer surface touches the sphere of the fixed stars. The period of sidereal revolution of Saturn is, according to Ḳazwīnī, *Adjā'ib*, 29 years, 5 months and 6 days, a total of 10,750 days; this is about 9 days less than the true figure (10,759 days, 23 hours). Al-Battānī (*Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ch. 50) observes that the apparent diameters of the planets in perigee and apogee are as 13/5 : 1, i. e. 7 : 5. From this he calculates, on a basis of the distance of the apogee of Jupiter which he — it being taken to be identical with the perigee distance of Saturn — had previously calculated to be 12,924 radii of the earth on a basis of successive reckonings by

analogy [cf. AL-MUŠḤṬARĪ], the distance of Saturn in apogee at 18,094 radii of the earth and from these two data he gets the mean distance from the earth as 15,509 radii of the earth. The actual

geocentric distance is about 14 times larger (224,000 radii of the earth). The corresponding figures of other Arab writers for the least, greatest and mean distance of Saturn are given in the following table:

| | Least distance
(Perigee) | | Mean distance | | Greatest distance
(Apogee) | |
|-------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| | 12,924 | radii of the earth | 15,509 | radii of the earth | 18,094 | radii of the earth |
| al-Battānī | 12,924 | " " " " | 15,509 | " " " " | 18,094 | " " " " |
| al-Farghānī | 14,405 | " " " " | 17,257 $\frac{1}{2}$ | " " " " | 20,110 | " " " " |
| Ibn Rūstā | 14,187 | " " " " | 17,033 $\frac{1}{2}$ | " " " " | 19,880 | " " " " |
| Bar Ḥiṭyā | 12,400 | " " " " | 15,200 | " " " " | 18,000 | " " " " |
| Indian | 13,733 $\frac{1}{8}$ | " " " " | 15,447 $\frac{13}{24}$ | " " " " | 17,161 $\frac{13}{24}$ | " " " " |
| (al-Bīrūnī) | | | | | | |
| Modern | | | 224,000 | | | |

(for the authority for the above figures and for the assumptions of the various authors regarding the magnitude of the earth's radius, see the article AL-MUŠḤṬARĪ).

The apparent diameter of Saturn in mean distance is, according to al-Battānī, following Ptolemy and later authors, $\frac{1}{18}$ of the sun's diameter. From this he calculates with the help of the numerical value of the distance the true diameter at $4\frac{7}{24}$ times the diameter of the earth (modern: 9.4 radii of the earth); this figure raised to the third power gives the volume of Saturn as 79 times that of the earth (modern: 830 times).

The motion of Saturn is represented, as in the *Almagest*, by four circles ("spheres" *aflāk*) (cf. al-Battānī, *Op. astr.*, ch. 31). The astronomical tables take for its mean daily sidereal motion the value 2'. The greatest observed northern geocentric latitude is given by al-Battānī (ch. 47) as 3° 2', the greatest southern at 3° 5' (according to Ptolemy).

Zuḥal in astrology. Zuḥal is ruler of the *Buṣūt al-Djady* (Capricorn, dayhouse) and *al-Dalw* (Aquarius, nighthouse), also day-ruler of the third *muthallatha* (*triquetrum*) consisting of *al-Djarwāz* (Gemini), *al-Mizān* (Libra) and *al-Dalw*, the night-ruler of which is Mercury. He is also the companion (*sharik*) of the ruler of the first *muthallatha*. He has his *sharaf* (exaltation) in the 21st degree (in Pliny, Firmicus and the Hindu Varāha-mihira erroneously in the 20th degree) of *al-Mizān*, his *hubūṣ* (declination) in 21° of *al-Ḥamal* (Aries). According to al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʿib*, p. 27, "the astrologers call Zuḥal "the larger star of misfortune" (*al-naḥs al-akḥar*), because its malevolent influence is greater than that of Mars (called *al-naḥs al-aṣḡar*) and they ascribe to it "devastation, ruin, grief and cares". The Arab astronomers refer to Saturn and Mars together as *al-Naḥsān* "the two planets of misfortune" and contrast them with "the two planets of good fortune", Venus and Jupiter, *al-Saʿdān* [q. v.]. In alchemy Zuḥal means lead.

Bibliography: see the articles 'UṬARID and MINTAKA.

ZUHARA, the planet Venus. The Arabic name comes from the root *z-h-r* "to shine, to illuminate" and is given on account of the extraordinary brilliance of the planet. In Sumerian it was called (according to Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*), *Zib*, in Accadian *Dilbat* (identical with Δελεφάρ in Hesychius, v. 558). The Egyptians called it (according to Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient classique*) *Bonu* "bird", and as evening star *Uāiti* and as morning star *Tiu-nutiri*. (Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient* of 1884 gives *Bennu* as evening star and *Duāu* as morning star: cf. E. M. Antoniadi, *L'astronomie égyptienne*, Paris 1934). According to Achilles Tatius, *Isagoge*, ch. 17, and Plutarch,

Ἐρωτικὸς, ch. 19, Venus was worshipped by the Egyptians and Greeks as the personified goddess of love (δ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης; Aristotle also uses this term as well as δ τῆς Ἥρας). The Greek name of the planet is Ἐωσφόρος or Φωσφόρος (for Venus as morning star): we also find (in Plato *Epinomis*) Ἑσπερος (evening star). Ibykus is said by Achilles Tatius to have contracted the two names Ἐωσφόρος and Ἑσπερος into one. In Latin the planet is called *Stella Veneris* or simply *Venus*; Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, ii. 8, 6) further gives the synonyms *Lucifer*, *Vesper*, *Hesperus* (see this article in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie*), also *Stella Innonis*, *matris deum*, *Isidis*. In Persian, Venus is called *Nāhid*, in Hebrew *Malkat ha-Shamayim*, "Queen of the Heavens". *Helel ben Shaphar*, "the morning-star" (Is. xiv. 12) is sometimes identified with Venus and sometimes also with the moon (= Arabic *Hilāl*, "new moon"; in the text of the Bible however the reference can only be to the crescent of the old moon visible in the morning sky) or with the sun; the assumption that *Meni* (Is. lxx. 11) refers to Venus is hardly tenable (cf. B. Suter in *Enc. Jud.*, Vol. iii. art., ASTRONOMIE). The Talmud calls Venus *Kochebet* "star" or *Noga* "splendour" or *Kochab Noga*.

Venus in astronomy. The identity of the morning with the evening star was well known to the ancients — Babylonians, Egyptians and Greeks — and we very early find the same name applied to both appearances of this planet. In Pythagoras, Ptolemy and the Arab astronomers, Venus occupies the third position from the centre (in the geocentric system). Its sphere (*falak*) is bounded on the inner side by that of Mercury and on the outside by that of the sphere of the sun. This arrangement was already familiar to the Egyptians (according to Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.*, xxxvii. 19); on the other hand Macrobius (*Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, i. 19) gives the following order: "Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn", but mentions immediately following — in a way that is not quite clear — that Mercury and Venus according to the Egyptians appear sometimes above and sometimes below the sun; it would certainly be going too far if we were to deduce from this passage alone that the Egyptians regarded these two planets as satellites of the sun and had broken down the geocentric system. The Babylonians moved Venus to the second innermost place: Moon, Venus, Mercury, Sun, Mars etc. Plato (*Timaeus* and *Epinomis*) to the third in the order "Moon, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Mars etc.", but according to Plutarch, *De plac. philosoph.*, ii. 15, Plato put Venus fourth: Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars etc. (as above in Macrobius).

The following table gives a view of the least,

mean and greatest distances of Venus from the centre of the earth, expressed in terms of radii of the earth, according to al-Battānī, al-Farghānī, Ibn Rusta, Abrahām bar Ḥiyā, also for India, ac-

| | Least distance
(Perigee) | |
|-------------|-----------------------------|---------|
| | radii of the earth | |
| al-Battānī | 166 | |
| al-Farghānī | 167 | " " " " |
| Ibn Rusta | 166 | " " " " |
| Bar Ḥiyā | 166 | " " " " |
| Indian | 256 $\frac{4}{21}$ | " " " " |
| (al-Bīrūnī) | | |
| Modern | 6,500 | " " " " |

The Arab values are only about $\frac{1}{40}$ of the correct values; it should be observed however that the figure of the proportion of the least to the greatest distance ($\frac{2}{13}$) as given by al-Battānī, with the help of which the latter was calculated from the former, agrees remarkably with the modern figure. Al-Battānī gives the apparent diameter of Venus in mean distance (*Opus. Astr.*, ed. Nallino, ch. 50) as $\frac{1}{10}$ of the diameter of the sun, the true diameter of the sphere as $\frac{3}{10}$ of the diameter of the earth (both from the *Almagest*); from this the volume of Venus is calculated at $\frac{1}{36}$ of the volume of the earth (modern figures, proportion of diameter of Venus to that of the earth = 0.97, proportion of the volumes = 0.91).

The motion of Venus is represented like that of the other planets by Ptolemy by four circles (spheres, *aftāk*). The inclination of the deferent measures $0^{\circ} 10'$, that of the epicycle $2^{\circ} 30'$. The maximum value of the observed Northern or Southern latitudes is according to al-Battānī (*Op. Astr.*, ch. 47) $8^{\circ} 56'$. For the mean daily motion in anomaly the tables give $0^{\circ} 37'$. This corresponds to a synodic period of revolution of 584 days, which agrees with the actual figure (The synodic period of revolution of Venus was already known with considerable accuracy to the ancients; it is given as 587 days in Assyro-Babylonian texts).

Venus in Astrology. Zuhara is ruler (*rabb*) of the *Buyūt al-Misān* (Libra, day-house) and al-*Thawr* (Taurus, night-house), also day-ruler of the second *muthallatha* (*triquetrum*), consisting of al-*Thawr*, al-*Adhrā* (Virgo) and al-*Djady* (Capricornus) as well as day ruler of the fourth *muthallatha* (al-*Sarāṭān*, Cancer, al-*Akrab*, Scorpio and al-*Hūt*, Pisces). Zuhara has its *sharaf* (exaltation) in 27° of al-*Hūt*, its *hubūl* (declination) in 27° of al-*Adhrā*. The astrologers call it (according to al-Kazwīnī, *Āthār*) "the smaller star of good fortune", al-*Sa'd al-Aṣghar*, in contrast to al-*Muštārī* (Jupiter), "the larger star of good fortune", al-*Sa'd al-Akbar*; the two auspicious planets are comprised under the term al-*Sa'dān* [q. v.].

In alchemy al-Zuhara means copper.

Bibliography: See *Bibl.* to the articles 'UṬARID and MINṬAKA are the articles AL-MUŠHTARĪ and ZUHAL. (WILLY HARTNER)

ZUHD, a technical term in Muslim mysticism, the virtue of a *zāhid* (pl. *zāhidūn*, *zuḥḥād*; Sūra xii. 20 seems very far from this meaning): abstinence: at first from sin, from what is superfluous, from all that estranges from God (this is the extreme that the Ḥanbalis admit); then abstinence from all perishable things by detachment of the heart (and here we enter into the mystic), complete asceticism, renunciation of all that is created. Thus the term *zuhd*, taking

according to al-Bīrūnī; in the last row we give for comparison the modern values (for the references and the length of the earth's radius in the authors named see the articles AL-MUŠHTARĪ and 'UṬARID).

| | Mean distance | | Greatest distance
(Apogee) | |
|--|--------------------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|
| | radii of the earth | | radii of the earth | |
| | 618 | | 1,070 | |
| | 643 $\frac{1}{2}$ | " " " " | 1,120 | " " " " |
| | 622 $\frac{1}{2}$ | " " " " | 1,079 | " " " " |
| | 623 | " " " " | 1,080 | " " " " |
| | 675 $\frac{5}{7}$ | " " " " | 1,095 $\frac{5}{21}$ | " " " " |
| | | | 40,500 | " " " " |

the place of *nisk* (its synonym in the older texts), clearly means more not only than *ḥanāʿa* (moderation and control of one's desires), but also than *warāʿ*, scrupulous abstention from the use of everything doubtful in law (a Ḥanbalī virtue). In arranging the gradation of the virtues, Miṣrī notes that the "stage of *warāʿ* brings one to *zuhd*" which Ḡhāzālī places after *fakr* and before *tawakkul*.

It was in the second—third century that the conception of *zuhd*, deepened from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to Dārānī, became fixed: renunciation not only of dress, lodging, and pleasant food but also of women (Dārānī). Then introspective analysis progressing with Muḥāsibī (and with the *Malʾamatiya*), stress is laid on inner and subjective asceticism, renunciation of intentions and desires, which leads to the concept of *tawakkul*.

Interesting examples of *zuhd* taken from the biographies of the most illustrious Sūfīs will be found presented in an ironical and hostile way in Ibn al-Djauzī, and in the Shādhilī Ibn 'Abbād Rūndī a carefully considered collection of cases of ascetic conscience. On the question of borrowing by Islām of ascetic observances from Christianity, Manichaeism or Hinduism, cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique*, Paris 1922, p. 45—80.

Bibliography: Makkī, *Kūt al-Kulūb*, i. 242—271; Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb*, MS. Berlin, N^o. 2819, f. 53^b; Kūshairī, *Risāla*, p. 67 (and Hartmann, *Darstellung*, s. v.); Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Mahdīyūb*, transl. Nicholson, index, s. v.; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, ed. 1322, iv. 154—171 (résumé by Asín Palacios, in *M. F. O.*, vol. vii. [1914], p. 82—84 and Tscheuschner, *Gazālīs Lehre von der Askese*, 1933); Ibn al-Djauzī, *Tablīs Iblīs*, ed. 1340, p. 312—315 (Dārānī), p. 374—388; Ibn 'Arabī, *Futūḥāt Makkīya*¹, iii. 197; Ibn 'Abbād Rūndī, *Rasā'il*, lith. Fās (analysed by Asín Palacios, in *Etudes Carmélitaines*, April 1932, p. 113—167 and in *al-Andalus*, Madrid, i., 1933, p. 7—79); cf. esp. p. 122; cf. L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits*, p. 146—148 and p. 17 (for Miṣrī).

(LOUIS Massignon)

AL-ZUHRĪ, MUHAMMAD B. MUSLIM B. 'UBAID ALLĀH B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. SHIHĀB, known as Abū Shihāb, a celebrated traditionist, was born probably in 50 (670) or 51 — according to others, 56, 57, 58 — and received his *nisba* as a member of the Meccan clan of Zuhra. His grandfather had fought at Badr on the side of the *Quraysh* against Muḥammad and inflicted a wound on the Prophet at Uhud; his father had been a partisan of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair but the son made his peace with the Umayyads. When still quite a youth, he had paid his respects to Marwān

(d. 65 = 684) (Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Tahdhīb*, ix. 445), and later went to the court of 'Abd al-Malik. This had perhaps taken place before 73 (692); for according to al-Ya'qūbī, ii. 313, 'Abd al-Malik replied to the pious who protested against his prohibition of the pilgrimage to Mecca: "This al-Zuhri transmits to you the utterance of the Prophet: *lā tushaddu 'l-riḥālū itā afdala min ṭhalāthati masājidī*". As a matter of fact, this alleged saying of the Prophet in which the mosques of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem are given together as objects of pilgrimage, is quoted in the canonical collections of Ḥadīth with the *isnād* "al-Zuhri from Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyab from Abū Huraira" (cf. Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-Ṣalāt fī Masājid Makka*, bāb 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, bāb 94; Nasā'ī, *Masājid*, bāb 10; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 234 and *passim*), but in other passages with another *isnād*, in which al-Zuhri is not mentioned (e.g. Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳit*, bāb 126; Ibn Māǧja, *Iḳāma*, bāb 196; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 7, 34, 45, 51, 64 and *passim*). Al-Zuhri's teacher Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyab, from whom he got the ḥadīth, had interpreted a dream of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair as meaning the final victory of 'Abd al-Malik and the reporter in Ibn Sa'd, v. 91, 10 *sqq.* himself tells how he hurried to Damascus to obtain the favour of 'Abd al-Malik by bringing this news. It might be suggested that al-Zuhri had gone to Damascus filled with similar hopes to give the caliph the ḥadīth, so useful to his cause, in the name of his teacher. If Ya'qūbī's story is worthy of belief, al-Zuhri must have brought the ḥadīth to Damascus at latest in 73 (692), the year in which the anti-caliph fell, and could not have been more than 23 then. This stay of al-Zuhri's in Damascus, if it is historical at all, could only have been a temporary one; his permanent settlement in Damascus only took place at a considerably later date. He arrived there at a time when Ibn Aṣḥ'ath was in rebellion (Bukhārī, *Ta'riḫh*, p. 93), i.e. 81 = 700 (see Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, p. 145 *sq.*) — he had left Medina in dire necessity — and was introduced to the caliph by Kaḥṣa b. Dhū'aib, keeper of 'Abd al-Malik's seal. The latter is said to have asked Ibn al-Musaiyab about al-Zuhri — but if Ya'qūbī's story is true he must have known him long before — then paid al-Zuhri's debts and allotted him a regular income. Al-Zuhri was particularly grateful to a grandson of 'Alī's, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain, because the latter had lifted from his conscience the weight laid on it by his having killed some one through negligence (Ibn Sa'd, v. 158; Ṭabari, iii. 2478); perhaps it was the feeling of gratitude to this 'Alid that strengthened him when the caliph — according to some, Walid I, to others Hishām — tried to extort from him the opinion that the unnamed slanderer of 'Ā'isha in Sūra xxiv. 11 was 'Alī. Al-Zuhri insisted that the reference was to 'Abd Allāh b. Ubai'. A visit which al-Zuhri paid the caliph Walid I on the business of his cousin (Bukhārī, *Ta'riḫh*, p. 104) seems to have given rise to a romantic story which puts the event in the reign of the caliph Hishām (*Fihrist*, p. 307, 21). To the caliph Yazid II (101—105) who made him a judge al-Zuhri also made himself useful by his knowledge of poetry (*Kitāb al-Aghāni*, iv. 48). His successor Hishām (105—125) entrusted al-Zuhri with the education of his sons and in conversation with him al-Zuhri once spoke critically of the prince al-Walid b. Yazid, the later Walid II. He decided to flee the

country on the latter's accession when he learned that some one had reported his words to the prince. But al-Zuhri died before this could take place in 124 on his estate at Adāmā near Saghb, the possession of which, like many other things, he owed to the munificence of his royal patrons. Even after moving to Damascus, al-Zuhri used to make frequent and long visits to his native place; he was in the Ḥidjāz as late as 119 (737) (Ṭabari, ii. 1635).

As a result of his untiring enquiries among young and old, men and women, high and low, al-Zuhri collected vast masses of traditions and not only endeavoured to establish the sunna of the Prophet but also that of the Companions. He is described as the first to fix ḥadīth in writing; but this was only done under pressure from his sovereigns; in an utterance given by his pupil Ma'mar, he says: "We had a disinclination to write down the knowledge, but these emirs forced us to do so". Unlike many of his teachers, who could only be brought to speak with difficulty, al-Zuhri was very ready to communicate his knowledge to others; he even went so far as to allow his hearers who had copied down the traditions given by him, to transmit them again without we may examine their copies. Among his teachers even specially mention 'Urwa b. al-Zubair and Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyab; for ten years he never left the latter's side (Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 131). When he had added his own knowledge to that of his teachers, he was regarded as the most learned traditionist by later generations. "What a man is al-Zuhri, would that he had not harmed himself by intercourse with princes" says Makḥūl. Al-Zuhri's interests were not entirely devoted to the transmission of ḥadīth; he also dealt with chronology and was a critic of poetry (see above; cf. also Fischer, *Biographien*, p. 71). He is also one of the chief authorities for the *Sira* and was Ibn Ishāk's most important teacher. The latter, like al-Wākidī, Ibn Sa'd and Ṭabari, owes much of his information to al-Zuhri; in Ṭabari he also appears not infrequently as an authority for the events of the two first decades after the death of the Prophet. According to older authorities, he only wrote one book, a *Kitāb Nasab Ka'umihī*. Ḥādǧǧī Khalifa is the first to credit him with a *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, but it is clear that al-Zuhri's compilations were confined to collections of traditions; he did not write a regular book like his pupil Ibn Ishāk. In the stories traced to him he often gives his authorities but as frequently omits them; and when he gets from several authorities a record that agrees in essentials in all of them, he does not separate the different versions but makes one out of them, giving the names of all the authorities; this was the first modest attempt at an independent editing of the material transmitted.

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Z.D.M.G., l. 474; Sachau, introduction to Ibn Sa'd, III/i, xiii, xix; do., in *M.S.O.S. As.*, vii. 11 sq.; Fück, *Muhammad Ibn Ishāq*, p. 9 sqq., 28.

(J. HOROVITZ)

ZUHURĪ NŪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD TURSHIZĪ, a Persian poet of the school of Herāt, who lived for a long time in India and was assassinated in a rising in the Deccan at the same time as his father-in-law Malik of Kumm (1024 = 1615, 1025 = 1616 or 1027 = 1618). His poetry is not much esteemed in Persia but is admired in India as is especially his prose with its very florid phraseology. His chief works are a *Diwān*, *Gul-zār-i Ibrāhīm*, *Khwān-i Khalīl*, *Ruḡāt*, *Abdāliya*, lithographed several times in India, and a *Sāḡi-nāme*, "Book of the Cup-bearer", dedicated to Burhān Nizām Shāh II of Aḥmadnagar (999—1003 = 1590—1594). His works in prose have been annotated by Abu 'l-Yamīn 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Muhammad Ishāq Ḥusaini Sūrati (lithographed at Cawnpore 1873).

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(CL. HUART)

ZULĀLĪ, a Persian poet at the court of Shāh 'Abbās I, born at Khwānsār to the north of Isfahān, died in 1024 (1615), wrote seven *mathnawīs* which were collected after his death under the title *Sab'i Satiyāra*, "The seven Planets"; they include *Mahmūd u-Āyāz*, begun in 1001 (1592—1593), finished shortly before his death in 1024 (1615), lithographed at Lucknow in 1290, *Mai-khāne* "The Tavern" and *Dharrā u-Khushīd* "The Atom and the Sun". — Luṭf 'Alī Beg (*Ātesh-kede*, p. 139) mentions a poet of the same name, born at Herāt.

Bibliography: Luṭf 'Alī Beg, *Ātesh-kede* (no pagination, province of Fārs); E. G. Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Liter. in Modern Times* (Cambridge 1924), p. 252; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss. British Museum*, p. 677—678; Ethé, *G.I.P.*, ii. 219; *Cat. Pers. Mss. India Office*, Nrs. 1494—1498; *Bodleian Cat.*, Nrs. 1081—1084; Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat.*, p. 318.

(CL. HUART)

ZŪN, an Indian(?) deity, of whom there was a famous idol at Zamin-Dāwar in the country of Zābul, east of Sistān.

In 33 (654—55) 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura, appointed governor of Sistān, arrived at Dāwar and laid siege to the hill of Zūn (**djabal al-Zūn*). He entered the sanctuary of Zūn where there was an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes. 'Abd al-Rahmān cut off an arm and took away the rubies but left the remainder to the local marzubān, saying that his only object was to show the impotence of the idol (Balādhuri, p. 394).

Marquart found in Chinese sources a mention of the temple of Deva Sun in the kingdom of Tso (= Zābul) before which was placed the skeleton of an enormous fish through the ribs of which one could ride on horseback. The king of Tso wore a crown decorated with the head of a fish in gold and sat on a throne adorned with a

golden horse (*Pei-shi*, ch. 97, fol. 3, where the position of Tso is not well indicated). On the other hand, Christian sources also mention a stronghold of Tzouvdaśēp (Theophanes, *Chronography*, ed. de Boor, p. 163) or of Zundaber (*Victoris Tonnemensis chronica*, *Chron. minora*, ed. Mommsen, II, 194). Marquart restores these names as **Zūn-Dādhwār* "Zūn the Judge" and thus derives the name of the district of Zamin-Dāwar (in Arabic *Bilād Dāwar*) as well as that of king Zūnbil or Zunbil (*sic*), in place of *Rutbil* given by al-Djawāliqī, *al-Mu'arrab*, ed. Sachau, p. 73).

The name of the god Zūn (sometimes al-Zūr) is mentioned in the Arab poets such as Ḥumaid and Djarir and it seems that there was another sanctuary of this Indian(?) deity in the 'Irāk, at Ubulla which was a port which traded with India (cf. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Iskandarī, d. in 560 [1164—1165], quoted in Yāqūt, ii. 960). According to the *Lisān al-'Arab*, xvii. 62, in Persian the name al-Zūn is pronounced Zūn. Marquart locates the sanctuary of Zūn north of Hilmand, east of Bishlang.

Bibliography: Marquart, *Eranšahr*, p. 39, 289 (under Zābul) and do. [with J. J. M. Groot], *Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Zūn vom 6.—9. Jahrhundert*, in *Festschrift E. Sachau*, Berlin 1915, p. 248—292 (a work of prodigious erudition and perspicacity); Markwart, *A Catalogue of the provincial Capitals of Eranšahr*, Rome 1931, p. 89.

(V. MINORSKY)

ZUNNĀR. In the form *zunnārā* this word occurs in Aramaic; in Syriac it is as old as Ephraem and means a girdle worn by monks. It comes obviously from a derivative of the Greek *zōnē*. In classical Arabic it denotes any girdle, especially that worn by *dhimmīs*, Christians, Jews, Magians, etc. (As a rule only one or two of the protected religions are named by our authorities but, unless the contrary is stated, it is to be assumed that the statements apply to all). In modern Arabic it means the locks of hair worn by Jews on the "corners of the head" (Lev. xix. 27), in Persian the sacred thread of the Brahmans, and in Sūfī poetry the external practices of religion. The *zunnār* was thick and it is usually distinguished from *minṭaqa*. *Ghiyār* is also used as a synonym though properly it means the patch worn on the dress and not the belt. The Patriarch Māramma (c. 26 = 647) is said to have bidden scholars wear the *zunnār* (Pat. Or. 13, 630).

The imposition of this badge was commonly ascribed to 'Umar I, but it is not mentioned in the early treaties. If these are later fabrications, the argument against the early use of the *zunnār* is strengthened. In 89 (708) the Djarādjima bound themselves to wear Arab dress. So we must agree with the conclusion reached by Caetani: "I do not think it possible to accept the traditional statement that he ('Umar) imposed on the conquered the use of a distinctive dress". Bar Hebraeus says that 'Umar II vexed the Christians, forbidding them to ride on saddles and to wear the dress of soldiers, i.e. Arabs. It is also stated in the *'Ikḍ al-farīd* that he forbade Christians to wear turbans or to copy the dress of the Muslims in any way. Hārūn al-Rashīd ordered the *dhimmīs* in Baghdād to differ from the Muslims in dress and manner of riding. Apparently then 'Umar II forbade the *dhimmīs* to copy Arab dress and Hārūn introduced distinctive badges for them. Later the enforcement

of these rules depended on the temper of the ruler, were he caliph or governor. The colour peculiar to the *dhimmi* was that of honey, yellow. In the time of Mutawakkil they had to wear yellow scarves (*tailasān*) with belts, and two buttons on the tall cap (*kalansuwa*), and their slaves had to wear two yellow patches, one on the front and the other on the back of the outer garment. So Christians were called "spotted". The colour of the cap was different from that worn by Muslims. In Egypt yellow was at first the *dhimmi*'s colour, though blue is mentioned, but under al-Hakim the Copts wore black turbans and belts. At one time he ordered the Christians to wear round their necks crosses one cubit long and five *raṭls* in weight and the Jews to wear black turbans and to carry billets of wood weighing five *raṭls*. He also commanded the Christians to wear crosses and the Jews bells in the baths. At times *dhimmis* were not allowed to wear the Persian jacket (*kubā*) or turbans or silk clothes.

Other restrictions were imposed on them. They might use only a special kind of saddle, or one marked with two balls behind it, donkeys or mules and not horses. They had to cut their hair short on the forehead. When tribute was due they were marked by a leaden seal on the wrist; this, it seems, was removed when the whole payment was completed. It is not possible to say whether all these regulations were in force at one time and all over the caliphate.

Other meanings of the word will be found in the dictionaries.

Bibliography: al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 712, 1389, 1419; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 151; al-Kindi, *Governors and Judges in Egypt*, ed. Guest, p. 390, 424; Abu 'l-Mahāsin, ed. Popper, ii. 64; Makrizi, *Khitaṭ*, Cairo 1270, i. 76; ii. 494 sqq., 498; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Ikd al-farid*, ii. 339; al-Djāhīz, *al-Bayān*, Cairo 1313, i. 41; Ibn 'Asākir, Damascus 1329, i. 178; Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, *Kitāb al-Kharāḍi*, Cairo 1302, p. 72; al-Abshihī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, i. 124; Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, Cairo 1311, i. 52; Dardir, *Tafsir Khalīl*, i. 398; Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, Paris 1890, p. 117, 155, 204, 595; *Syriac Chronicle (Corp. Script. Christ. Or., ser. iii., vol. 15)*, i. 307; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 161; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, 17 A.H., §§171, 174, 175; 23 A.H., § 835; von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, i. 425; ii. 167; Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 45 sqq., 54; Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, p. 370; Abū Šāliḥ, *Churches of Egypt*, transl., p. 142. (A. S. TRITTON)

ZŪRKHĀNA (P.), "house of strength", the Persian gymnasium.

There are *zūrkhāna* in many Persian towns and often also in several quarters of a large town. From the architectural point of view these gymnasia recall an eastern bath lit by a skylight in the centre of the little dome. The arena (*goṭd*) lies below the level of the floor. The superintendent and the spectators take their places in niches cut in the walls; sometimes there is a kind of gallery reserved for the public.

Among the members of a *zūrkhāna* various degrees are distinguished: a *noṭe* "novice", *noḥ-khāste* "beginner", *pāhlāwān* "athlete", *miyān-dār* "referee and instructor" (usually the champion of the establishment), *morshed* "director" (also called

kohne-sūwār) who conducts the exercises by beating a little drum and reciting appropriate verses (the quatrains are called *gol-e koshṭi*).

The wrestlers wear drawers (*long*) or short trowsers of leather or some strong material (*tonoke*) on which a hand is often represented (that of 'Alī?). These are supported by the strap of the belt with which the wrestlers catch one another (this is unknown in western wrestling). From the arm are hung amulets against the evil eye and with the same object the *morshed* burns seeds of wild rue (*sepānd*).

The programme at each performance begins with exercises for suppleness and exercises with weights (*sāng*) and with Indian clubs (*mīl*). The wrestling comes at the end of the performance; it goes on until one of the competitors touches the ground with his shoulder blades (*setāre-shomār āndākhtān*: "is made to count the stars"). The wrestling is followed by exercises with a kind of bow on the cord of which are strung very heavy rings (*kab-bāda*); the bow is not drawn but is moved from side to side above the head.

The organisation of the *zūrkhāna* is marked by a very elaborate terminology, by a spirit of chivalry and by a strictly observed semi-religious ritual.

In putting on or taking off the *tonoke*, the combatants embrace [cf. *SIRWĀL*]. Only the permitted blows may be used; the contest finished, the wrestlers touch their foreheads; the one who has been wrestling with the *miyāndār* kisses his hand.

There are a number of patron saints of wrestling whose names are invoked. The principal patron of wrestlers is Pūryā(?) Wali. Among famous wrestlers, Ḥusain Wā'iz mentions the Prophet who wrestled with Abū Djahl; the imāms Hasan and Ḥusain; the gnostic (*arif*) Maḥmūd Mukbār (or Būkyār) and the Shaikh Saḍr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ḥamawī. The same author distinguishes two kinds of wrestling: *kabḍ* (or *shakrī-wāz*) in vogue in *Khurāsān* and the *Irāk* and *idtirār* (or *dailam-wāz*) cultivated in *Dailam* and *Shirwān*.

Wrestling is a noble exercise. In Niebuhr's time the notables of *Shirāz* devoted the mornings to it and their afternoons to riding. A monument in the form of a lion used to be built on a champion's tomb.

The beginnings of wrestling in Persia go back to a very early period. In the *Shāh-nāma* (ed. Mohl, iii. 203—4 = Vullers, ii. 1040) the heroes begin fighting by seizing one another's hands (*hāmī dāst sūdānd bār yāk digār*) and then gripping one another by the girdle (*dāwāl-i kūmār*). In Sa'di's *Gulistān*, the old wrestler is represented as knowing 360 tricks (cf. in Ḥusain Wā'iz: 1081 = 360 × 3); cf. several other quotations in Canard.

The organisation of the *zūrkhāna* gives wrestling very special features. As M. Canard rightly points out, the *zūrkhāna* seems to have grown up out of the corporate movement and its special chivalry (*futuwwa*). This movement is closely related to *Shī'i* mysticism. In the course of a performance a collection (*ṭerāgh*) is taken twelve times in the name of each of the 12 imāms. It is worth noting that H. Wā'iz's treatise is called *Futuwwat-nāma*; cf. Thorning, *Beiträge z. Kenntnis d. islam. Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913 and the articles *FUTUWWA* and *SIRWĀL*; Taeschner, *Futuwwa-Studien, in Islamica*, v., 1932, p. 285—333; do., *Die islamischen Futuwwabünde*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1933, p. 6—49.

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A residence in Kurdistan, i. 124; Fraser, *A winter journey*, ii. 57—61; Berezin, *Puteshest-wiye po severnoy Persii*, 1852, p. 284; Texier, *Description de l'Arménie*, etc., Paris 1852, ii., ch. xxx., p. 52—53; Polak, *Persien*, 1865, i. 188—193; Häntzsche, *In einer persischen Turnhalle*, in *Gartenlaube*, 1863, N^o. 2; Galunow, *Zürkhāna-atletiċeskayo arena Persii, Iran*, Leningrad, i., 1927, p. 87—110, synopsis by H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, 1929, xviii./3, p. 315 (numerous important details); Canard, *La lutte chez les Arabes*, in *Cinquantenaire de la faculté des lettres d'Alger*, Soc. Histor. Algérienne, Algiers 1932, p. 127—190 (very full and suggestive study).

(V. MINORSKY)

THE SAMARITAN LITERATURE

BY

M. GASTER

[SUPPLEMENT TO THE AUTHOR'S ARTICLE SAMARITANS, p. 124]

A characteristic which is of importance for Arabic translations of Samaritan literature is their absolute literalness. The original is reproduced almost word for word; as a rule both are written in parallel columns facing one another on the same page, and very often in carefully written MSS. the same number of words occurs in the Arabic line as in the Samaritan or Hebrew. The Arabic was not intended to supplant the Samaritan; it was only there to explain the meaning to those who no longer understood the original language of the prayers and the same characteristic holds good to an absolute degree for the Arabic translation of the Bible. The period in which the prayers were translated may have been between the eighth and ninth centuries; therefore that of the Bible probably belongs to a somewhat later date.

A comparison of the texts found in old MSS. notably in the Triglotts — the most complete and perfect in Europe being that now in the British Museum — with Kuener's edition shows some very serious divergencies. If another MS., probably the oldest of its kind (my Cod. N^o. 1164), also be taken into consideration, the number of differences becomes still greater. The MS. in question is the only one which, as far as I know, is written in Arabic characters, but it is without the addition of the Hebrew text. The copyist, who wrote in the year 1328 A. D., to judge from the colophon, was not a Samaritan but in all probability a Syrian Christian. He was a master of penmanship and wrote the headings of the Samaritan *Kisim* or small sections in a most beautiful Samaritan script. A critical edition, therefore, will have to collate all these MSS., if we are to obtain a reliable text of the Arabic translation. A similar codex dated 1323 is now in the British Museum.

How are these differences to be reconciled? It is hardly probable that two men of the same name should have undertaken precisely the same work and should have done it in such a manner as to agree practically with one another. It is, no doubt, the work of one man who lived between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. His work was then continually revised and altered during succeeding centuries. The reason for such continuous changes and emendations is to be sought in the state of the *Targum* which deeply influenced this translation. One must remember that in this undertaking the author followed the practice which had led to the translation of the prayers when the object had been to help the people to the understanding of the originals written in the Samaritan. Here the primary concern was to replace the *Targum* and not the Hebrew text, i.e. an Arabic *Targum* was to take the place of the Aramaic *Targum*. I submit that the translation was made chiefly on the basis of the Samaritan *Targum*, as understood by the translator at the

time. He was guided by the Samaritan, no doubt with due consideration of the Hebrew text, but resting immediately on the *Targum*.

A fact hitherto not recognised is that there are at least two recensions of the *Targum*. Like the Arabic they do not differ essentially from one another but are no doubt due to successive revision by scholars of different ages, who altered the translation by adding glosses or changing words or sentences. The existence of these two recensions can be traced, among others, in the Triglotts and in a modern copy made for me by the late High Priest Jacob son of Aaron, who on sundry occasions marked the variants in the margin. The example set by these recensions of the *Targum* was followed by successive copyists of the Arabic translation. Hence the differences which, however, are not so great as to preclude the possibility of one common more ancient translation like that ascribed to Abū Sa'īd. Some means of fixing the date could be found in the translation of the names of various nations found in Genesis, chap. x., and other names of nations and geographical names found scattered throughout the Pentateuch. The Arabic translation substitutes other names for those found in the *Targum* and in the Hebrew text. This practice of substituting more modern names better known to the contemporaries for the old ones already forgotten or difficult to identify can already be seen, among others, in Josephus and in the Palestinian *Targumim*. These are some of the indications which may assist in determining the date of the translation or of the revision made by later hands. Thus far the Arabic translations are of a strictly literal character. They represent the first steps in the use of Arabic in Samaritan literature which however, soon emancipated itself from the tyranny of literalness and, following the example of Arabic writers, used the language for more original compositions. The next in chronological order seems to be the translation of the writings of Marḳa. Some of his poems, incorporated in the *Kinosh* as part of the liturgy, had already been translated together with other liturgical hymns. It was, therefore, natural that his great epic poem written in Samaritan Aramaic should also be translated and thus made more accessible. Absolute literalness characterises this translation as well. Here again the Arabic is written in Samaritan letters and I know of no copy in which the Arabic alphabet has been used. It is not here the place to discuss whether we possess all the writings of Marḳa, for it seems that the first section of his "Book of Wonders" had been detached and had become an independent book or formed the nucleus of such a book. Marḳa intended to describe the life of Moses and the wonders performed by him when leading the people out of Egypt, finishing with a poetic description of the death of

Moses. This last section has also been detached and incorporated into a chronicle, a copy of which is in my possession. Reference has been made here to it because I shall have to mention later on an Arabic book on the birth of Moses, which seems to represent the missing section or rather the supposed missing section of *Marğa*.

The true character of the Samaritan literature is one of self-centred interest. The Samaritans are always on the defence when they are not polemical, aggressive or apologetic. They were forced to adopt this attitude almost from the beginning and have maintained it ever since, and must therefore have had a rather extensive literature of this kind, which was written either in Samaritan or in that peculiar Hebrew specifically their own and which is characteristically different from the classical Biblical. This assumption will explain the subsequent Samaritan-Arabic literature. There is an extraordinary sameness in the whole range of theological and polemical writings. Though Oriental authors do not hesitate to take over whole sections of previous writings, often without mentioning the authors, still there is here no direct borrowing which could be traced from one to the other, but great similarity in the contents. The dogmatic teachings and the polemical arguments of the latest and the oldest writers are almost identical. Most of that which is found in comparatively modern compilations is nothing else but a repetition of the same matter found in the old writings. The only explanation possible must be sought in the existence of an older non-Arabic set of writings to which they resorted as the common source. These old sources rest upon the authority of the Elders or of the Pure Fathers to whom frequent reference is made. This also holds good for many Arabic paraphrases which appeared and which were made upon the basis of such Hebrew and Samaritan texts which they thus displaced and often caused to disappear. Again, it explains a very curious phenomenon, not limited to the Samaritans, namely that every quotation from the Bible or from old prayers or *Marğa* was always quoted in the original language and also written in the Samaritan script. These books were unquestionably written for the benefit of the Samaritans alone and not as a contribution to the enrichment or the Arabic literature as such, with the exception of a few writings chiefly of the Danafite family of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Before proceeding further in a detailed description of the Samaritan writings in Arabic, it is desirable to mention that I will endeavour to follow the chronological order as far as possible, which alone shows the gradual development and the character this literature assumed at one period or another. A true picture of the spiritual life at a given period can only be drawn by making a survey of the literary output at one and the same time. We can then more easily gauge the forces which were at work and the influences under which that literary activity took place. The grouping of the writings according to subjects is of little help for the reasons advanced above, namely that the later compilations are often a *réchauffé* of the same old material in a slightly altered form, and also because we are dealing for the most part with a very limited literary outlook.

The most prominent position is naturally occupied by writings about Tradition, or rather tradi-

tional practices and laws. The Samaritans like their kinsfolk, the Jews, developed from very early times a religious Oral Tradition which was intended to supplement the Written Tradition confined to the Book of the Law or the Mosaic code. One may safely say this Oral Tradition starts about a thousand years before the *Qur'an*. With the Jews it continued long after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. That event brought about a complete break in the continuity of worship and the maintenance of the local tradition. Being scattered throughout the Roman Empire and beyond, the Jews ran the danger in consequence of losing their tradition or of seeing it distorted and altered, which favoured the rise of dissenting sects. They therefore felt the necessity of committing to writing in the first centuries the essential part of that Oral Tradition. Not so the Samaritans whose continuity of worship on the same spot and maintenance of local tradition had never been broken; there the High Priests watched continually over its strict observance. No doubt, however, some essential doctrinal points of dispute with the Jews or possibly other directions for religious practice connected with the daily life and worship which constituted their Oral Law must also have been written down at a very early time. It was evolved by the so-called Midrashic exegesis common to Jews and Samaritans and applied to the words of Scripture. It was furthermore strengthened by the testimony of the 70 Elders who had been entrusted by Moses with the keeping and interpretation of the Law and establishing the practice which in time became known as the Oral Law. One may see here an analogy with the parallel development of the Oral Tradition of the Muslims by the companions of Muhammad. The analogy between the origin of the *Hadith* and that of the Samaritan Oral Tradition is closer than that between the *Hadith* and the Jewish or Christian tradition. These two had more than one book and more than one prophet upon whom to rely. The Samaritans, however, had only one Book, the *Torah*, and one Prophet, Moses, while the Muhammadans had only one book, the *Qur'an*, and one Prophet, Muhammad. In both cases the book was written by God and revealed to His only messenger; the Samaritans refer to the companions of Moses and the Muhammadans to those of their Prophet. There is, of course, an obvious difference between the two. Moses had become a great memory fading away into a remote past whilst Muhammad was almost living in the memory of his contemporaries and successors.

This *Hadith* first handed down by word of mouth soon became confused, and the necessity arose to write it down and to sift and settle its authority. It is therefore highly probable that this example was followed by the Samaritans, for it is only thus that one can explain the first beginnings of the Samaritan-Arabic literature. If this sketch is not to be a mere enumeration of names and titles, one must endeavour to trace as far as possible those influences which may have contributed to the shaping of the Samaritan-Arabic literature. The beginnings are always very primitive and were the same here. The facts were written down in the simplest manner, though the Samaritans soon learned to adopt the peculiar style of the Arabic writers, with their long introductions, florid expressions and appellations, strings of attributes of God and that peculiar self-exaltation of virtues and capabilities,

as if someone else were writing them but not the author himself. This is a proof that the writers belong to a period when they had become more intimately acquainted with the Arabic literature.

II

Before proceeding further in endeavouring to give a very brief sketch of the Arabic literature of the Samaritans, which unfortunately owing to ravages of time and other circumstances has been reduced to a comparatively small compass, it is advisable to draw attention to some points in connection with the origin and development of that literature, for, however small it may be, it is still the only remnant of old traditions which are now threatened with complete extinction.

A complete knowledge of the causes which promoted and the forces which moulded them, a full understanding of the old inheritance which carries us back for many centuries would be well-nigh impossible. In the first place one has to draw a parallel between Jews and Samaritans. They were both under precisely the same influences and both had to act and react against the new spirit which surrounded them and deeply affected them.

The religious disputations which form such a characteristic portion of the old world traditions were much favoured at the court of the Sāsānian kings and later on, when Islām had calmed down from the first furious impact with the other religions and nations, the courts of the Caliphs saw also many disputations between the religious factions and religious doctrines. Thus the ferment created by the inrush of Islām was still more increased by the leaven of Greek philosophy thrown into that new dough through the intermediary of the Syriac literature. New problems were brought forward by the various followers of Islām, and old questions assumed a new importance. A clarification was desired on all sides. Sects therefore arose and each mosque, church or synagogue had to defend its position and give to its votaries satisfactory answers to the many-sided problems which were so deeply agitating the minds of the people. The Jews and Samaritans were put on their mettle, not to speak of other sects, and within that of the Jews many sects arose, the most notable being the Karaites and against them as well as against the teachings of Islām the Jews had to take up arms, and defend their own position. The first step, as mentioned already was therefore a translation of the Bible into Arabic and every translation carries with it a specific interpretation from a dogmatic point of view. Foremost among the Jews was Sa'adya, known as al-Faiyūmī, who first lived in Egypt, but afterwards became the head of the great college in Babylon. He translated the Bible into Arabic and he carried on warfare against the Karaites especially. He died about 940 A. D. and left behind, besides other writings, a great work on faiths and principles, *K. al-Amānāt wa'l-I'tikādāt*, the first Jewish philosophic work. It will be seen that the Samaritans learned to know all these works of Sa'adya and thus a peculiar spiritual contact was established between one and the other, but the Jews in their polemics ignored the Samaritans; for them these stood outside the pale as it were of Judaism; they looked down upon

them as heathen proselytes and they therefore took no further notice of them.

Later on we find in Egypt again Maimonides (d. 1204) writing his great work "The Guide of the Perplexed", *Mōrē Nebukīm*, being also one of the highest enunciations of the philosophic interpretation of the Jewish principles of faith and of the interpretation of the Bible. We have thus at a time not only the desire to consolidate and formulate tradition, but also a philosophic system devised to interpret those laws and ceremonies in the light of contemporary philosophy. Polemical writings abounded on all sides.

If we turn now to the Samaritans, we will find that parallelism was characteristic throughout the ages between Jewish and Samaritan spiritual life. In addition to their own traditions the polemics which they carried on continually against the Jews are intended to prove their claim to be the only real representatives of the ancient faith embodied in the *Torah*; philosophic and mystical speculations had also made an inroad into their life. Not only were the later philosophic systems of Islām brought near to them but perhaps they still preserved some of that old mystical Neoplatonic speculations of the Hellenistic period, traces of which are clearly found in the writings of Marḳa. Be it as it may, we find here also their literary activity in the Arabic language starting with the translation of the Bible, which was followed quickly by commentaries, some treatises dealing with lesser portions of the Bible, which were interpreted in a peculiar allegorical manner, reminiscent of the ancient Philonian ways, and also of later mystical interpretations. The centre of the activity for the time being from the middle of the 10th to the end of the 12th century A. D. and perhaps a little later was in all probability in Sichem (or Nāblus). Two names stand out prominently as the most representative authors of the 11th century, still leaving out the question of the translation of the Bible as belonging to the preceding period to which reference has been made; they are Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Šūrī and Joseph ben Šalma al-ʿAskarī. Not much has been learned of the former. The latter was a little better known, but even that knowledge is very limited. Neither the date nor the place of activity were known definitely of Abu 'l-Ḥasan or Ab Ḥasda, as he is known in the Hebrew nor the range of his activity, nor the character of his work, nor even whether he was a priest or a layman. Careful investigation has now enabled me to throw some light on these points. According to the unanimous information received from the Samaritans, he wrote his great work *al-Ṭabbāḫ* some time between 1030 and 1040 A. D.; this date seems to be the correct one. His *nisba* is given as al-Šūrī. It is doubtful, however, whether it refers to Tyre or, as I am inclined to believe, to a place Šūrī or Sartan mentioned in Joshua near Sichem. From the examination of one of the manuscripts it is evident that he was a Kohen and thus belonged to the priestly family which to a large extent strengthened the view that he must have lived either in or close to Sichem, as the Kohen as a rule refrained, if possible, from living far away from the holy mountain unless carried away by capture. Now as to the book itself:—in one of the manuscripts seen by me, a peculiar history is given of the origin of the book. As far as I am aware no

old manuscript is available except a fragment of the xiiith or xivth century just acquired and it is alleged that about 1850 'Amram, the then High Priest, who must have been a man of studious disposition, collected stray leaves of that book or rather fragments and ordered his relative Pinehas and his nephew Jacob, who became High Priest after him, to make a copy of these portions collated by him. How far this represents the truth is very difficult to say. It is a habit of the Samaritans to say of their immediate predecessors, who may not have been anything more than simple copyists, or who may have merely slightly enlarged upon an older copy, that they were not the copyists, but the authors of the books, which now circulate under their names. In any case the book as it stands has quite the appearance of one that has been put together in a most haphazard manner. There is no connection between many of the chapters, no system, no arrangement, no principle underlying the order of these chapters. In a way this peculiar character is of special value in as much as it shows that the author did not follow a preconceived plan but, animated by the desire to place on permanent record all the ancient traditions and practices of the people, the *Hadith* of the Samaritans, and to make them known to his own people who had already forgotten the old Samaritan language, he unquestionably was faithful in translating and reproducing the texts found in the old script, perhaps obsolete here and there but on the whole giving us a faithful image of the religious spirit and life of the people at the beginning of the 11th century. It has not changed much since, which shows it again to be a real ancient tradition lived by the Samaritans uninfluenced from without and to be that old tradition which had come down to them from hoary antiquity. Evidently because of that reason and also because, as will be seen presently, it contains many sections of a purely philosophic character it did not enjoy that great popularity which the work of his contemporary Yūsuf al-Askarī enjoyed, but of this anon. As it is of the highest importance, a detailed description of the contents, which has nowhere yet been published and which consists in its present form of a large number of chapters, may be given here, of course as briefly as possible. But first still as to the name. It has variously been translated as "Cook" or the "Druggist", but, according to the Samaritans themselves, they translate it as the "Book of the Meat" for, after a brief introduction, the author at once gives a full description of the method of slaughtering animals and everything connected with the preparation of food in lawful manner. This portion is preceded by two chapters in which the author insists on showing the pre-eminence of the family of Aaron and that they are the lawful heirs to the Tradition and its only authoritative exponents. This is intended to justify him in the compilation of the work and laying down as it were the rules affecting the traditional ceremonies and practices. He then describes the animals, birds and fishes allowed to be eaten and the means of discriminating between the clean and unclean, especially of birds and their eggs; next comes blood and all the rules concerning shedding of blood, pure and impure blood, various issues of blood, and everything connected with

Levitical impurity. In many of these, Jews and Samaritans differ. Then follows direct polemic against the Jews slaughtering animals with young and the manner in which the Jews use unborn animals. Without any transition the author proceeds to a full description of the observance of the Sabbath, notably the definition of what work is forbidden and the prohibition of drinking wine and other intoxicating liquors on the Sabbath and festivals. One may ask incidentally whether this practice of the Samaritans of refraining from drinking wine and spirits on the Sabbath and the festivals may have influenced Muḥammad to prohibit altogether the use of wine. Neither Jews nor Christians have refrained from using it; on the contrary, wine is one of the chief elements in the sacramental rites.

The next chapters deal with *Shemitta* (release after seven years), jubilee (release after fifty years), and on the seventh month the memorial of trumpeting, the day of atonement and a chapter on forbidden marriages.

By a sudden transition the author gives us here a picture of the manner in which the children of Jacob sat at Joseph's table. Polemic with the Jews about the waters of purification, about the method of ablution, another polemic against the Jews who dispute the claim of the Samaritans to be Israelites, and also that their High Priest is not of the seed of Pinehas.

At least 25 chapters are devoted by the author to a minute description of everything connected with the Passover sacrifice, the choosing of the lamb, the date, the reason, the object of eating unleavened bread, the slaughtering of the lamb in Egypt, the manner of going out, the duty of keeping the festival on Mt. Garizim, proof that this is the chosen spot, no other to be used. This is the Festival kept up to this very day and is therefore of extreme practical importance to the Samaritans and one of the fundamental differences between the Jews and Samaritans. Then follow chapters on the accuracy and excellence of the Samaritan text of the law and that nothing can be added or taken away. Here the author begins the philosophical portion of the book. He writes against anthropomorphical interpretation of certain words, about the unity of God, against those who deny that the world had a beginning, against the "*Shifa*", about God's command to Abraham to sacrifice his son, on the making of the incense, disputation of the Jews concerning the *Kibla*. In the same incoherent manner chapters follow upon chapters on such subjects as the date of the entry of the children of Israel into the Land, differences between Samaritans, Jews and Karaites concerning the new moon and its calculation to which a long treatise has been devoted, again, on Angels, on the negative attributes of God, on the necessity of having Prophets and Messengers, on the truth of the Samaritan text, on the conditions of making a perfect copy, again a chapter on the clean and unclean land and water animals, on the various degrees of prophecy, against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, on the Kur'an, on the Ash'ariya and Qadariya, on the Manna, against the Jews, who say that the last portion of the Tora was written by Joshua. The Tora created at the creation of the world before all the other creations, on the excellence of the High Priest and the *Sunna* (oral tradition), against the Jews not

allowing babies to fast on the day of atonement, also disputation with the Jews concerning the creation, on the blessing of priests which is only complete through the presence of angels, on marriage, its laws and ceremonies and finally on the blessing of the tribes by Moses.

From this greatly shortened summary the haphazard character of the contents is evident and it is a question how much this shape of the text is due to the author and how much to those who have compiled the text now in our hands. It is unfortunately the case that one cannot rely absolutely on the accuracy of modern copies inasmuch as some of the scribes do not hesitate to omit sections or to introduce new ones from elsewhere. Thus there are in one of the copies some additional treatises, which, however, are not in any way separated from the rest or considered to be independent works. On the other hand such treatises are ascribed to Ab Ḥasda as independent works. It is therefore not at all unlikely that they originally belonged to the same compilation but, in the usual manner of the Samaritans and even of others, have at one time or another been detached from the original work and circulated under independent titles such as the treatise on repentance, *al-Tawba*, another on punishment, day of judgment, *Kitāb al-Mī'ād*, another again on the Ten Commandments, also Festivals, probably *al-Ma'ād*. The similarity of the names *al-Ma'ād* and *al-Mī'ād* has caused confusion, but each one exists independently of the other. The first and second together contain 12 chapters, and the author deals there on repentance and on rebellion and gives an exhaustive commentary on the last song of Moses, Deut. 32. This has been taken by the Samaritans from very ancient times, so already in Marḳa, and before, as the basis for their eschatology. Punishment hereafter, the life after death, everything is drawn from that chapter by allegorical and symbolical interpretation. The treatise deals thus with the fire of hell, the intercession of the three pure and on the resurrection of the dead.

In the treatise *al-Ma'ād* (?), dealing with the festivals, Ab Ḥasda discusses the character of the calculation of the new moon and festivals. There also exists a commentary on the Ten Commandments dealing with each separately in a number of chapters. On good authority I learn that all these treatises are found together in one manuscript among the Samaritans.

From the detailed account here given it is obvious that the author of the *Ṭabbākḥ* tried to cover the whole ground of what may be called the *Ḥadīth* of the Samaritans and notably all those points where the Samaritans consciously differed from the Jews and later from the Karaites. The importance of this detailed account lies in the fact that it has remained practically stationary to this very day and the proper description of the religious life and practices of the Samaritans is with slight exceptions reflected in this and in that compilation to which I shall refer presently. It is evident from the contents of the *Ṭabbākḥ* that we have here practically all the principal elements of the *Ensira* or "Confession of Faith" on which such stress was laid by me previously. From the *Ṭabbākḥ* and from the subsequent work it is clear that the Samaritans were in possession of these principles of faith which were considered by them to be fundamental long before the rise of Islām

and the time of Muḥammad. Herein lies the real reason and justification for giving such a full description of the contents of the *Ṭabbākḥ*. Samaritans, to whom the matter was not new, did not pay sufficient attention to the author to retain any biographical notes. Their literary tradition is often hopelessly confused and it is not always easy to determine absolutely who the author of a certain book or treatise may be, especially remembering that they did not hesitate to detach certain portions and circulate them as independent treatises on the one hand and on the other such a treatise might be slightly altered by a copyist, who then claimed to be the author, or again the work is ascribed afterwards to the last copyist from whom a transcript has been made, and thus the trace of the real authorship became entirely obliterated. Even the name of Ab Ḥasda seems to have undergone a change, for a treatise on the Commandments is ascribed to a certain "Djafet", whereas in the list of Samaritan manuscripts in my possession a similar book is ascribed to a certain Yepheth of which Djafet is unquestionably a corruption. Nothing further is known of this book unless it has wrongly been ascribed to an otherwise unknown author, whilst on the other hand a similar book is mistakenly ascribed to Shams al-Dīn, who again is wrongly identified with Munadja (see below).

I turn now to the next compilation, which being more systematically arranged, free from all philosophical, allegorical and exegetical portions, dealing exclusively with the practical side of the religious life of the Samaritans, had become the religious code. The author, Yūsuf b. Shalma al-'Askarī, is called al-'Askarī from the name of the village in the neighbourhood of Sichem, of which there are now no traces left. Happily the whole book has been preserved together with the introduction. Here the author, who does not appear to know Ab Ḥasda, although they lived practically at the same time, must have worked independently of him under the same outward influences. He tells us distinctly that he has merely recorded traditions handed down from his forefathers. He claims no merit for himself, but that of the compiler and he gives the exact date when he wrote the book (1041 A. D.). As this book ranks in importance at least as high as the preceding one, it is advisable for the same reasons as those which prompted the giving of summary details of the *Ṭabbākḥ*, that a similar detailed description of the contents should be given here. The book is called the *Kāfī*, i.e. "sufficient" for those to whom the word of God is sufficient, which might be interpreted "giving the full and therefore sufficient details of observance and laws to those to whom the word of God is sufficient". The book consists of 36 chapters. The first is practically identical with the first of the *Ṭabbākḥ* and deals with the pre-eminence of the priesthood, their privileges and rights: they are the keepers of old traditions and institutions. Then follows an elaborate chapter on prayer; times, institution, forms. Then he discusses the duties of attending services in the *Kinsha* and the manner in which the services are to be performed, and the various forms of blessing. He then proceeds to deal extensively with a description of the animals which are allowed to be eaten and those forbidden, just as we find it in the *Ṭabbākḥ*. Then follows a chapter on leprosy and skin diseases and all kinds

of uncleanness, and the manner of purification by fire or by water; on clothes etc. Then he advises against travelling to a place where Samaritans are not living, and urges the necessity of dwelling, as far as possible, among Samaritans. The next chapter deals with the duty of making regular pilgrimages to the Holy Mountain. Then a chapter is devoted to the Nazarites. By the way it may be remarked that the system of Nazarites lasted a long time among the Samaritans and they had male and female Nazarites. The next chapters deal with betrothal, marriage and divorce, civil ordinances dealing with purchase of slaves, on not committing murder, in its widest sense, on returning of stolen goods and on various fines connected with concealing objects and thefts, on interest and usury, on sale and purchase, on vows made and on dedications of objects and persons to God, on the laws governing the slaughter of animals, on the observance of the Sabbath, the various traditional laws connected with it, and finally on ablution and purification by running water.

We have here now a complete civil and religious code corresponding entirely with all the practical needs of the Samaritans. This has remained the real code and to it they constantly refer in their later writings, nor has the practice perceptibly changed during the last 900 years since Yūsuf compiled his *Kāfi*. One point may be mentioned here: Jews as well as Samaritans wrote Arabic and still write Arabic with Hebrew letters. It is a fact that some of the most ancient manuscripts preserved of Yūsuf al-ʿAskari and other works to be mentioned later on are not written in Arabic characters but in Samaritan characters. The reason is obvious. Every Samaritan was able to read his Bible and his prayers in Samaritan characters, and therefore, if any book was to be of practical value to him, the alphabet used would have to be that with which he was most conversant. Also, if a book had a polemical character or could be interpreted as being of such a character against the Muḥammadans, it would have been very dangerous to write it in the Arabic script easily accessible to the others. It also made it easy for the Samaritans to introduce into their Arabic writings Hebrew and Samaritan words either of a technical character or quotations from older writers which could easily be read by the Samaritans. It is only later on that this practice changes to a certain extent, inasmuch as many of these technical expressions or old phrases or in some cases sentences which they were not able to translate in their paraphrases were retained in the Arabic text in Samaritan script. It also helped to preserve the peculiar dialect of Arabic in their writings, for all these books were intended for popular use and they were written in the language best understood by the general public. The importance which this fact has for a proper understanding of the Arabic writing of the Samaritans need scarcely be pressed. It will be referred to, however, at the end of this sketch of the Arabic-Samaritan literature.

In addition to these books concerning the laws and attempts at exegesis, the Samaritan literary activity seems to have concentrated on further interpretation of the Scriptures. Some treatises have come down to us without any name of the author, of which one, in a fragmentary condition, ascribed to the middle of the 11th century, shows that the author not only possessed some know-

ledge of grammar and of Arabic grammarians, but also was conversant with the whole contents of the Bible. If this commentary belonged to the 11th century it pre-supposes at once a much greater antiquity for the Arabic translation of the Bible itself. As already remarked the history of this translation still offers some very serious problems. Abū Saʿīd, whose name is connected with that translation, is also credited with writing a special commentary on Gen. 46.

More important is the commentary on the Pentateuch ascribed to a certain Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Ḥusain (Ḥasan?) b. Abi Saʿīd, which seems to be, by the way, the full name of the author of the translation of the Bible. To him is also ascribed a *fatwā*, chiefly concerning questions of forbidden degrees of inter-marriage. He is also believed to have written a commentary on the Ten Commandments which may be identical with that ascribed to Abū 'l-Ḥasan and another treatise on some chapters of the Bible which was published by Neubauer. Again an Abū Saʿīd is mentioned by the Samaritans but he is called Ben Darta of date unknown (if he can be in any way connected with Ṭabya b. Darta, he would be as early as the 10th or 11th century). To him is ascribed a treatise on the biblical accents of the Samaritans called *Sidrī Maḥrāta*. A list of these accents has been discovered at the end of some very ancient biblical codices and fully discussed by me. I was able to show their extreme antiquity. This short treatise of Abū Saʿīd b. Darta called *Sidrī Maḥrāta* is found occasionally at the end of some modern copies of the Pentateuch. The existence of at least two or more Abū Saʿīds has brought about a great confusion, which could not be explained unless all the texts were published. So far nothing has been published.

A veil falls now on the literary activity of the Samaritans in Sichem. The scene shifts to Damascus, Syria and Egypt. The reason is not far to seek. The Crusades swept over the land and the Samaritans' interest in literary matters was, of course, forcibly brought to an end.

It is a curious fact that no mention is made of the Samaritans in Nāblus by any contemporary writer of the Crusades nor do the Samaritans themselves make more than a passing allusion to those troublesome times in which they must have suffered very greatly. No doubt the loss of their ancient literature was also due to those troubles. Before describing the literature of the Samaritans in the above-mentioned countries note must be taken again of two most prominent Jewish writers already mentioned, who dominated the mind of the people, especially of the Arabic-speaking Jews, for many a century. One was Saʿādyā, the Gaon or the head of the college in Babylon, and the other Maimonides. Both have created a profound impression by their philosophical works, as well as by their other writings; the first through his Arabic translation of the Bible and through the first great philosophical work written in Arabic, and his polemics against the Karaites and other Jewish sects. No less inspiring was Maimonides later on in Egypt in his fight against the Karaites and by his formulation of the fundamental principles of the Jewish law. He thereby affected also the position of the Samaritans. In both countries these Samaritans have lived from very ancient times and have disappeared only during the last two centuries.

As late as the time of Scaliger, at the end of the xvth century, there were still Samaritan communities in Egypt and in 1616 Della Valle found a beautiful synagogue with Samaritan inscriptions as well as a number of Samaritans in Damascus, from whom he obtained the first Hebrew Samaritan Bible and the Samaritan *Targum*, the very copies from which the first edition was made in Paris in 1632. Yet in spite of their continued existence in these countries, the literary output was neither great nor does it show any profound difference or progress upon that which had been done by the Samaritans in 'Sichem. Still at the same time the practice of having literary and religious disputations before the rulers of the country flourished as is known at the courts of various Sultans and Caliphs and the protagonists had to prepare themselves with guides for such disputations. This explains to a certain extent the number of such writings, which had both a polemical and apologetic character.

We turn now to Damascus. We find there as the most prominent figure Munadjā b. Šadaqa Abu 'l-Faradj son of Gharub, known as "the son of the poet". He is also quoted as Shams al-Din, however wrongly, by the Samaritans themselves, and by his Hebrew-Samaritan name Mft. As the son Šadaqa died soon after 1223 the father Munadjā must have flourished not later than about 1150. His principle work is the "Difference between Samaritans and Jews, Questions and Answers", *Mas'āl al-Khilāf*, a voluminous work of which the oldest copy known was written at the time of the High Priest Pinehas about the middle of the xvth century. One part of it is complete and of this many copies exist. The other is incomplete but of this unfortunately no other copies are known except one which was in the possession of the High Priest 'Amram at the beginning of the last century. Both deal with all those religious practices in which the Samaritans and Jews differ. They are already contained in the two works previously mentioned by Abu 'l-Hasan and Yūsuf but here they are greatly elaborated especially as Munadjā is also polemicising now against Sa'adya with whose writings he seems to be fully acquainted. He is also credited with a commentary on the Pentateuch known only by references made to it by Abu 'l-Faṭḥ in his chronicle and Abu 'l-Hasan b. Ghanā'im, a writer of uncertain date, probably xvth century. Also a short treatise on Deut. 10, 12, on the second tables of the Commandments. In a communication from the Samaritans in Nāblus he is also credited with a commentary on the Blessings of Jacob, Genesis chap. 49, but this is probably a mistake. It is very likely the same treatise which has been ascribed to one of the previous writers.

Although he lived a little later, I mention now Šadaqa the son of Munadjā, known as *al-Hakim*, the Physician, and also as a great Arabic poet. He was physician at the court of al-Malik al-Ashraf at Damascus, who rewarded him very richly and he died a wealthy man soon after 1223 in Ḥarrān near Damascus. He developed a two-fold activity, as physician and as theologian. In the latter capacity he wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch on the nature and unity of God, a treatise on the soul and immortality, also on negative laws or things forbidden (unless this information is incorrect and he is confused with another author; see below). Of his medical writings the following are mentioned:

"The commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms", "a Treatise on Simples", "Notes on Medicine" and a treatise containing replies to medical questions put to him by the Jew As'ad al-Maḥallī, whose Hebrew name was Jacob b. Ishāk, a distinguished physician from Cairo, who had made a journey to Damascus in 1201 and spent a couple of years there and discussed medical questions with the most distinguished physicians of that place. Unfortunately most of these writings have disappeared. The Samaritans themselves know practically nothing of the medical books and they are only known through references in Arabic works such as Ibn Abī Uṣaib'a and Ḥādīdjī Khalifa who quote also poems written by him. There is finally a Vision, which is said to have been translated from the Hebrew and is ascribed to Šadaqa b. Munadjā. It was hitherto quite unknown. In it the author claims to have been lifted up to heaven and to have held converse with Moses, Joshua, Eleazar and Pinehas and to have been foretold future events. He mentions also a number of contemporaries, none of whom, however, is known elsewhere. In the transcript the date of the Vision is given in the only modern copy in existence as 912=1506, but this evidently is only the date of the later copyist. The real date, if Šadaqa be the author, could only be 603=1206.

According to the Samaritans, a certain Marḥib al-Kaṭarī is the reputed author of a commentary on the section of Leviticus containing the curses, Chapter 26. He is said to have been alive in 531 (1136). A copy from old leaves which probably have since disappeared was made by the late Jacob son of Aaron and is still in Nāblus.

Grammatical studies went hand in hand with the study of the Bible and we note Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-Faradj Shams al-Din who in the middle of the xiiith century, in all probability in Damascus, wrote in 14 chapters a grammar of the Hebrew language, meaning thereby the Hebrew of the Bible, for out of it a later Hebrew was developed by the Samaritans which differed in some slight points from that found in the text of the Pentateuch itself. He discusses the syntax and also endeavours to fix the pronunciation. Considering that the Samaritans to this very day have no vowels with the exception of a few signs, a work of this kind is of the highest importance for giving us the pronunciation of Hebrew by the Samaritans.

It is of special importance to compare it with the work first done by Petermann, who took down and wrote in transliteration the text of Genesis as read to him by the then High Priest 'Amram on the strength of which he was able to write a grammar of the Hebrew according to the Samaritan tradition. Besides its intrinsic value for the history of the pronunciation of Hebrew it is another proof of the fact that the Samaritans were not influenced in their pronunciation by the Arabic language, although the author of this treatise is also fully acquainted with the Arabic grammar. An abstract of this treatise was made in the xivth century by Eleazar, the son of Pinehas, the man to whom the Samaritan literature owes so much for its revival. The author is called Shams al-Din. The same name is given to Munadjā and also to his son Šadaqa. In consequence thereof the real authorship of the above

mentioned book on negative laws ascribed to Šadaqa is somewhat doubtful, for there exists an old manuscript called the Commentary on the Laws (*Tifsūr ha-Miṣwa*) in two volumes, which is of special importance and only known to exist in an old copy. Yūsuf al-ʿAskari, at the beginning of his book, mentions casually that the Samaritans count 613 commandments in the Bible. It is precisely the number which also by a casual remark of a Jewish sage had become the starting point for the numeration of the laws. How far back this tradition goes it will be very difficult to ascertain, but already in the *Halachot Gedolot*, probably of the viiith or ixth century, an attempt has been made to give a list of 613 commandments divided into two sections, the positive and negative, one containing commandments which are to be observed, and one containing commandments prohibiting action, the negative commandments. So important had become this classification of the commandments, which no doubt resulted from the desire of the people to have the whole of the commandments in the briefest possible compass, that Maimonides himself felt compelled not only to compile such a list, but to devote to their elucidation a commentary in Arabic known as the Book of the Commandments. The date of the writing of this book may be the second half of the xiiith century and it is therefore not at all improbable that the Samaritans, who kept in touch with the activity of the Jews, as we have seen above in the case of Saʿadya, should also have felt compelled further to elaborate the indication in the *Kāfi* of Yūsuf al-ʿAskari, and that such a book has really been produced. It is ascribed to this Ibrāhīm b. Faradj. The Samaritans of today declare that the work is of Shams al-Dīn, but add at the same time that they mean thereby Munadja. There can be no question, however, that the author of this book is not Munadja. This is proved by the fact that Ibrāhīm was the teacher of Muḥadhdhib al-Dīn, whom he introduced to Saladin. This Muḥadhdhib al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī Saʿīd b. Khalaf was a distinguished physician, a man of great knowledge, well versed in all the science of the time. He served as physician to the Sultān of Baʿalbek and to his son after him, al-Amyab, who appointed him Vizier. He died on January 26, 1227, and is said also to have written a commentary on the Pentateuch or portions of it, of which, however, nothing further is known. The date of the death of Muḥadhdhib al-Dīn justifies the assumption that Shams al-Dīn must have lived latest the second half of the xiiith century and was thus a contemporary of Maimonides of Cairo.

Gazzal Tabiat b. Duwaik or al-Duwaik, probably of the xth or xivth century, wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch. In recent years Pinehas son of Isaac together with his pupil Absakuah, the Danafite, is said to have copied the commentary on Exodus preserved on old leaves and to have worked it over and amplified it so as to make a complete and elaborate commentary on Exodus, but according to information from Nāblus they have both a shorter and longer recension of Exodus of the book in question. He is also the author of a commentary on the blessings of Bileam of an eschatological character and also the author of a treatise on the second kingdom, which is a continuation in a way of the previous treatise.

Both these subjects had already been touched upon by earlier authors such as Abu 'l-Ḥasan and others. Gazzal also wrote a treatise on the fear of Abraham after the battle with the five kings and the rescue of Lot, and on the fear of Jacob on his going down to Egypt (connecting it with the verse *wayyizbah zebāḥim* "and he brought sacrifices").

Thus far for the time of Damascus. If we turn to Egypt, scanty as the information is, we find a family of Surūr. One of the members is also called Tabiat and also wrote a commentary called Removal of Doubt concerning Mysteries of Revelation, of which that on the first two books of the Pentateuch has been preserved in a unique manuscript of the xviiith century in the British Museum. The Samaritans have no copy of that portion but they possess a copy of the last three. If, as found in the colophon of the manuscript at the British Museum, Ibn Sarūr is the descendant in the third generation of Yūsuf al-Uzzī, who had gone to Damascus and refused to eat with the other Samaritans because of the dispute with them concerning the use of the fat tail, then the writer must belong at the latest to the beginning of the xivth century. The fact that another Abū Surūr, namely Abū Saʿīd al-ʿAfīf b. Abī Surūr, was the chief physician in Cairo, proves that the aforementioned Abū Surūr must have been of Egyptian origin. The latter lived before the end of the xiiith century or the beginning of the xivth. This Abū Surūr wrote a short survey on various diseases, being a commentary on an older work of a similar character, and an abstract of the Canon of Avicenna.

Finally another great scholar may be mentioned, who lived in Damascus, Abu 'l-Khazan b. Gazal (Tabia) b. Abī Saʿīd, nephew of Muḥadhdhib, and who had gained a great reputation especially for his immense library, containing no less than 10,000 volumes. His pupil, Ibn Abī Usaibʿa, dedicated to his memory his "History of Physicians". He was converted to Islām, became wazīr and adopted the name Amin al-Dawla. He was killed in Damascus in the year 1251. None of his writings are extant.

A short treatise on the forbidden degrees of marriage is said to have been compiled at the beginning of the xivth century by a certain Barakāt, and it is expressly stated that he was an inhabitant of Sicheim, very likely to distinguish him from the Abu 'l-Barakāt mentioned in connection with the Arabic translation of the Pentateuch of Abū Saʿīd. This work served either as a basis for later writings of a similar character, or is independent of an older one of a similar kind, otherwise unknown.

To Egypt as the home of the author points also a paraphrase of a book called *al-Aṣṭar*, or the Secrets of Moses. It is a short *Midrash* on the Pentateuch containing a mass of legendary matter of extreme antiquity. Fortunately the Samaritan original of this book has been preserved. The present writer is engaged on its publication. The comparison between the two, the book and the paraphrase, shows us exactly the method employed by these would-be translators in the manner in which they manipulated the original texts. It is best described not as a translation but a paraphrase, for, with the exception of the first few sections, the rest has been entirely changed and amplified by matter taken from quite different writings and

traditions. In the midst of this text there occurs also a sentence cursing Maimonides and his code of laws. It is not likely that anyone living out of Egypt would have taken note of Maimonides' writings, who was very severe in his attitude against the Karaites and no doubt was equally severe against the Samaritans, whom he must have treated entirely as heretics and outcasts; hence this protest by the unknown writer. A portion of this book contains some legends about the birth of Moses, and this leads us to another work which this time, however, was compiled in Damascus by Ishmael of the family of Ramaich, called *Moled Moshe*. It is an elaborate treatise containing many legends, referring to the miraculous birth of Moses. It is not, as others have said, a collection of legends of Muhammadan origin, but stands in close connection with the above mentioned *Asāfir*. The process is precisely the same as that observed in the Arabic paraphrase of the Matar in as much as this text is anything but a literal translation. It is a very expanded paraphrase, but the substance is absolutely Samaritan and is very old indeed. As the author was a pupil of Munadja, the date when this book was compiled could not have been later than the beginning of the xiiith century. The Samaritan triglott manuscript of the Pentateuch (ca. 1200) now in the the British Museum has at the end of Genesis a number of notes written by the various purchasers of that most valuable codex. Among them is one of the descendants of Šadaqa of the family of Munadja, who bought this manuscript from one of the members of the family of Ramaich, and in the note it is especially remarked that these were inhabitants of Damascus.

Another book of a similar character will now engage our attention. It is the well-known Arabic Book of Joshua. Here we can see the same work of the Samaritan copyists. The text published by Juynboll is evidently of a later origin and has been manipulated by a later copyist, who has omitted a whole section at the beginning, of extreme importance for the history of this book, and has added at the end from chap. 46 on matter taken from the later history. The Samaritans possessed some 20 years ago another copy of this text which, they stated, was at least 500 years old, thus being of the xivth century, and was probably a copy of an older manuscript. Before I could secure it, it had passed into other hands and I have not been able to trace it, but happily a copy was made of it for me and it agrees entirely with the old copy at the British Museum. In this text, as mentioned, there is at the beginning a series of chapters describing the expedition of the spies lead by Joshua and of their encounter with the various kings then inhabiting Palestine. The book itself finishes with the story of the trial of the daughter of the High Priest 'Amram falsely accused by the Nazarites. It is the Samaritan version of the Suzanna legend as shown by me elsewhere with an English translation. In that recension the history has been brought down to the time of the return from the exile or shortly after. Here we have a similar paraphrase of old Samaritan-Hebrew texts, the existence of which can be proved and this is also the case with the Samaritan-Hebrew recension of the Book of Joshua which I was fortunate enough to discover and to publish. The importance of it for the history of the Bible

has not yet been sufficiently appreciated, but I cannot state emphatically enough that the genuineness of it is above suspicion. It forms part of the chronicle of the Samaritans which comprised the real *Toledoth*, not that published by Neubauer under this title, but the one which is the prototype of the more hebraicised text published by Adler and Seligsohn. This is the real *Toledoth* and an old copy written by the hand of the late High Priest Jacob son of Aaron of this *Toledoth* in Hebrew-Samaritan contains also the Hebrew text of Joshua and this autograph is now in my possession. We have there the beginnings of Samaritan history in Arabic, though of a legendary character. The book of Joshua was also unquestionably compiled in Egypt and a few leaves of this Arabic text have been acquired by me among other fragments found in the Genizah of Cairo. A longer history must also have existed at that time as will be seen presently in connection with these two *Toleda's* and the so-called "Chain".

If the Šadaqa to whom Yūsuf b. Uzzi sends a letter of remonstrance against the use of the fat tail of the sheep by the Samaritans in Damascus is the same as Šadaqa son of Munadja, then this epistle must belong to the beginning of the xiiith century. It might therefore be mentioned here as a sign of the difference in the interpretation and application of the Law concerning food between Samaritans in Damascus and those in Nāblus, dating already as far back as the xiiith century and perhaps earlier. Yūsuf alleges that because of that, during his stay in Damascus of approximately two years, he refrained from taking food with the rest of the Samaritans in that place. This reference in one of the MSS. to Nafis al-Dīn then is evidently due to confusion with another Šadaqa, who lived in the xvth century.

As their calendar forms an integral part of the difference between Samaritan Jews and Karaites they must have had some astronomical calculations and writings referring to the method applied by them for calculating the new moons and festivals and the system of intercalations and indeed we find among the manuscripts of the late High Priest 'Amram that he possessed such an old manuscript on astronomy. According to the Samaritan tradition, the calendar had been given by God to Adam and thus handed down from generation to generation until it reached Moses, who proclaimed it when establishing the first month as the month in which the Passover Festival was to be kept, and this calendar was afterwards fixed by astronomical calculation on the meridian of Sichem by Pinehas son of Eleazar, the High Priest, immediately after the entry of the children of Israel into the Holy Land. Later on the very same subject was much more fully treated.

An important personage is now to be mentioned, Amīn al-Dīn Abū 'l-Barakāt b. Sa'īd, not so much for his own literary work as for the part which he played in connection with the Arabic translation of the Bible. It seems that he has played the same role as so many other copyists: he appropriated the work of his predecessor Abū Sa'īd and altered and amended the older translation. His father's name being Sa'īd, this may have contributed to the confusion thus created, but the existence of an Arabic translation in manuscripts which belong to the end of the xiith and

the beginning of the xiiith century preclude the authorship of Abu 'l-Barakāt. He may, however, have been the author of a commentary to the Pentateuch, alternately ascribed to Abū Sa'īd and himself in which, as in the writings of other commentators, Sa'adya has been attacked from the Samaritan point of view. The date of Abu 'l-Barakāt is assumed to be 1208 and, according to another opinion, he lived to 1260 and in all probability in Damascus. The date, however, when he lived can now be definitely settled, for Abu 'l-Barakāt can be identified with a writer who in 622 (1225) had copied a Pentateuch, the colophon of which gives the full genealogy and date as follows: Abi Barakata Bar Ab Sahuta Bar Ab Nefisha Bar Abraham Sarafat; he had written the copy for Ab Hasda Bar Nefisha Bar Ishak and he adds that it is the completion of the 50 copies of the Pentateuch which he had by then made. As the Hebrew name Sahuta stands for the Arabic Sa'īd there cannot be any doubt as to the identity of the writer of this text with the reputed author or copyist of the Arabic translation. Abu 'l-Barakāt is believed to have written a commentary also on the Ten Commandments. The constant occurrence of the name of Abū Sa'īd in connection with many treatises suggests the probability of the existence of two men of the same name, one living in the xth and one in the xiiith century, so that many of the minor treatises might just as likely be ascribed to the latter as to the former, such as the commentary on the Blessing by Moses of the tribe of Levi, Deut. 33. Out of this it is said that Absakua the Danaite at the end of the xixth cent. compiled or rather made a copy and enlarged upon it at the dictation or with the assistance of his master Pinehas son of Isaac. Abū Sa'īd is also said to have written marginal notes in Arabic on the mystical portions of the Bible. Mystical speculations began to revive among the Samaritans towards the end of the xiiith century and it may therefore be ascribed to him.

In Damascus we find then the Samaritans continuing their widely extended scientific and literary activities. Muwaffiq al-Dīn Abū Yūsuf Ya'kūb (b. Abi Ishak b. Ḡhanā'im) who died in 1284 was a distinguished physician and he wrote a commentary to the introductory chapters of the Canon of Avicenna dedicated to Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr. It was considered to be of such value that it was deposited in the library of al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn. The same author also wrote an introduction to the science of logic and metaphysics. Both works are only known from quotations in Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a and Ḥādjdī Khalfā. The Samaritans were able to develop, living away from the stifling atmosphere of Nāblus. Samaritan chroniclers tell us of a siege and destructions, of the pillage and loot that had overtaken the inhabitants of Nāblus during the centuries of the Frankish invasion and the Arab repulsion of the invaders. Many a Samaritan was also taken captive, among them even Uzzi, the son of the High Priest, and carried away captive, to be ransomed by their rich brethren in Damascus, who did not fail to return Uzzi to his father. He in time became the High Priest of the very much reduced community. Still to the Samaritans Sichem remained the holy town and Mount Garizim the centre of their worship. Then at the beginning of the xivth century a number of Samaritans left Damascus in order to

settle in Sichem, among them men of high position and wealth. It seems that the line of descendants of the High Priest had been broken, for Yūsuf the Priest, who in 1308 came from Damascus, probably belonging to the same line, was appointed High Priest and from him started the new line of the descendants of the High Priest which continued until the extinction of the Aronite line in the middle of the xviith century. Yūsuf brought with him a large number of prominent members of the Samaritan community in Damascus. Pinehas and then his son Eleazar succeeded him to the High Priesthood. With them may have come also members of the family of the afore-mentioned Muwaffiq al-Dīn b. Ḡhanā'im b. Katari, as we later find members of this family contributing to the literature of the Samaritans. With the arrival of this new element a complete change in the life of the Samaritans took place. It was a revival, in as much as the new High Priest Pinehas and his son Eleazar, and especially the latter's brother Abisihi re-organised the whole service and introduced a large number of poems into the liturgy. The old Samaritan language was practically forgotten by the mass of the people. None of them would have dreamed of introducing Arabic into the service; so they had to fall back upon the old Hebrew language of a specific Samaritan colouring, handed down to them from olden times and to some extent preserved in old fragments or books, such as the Book of Joshua, the ancient book of genealogies and short histories with which the people of Damascus were fully cognisant. One of them had drawn up or copied out, in the xixth century, the first part of such a short chronicle, which was later on added to by successive writers, especially High Priests, *Toleda*. It was written in the semi-Samaritan semi-Hebrew language. In the same language then the new poets wrote and thus revived a more intimate knowledge of the old language and old literature. At the same time they were men of wider outlook and thus we find that from the xivth century onwards Sichem again becomes the centre of literary activities. Names occur of writers who are specifically mentioned as being inhabitants of Sichem in contra-distinction to others, who had come from outside. Interest in the history of the past was also revived and under the direction of the High Priest Pinehas many of the old manuscripts were also copied anew, such as the *Kāfi*, *Masā'il* of Munadja and others of a similar character. No doubt also the text of the Arabic version of the Bible must have been fixed then in a more definite form, for later copies show little variations among them, unlike older copies.

First and foremost therefore will be mentioned Abu 'l-Faṭḥ b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan, who had come with the Priests from Damascus and at the request of the High Priest Pinehas compiled what was at that time a most complete and reliable chronicle of the Samaritans in Arabic. In the introduction he mentions that he has used older chronicles such as the Book of Joshua in Arabic and Hebrew and other documents, such as the Chain and unquestionably also the *Toleda*. The book was compiled in the year 1355 and is a most conscientious though very dry compilation. It is a curious feature of this chronicle and of the subsequent chronicles found among Samaritans that very little reference is to be found there to their scholars and writers with the exception of

a few who had made a name for themselves by the poems introduced into the liturgy. It is very difficult to glean from these pages any reliable information as to the life and activity of scarcely any of the men mentioned hitherto, unless they also at the same time occupied a distinguished position in the community either as Priests or as public benefactors, who either restored the Kinshah or the graves of the High Priests of the "70 Elders" alleged to have been buried near Sichem in Amrata or Aburta or had recovered some of the older places of worship or above all had secured for them the place on Mt. Garizim for the Passover sacrifice.

Among the chronicles mentioned, of which, however, he made no use, was one ascribed to a certain Šadaqa, which he describes as being too ornate. Evidently he refers to a chronicle full of biblical legends, e. g. the first part of the Samaritan Arabic book of Joshua, and as he wishes only to give facts such as understood by him he omits to make any use of that chronicle. If the date, 1506, mentioned before in connection with the vision or prophecy is correct then it could not be the Šadaqa mentioned by Abu 'l-Faṭḥ. In all probability therefore the author of the chronicle eliminated by Abu 'l-Faṭḥ may have been Šadaqa the son of Munadja, who alone is mentioned as a writer of merit. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ himself is the first of the Danaḥite family which since then to our very day has furnished the Samaritans with a large number of scholars and writers. This family also originally came from Damascus although a Danaḥa signs a Jewish document in Egypt in the xiiith century and must have brought with them some of the older writings and above all a better literary preparation than the poor inhabitants of Sichem possessed. The first part of Abu 'l-Faṭḥ's chronicle down to the period of Joshua contains only chronological dates from Adam to the year of the entry of the children of Israel into Palestine. It is not here the place to discuss this chronology, which, as is known, not only differs from the Jewish and the Septuagint, but also differs in the various codices. It is, of course, directed against the Jewish chronology. The story of Joshua is told practically from that portion of the Arabic Book of Joshua which agrees more or less with the Biblical narrative. That book is the chief source of Abu 'l-Faṭḥ's information down to the time of Alexander the Great. Then he draws, as mentioned before, upon the ancient *Toleda* the brief record kept by the High Priests, but from the time of Muḥammad and later on nearer his own time, from the xth century downwards, the period where Arabic literature begins to flourish among the Samaritans, he gives more ample information, and this is on the whole sufficiently reliable. His description of the various sects, however, is very vague. It is evident that he reproduces the old traditions without being fully enough acquainted with their true character and meaning. These may be fragments from chronicles to a large extent since lost. His chronicle was treated like all mediaeval chronicles. It is not a recasting of the old material but at certain periods men added things that had happened since the time when Abu 'l-Faṭḥ lived. Not that they in their copies were very careful to preserve absolutely the contents of the original chronicle, for a comparison of various manuscripts showed that they

dealt with the text often in a very arbitrary manner, adding but very often omitting parts which did not seem to them to be of special interest. The fact is that these men wrote for themselves as it were, and then their copies were circulated afterwards and became a new starting point for further amplifications. The latest copy is brought down to our own day. The High Priest Jacob continued it to the end of the xixth century but the whole character remained essentially the same.

Among those who are known to have continued Abu 'l-Faṭḥ's chronicle and brought it down to their own times may be mentioned Abu 'l-Faradž b. Ishāq Nafīs al-Dīn of the family of Katari and Ḡhanā'im, beginning of the xvth century, who is the author of a compendium on the Mosaic law. In all probability the forerunner of a book of a similar kind in which the traditional laws and practices of the Samaritans have been succinctly summed up and carefully presented. As it is known only from a single manuscript in Paris of the year 1523 and the Samaritans apparently do not possess a copy of it, it is difficult to determine its character exactly but in all probability it follows the lines of Yūsuf al-'Askari and Shams' al-Dīn. It may, however, be identical with another book ascribed to an author with precisely the same name.

Here may be mentioned a book ascribed to a certain Abu 'l-Faradž Nafīs al-Dīn belonging to the Katari family, which contains a commentary on the 613 commandments. These are divided into two sections, of which 365 are of a negative or prohibitive character and 248 of a positive. It is precisely the same division as we find among the Jews and the author here tries to explain these from the point of view of a logical interpretation. He also, like the Jews, points out the various classes into which these laws can be divided, such as those of a local application, those of a temporary application and those of a universal application. The only question is whether this book is the work of Abu 'l-Faradž or whether it is the one before mentioned ascribed to Abu 'l-Faradž Shams al-Dīn. If the old manuscript in the possession of the Samaritans is older than the xivth century, the possible date of Abu 'l-Faradž, then we have here again a mere transmutation of the name from one Abu 'l-Faradž to another Abu 'l-Faradž and all these doubts can only be removed by the publication of these texts. Other literary work was stimulated by the advent of the new High Priests in the direction of commentaries and grammatical works. Eleazar the son of Pineḥas himself made an abridgement of the older grammatical treatise *Futya* mentioned before. Investigation into the origin of the calendar was also carried out and the number of commentaries on the Pentateuch grew in proportion. The most important seems to be the one ascribed to Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Ḡhanā'im, who, if he is the son of Abu 'l-Faradž b. Ḡhanā'im Katari, who had already added some portion to Abu 'l-Faṭḥ's chronicle, then he must have lived about the middle of the xvth century. This agrees with the date given by the Samaritans, circa 1450.

A short commentary on Leviticus 26, the section of curses, is ascribed to a certain Marḥib al-Katari. Nothing further is known about him but judging by the name he may have belonged to the same family of Katari. He therefore must have lived in Damascus where already, as seen

before, the study of the Pentateuch was carried out with intensity.

Among the Jews and Karaites one can observe the same tendency during the period from the xth to the xvth century chiefly of commenting on the Pentateuch. The disputes between Jews and Karaites especially turned very often on the interpretation of the Bible and the latter devoted much of their work to grammar and massora of the Bible and to its interpretation in accordance with their own views. Not a few of these were written in Arabic and thus a parallelism can be observed between the literary activity of the Samaritans and that of the Jews. Not that they were readily influenced by one another to any degree, the Samaritans being entirely outside the range of Jewish and Karaite interest, but the Samaritans must have felt stimulated by their activity furthermore to try and obtain a complete and satisfactory commentary of the Pentateuch according to their own views strengthening them in their interpretation and beliefs. The Jews started with Sa'adya (d. 940) who lived first in Egypt, later on in Babylon, and the Karaites with Jepheth b. 'All in Jerusalem, both of the xth century, and continued afterwards by others. Mention may be made here of a fragment in the British Museum written in Arabic and probably of the xivth century, believed to be of Karaite origin, which contains a polemic against the Samaritans and their claim to the sanctity of Mt. Garizim. It is a unique copy.

Grammatical studies were also continued among the Samaritans and Pineḥas b. Eleazar at the beginning of the xvth century compiled a Hebrew-Arabic glossary, the earliest extant copy of which is dated 1476. This has been worked over and continued by later writers or completed by them. It is an extremely interesting attempt to arrange the Hebrew words of the Pentateuch in alphabetical order. It is very rudimentary, the triliteral roots of the Hebrew words are not recognised and words are often put down in 4 or 5 letters. It is called *Meliṣ* or *Meliṣa* i.e. "Interpreter".

The name and memory of the famous Ṣadaḳa al-Ḥakīm (i.e. the Physician), the famous writer, poet, physician and polemist, son of Munadja looms so large in the eyes and memory of the Samaritans that many a treatise of which he is probably not the author, but the names of the real authors of which had been forgotten, were ascribed to him, and also the date when they lived has been shifted by centuries. Thus, according to information received, this Ṣadaḳa is believed to have lived in the year 1533 and to be author of the following books: A treatise on the second kingdom (Abu 'l-Ḥasan, as well as Gazal b. Duwaik, are also authors of a similar treatise); polemic against the Jews on the matter of their arrangement of the calendar (ascribed also to Munadja b. Ṣadaḳa and to Abu 'l-Ḥasan before him) and a treatise on the accuracy and reliability of the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch. All these have been ascribed vicariously to different authors. In a copy written in the year 1449 a treatise on the Taheb is also ascribed to this Ṣadaḳa and in another manuscript a short commentary on the blessings of Jacob and Moses dated 1494 is circulated also under his name. There must be therefore a confusion in the dates and names but they are all given here as they are distinctly mentioned under these dates to me. The reason for that

confusion may be due to the fact that some time during the xvth century a certain Ṣadaḳa, a prominent member of the community in Damascus, led a number of men from that community in a holy pilgrimage to Sichem. With him came also Ibrāhīm Kabasī who must have been a very prominent man and to whom reference will be made presently and it is because of the great impression which that man made upon the community that he was confused with the leader Ṣadaḳa and these books, which must have been circulated at the time without a definite name of author, were readily ascribed to him. Nothing, however, is known of his literary activity and, as mentioned, a mistake has arisen out of the similarity of names. It is of no small importance to state at the same time that the community in Damascus could not have yet sunk to that low level which the description of Della Valle seems to imply. They must still have been at that time a rather rich and flourishing community, though reduced in numbers, with men of position and learning among them, and if one only remembers the work of Kabasī who lived in the middle of the xvth century, it would be surprising if the community should have become merely an unimportant handful of people by 1616. The impression which has gained belief in consequence of the description by Della Valle has nothing to justify it. It only shows how retired the Samaritans lived among themselves and how slight the contact was between them and the Jews.

One of the most outstanding figures in Samaritan literature is still to be mentioned, Abraham Kabasī. He was the leader of the community in Damascus and he came together with Ṣadaḳa and others on a memorable pilgrimage to worship in Sichem, where the character of the literary activity of the Samaritans in Sichem had been profoundly changed. Inspired by Pineḥas VII, son of Eleazar, the High Priest of the time, he wrote at his request two books, one called *Sirr al-Qalb*, i.e. Secret of the Heart (in the way of obtaining knowledge), which he wrote in 1530 in Damascus. According to tradition, this family is connected with that Kabasī who had gone to Muḥammad at the beginning of the latter's career and had obtained from him the grant of protection of the Samaritans mentioned before.

He writes in a flowery style imitating entirely that of the Arabs, especially in his introduction. His language is not that of the rest of the Samaritan writers, which is the popular Arabic language as spoken and not as written. His is a polished literary style. In this book he endeavours to impress the readers with the merit of leading a life in consonance with the teachings of the law. He divides it into seven chapters; the first deals with the belief in the moral excellence of the laws of Moses, mentioning also the unity of God and also about the holiness of the mountain and the sanctification of his people. The second chapter proves by sight and hearing the righteousness of walking in the way of the Lord; the third gives a series of examples from the law of those who walked in the way of the Lord, their reward in this world and in the world to come; the fourth, which is the longest chapter, contains a detailed description of the ten trials to which each of the Patriarchs had been subjected to by God, viz., Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses and

Aaron, and their submission to these trials; the fifth is on the fear and love of God like that of a servant to his master and the observance of His laws and commandments. The sixth contains directions for the man who wishes to walk in the path of virtue, and the seventh is on repentance, which leads to forgiveness.

The writing of such a book shows that the people must have been subjected to great tribulations and that they required some consolation or a writing to strengthen them in their submission to trials sent by God as shown by the examples of their forefathers, but the book does not conclude with these seven chapters, for in our manuscript at least there follows a list of the 613 Commandments briefly given with a short introduction in which these commandments, positive and negative, are described according to their local, temporary or permanent character. This list, found also in other manuscripts, is probably an abstract of that larger book of *Shams al-Din*, in which not only these commandments are given in detail but each of them accompanied by an elaborate commentary. Another work of Kabasī is a commentary on the verse in Deut. 32, 3 "for I called upon the name of the Lord", in which he deals elaborately with the mystical significance and all-pervading power of the ineffable name of God. The mystical speculations, the beginnings of which can be traced back to the pre-Christian period, still continued to flourish among the Samaritans and be the subject of study.

Whatever may have been the state of the Samaritans in Damascus, every trace of literary activity disappears with Abraham Kabasī. Intellectual life and literary activity had become more and more centred in Nāblus and through the advent of members of various communities who were all settling in Nāblus the number of inhabitants had also grown, although it never reached a very considerable figure. The work of the past was again taken up in the xviith and xviiith centuries and the same problems with which the old writers had been dealing became the object of study by the newcomers and by those who had previously come from Damascus in the time of the High Priest Joseph and his son Pinehas. One must not forget that the Samaritans lived in a very narrow groove. Very little influence can be traced from without and the interest of the new writers was to bring home again to the later generation the lessons of the past in a form more easily accessible and understood by them. Philosophic speculations were now out of place and disputations with Jews and Karaites were a thing of the past, except in those cases where the Samaritans were bent on defending their position in contra-distinction to those held by the others. The calendar, of course, the riddle of which neither Scaliger nor his successors had been able to solve, offered no difficulties to the Samaritans, and we find the full theoretical and practical treatment of the history and development of the calendar as well as the principles underlying their calculations worked out again by Abraham b. Jacob in the middle of the xviiith century. It rests, of course, on the older book of astronomical calculations found in manuscripts of the xivth century, but here it is much more fully developed and worked out and accompanied by a large number of practical examples.

Attention turns now to commentaries on the Bible. The Midrashic element takes the

place of rationalistic and philosophic interpretation and foremost among these must be mentioned now a large commentary on Genesis and probably also on Exodus, but this is doubtful as the authorship of it is ascribed to another man. Much attention has been paid to it in modern times, but it was wrongly ascribed to Ibrāhīm the son of Jacob. The real author, however, is not Ibrāhīm b. Jacob but Meshalma the son of Absakuah the Danafite. He had left the work unfinished and by the help of his son the same Ibrāhīm b. Jacob, belonging to the same family of the Danafites, was able to complete it but he emphatically states that he has only completed the work which was already practically done by Meshalma. It is to the latter therefore that this commentary should be ascribed henceforth. The commentary is a mine of information; it is full of legendary matter preserved by the Samaritans through the ages. Some of it is unquestionably derived from the *Asāfir*, other legends from the *Moled* and again others from unknown sources. One sees in this commentary the self-centred mind of the Samaritan, to whom nothing else exists outside the narrow boundary of Samaritan tradition and Samaritan practices. It is therefore of the highest interest for the study of the Samaritan Biblical exegesis. This Meshalma then, the real author, lived before 1680, for in all probability the commentary which Huntingdon brought back with him from Nāblus about 1680 was written by him. It is doubtful whether he is the author of the commentary on the other four books of the Pentateuch thus far extant, for it is alleged by the Samaritans that the commentary on Exodus, which is as voluminous as that on Genesis, which is also ascribed to Djubrat al-Dawek has been completed and worked over probably in 1816, or it may, however, have been merely the copy which the High Priest Ṭabia had made about that time and which was found in the Library of the High Priest 'Amram, as stated by his son Shalma since dead. This commentary represents practically the last word in Biblical exegesis. Abraham b. Jacob, who lived about 1750, and not between the xivth and xviith century, as hitherto tentatively suggested by others, who was the author of the above mentioned book on the calendar, was also the author of some poems on Moses and the Patriarchs and of a treatise called "The Refutation of Philosophical Arguments". With him has been confused a certain Abraham Alaya, also of the family of Danafites, to whom is attributed a treatise on the order of service at the going out of the festivals (*Irshād*) differing to some extent from the directions for the usual evening services. This author also lived about the middle of the xixth century and, as the previous one, in Nāblus. On the basis of the material thus accumulated, the High Priests, starting with Ṭabia at the end of the xviiith century down to Jacob son of Aaron (who died a few years ago), together with other members of the priestly family, some of the Danafites, were engaged in copying and re-writing the old literature. It is only through them that many of the old texts have been preserved, and whatever value they possess is due to their activity and interest. To them we owe all, and it is better to speak collectively for the descendants of these families dispute with one another the authorship of some of these books.

The most prolific and the most prominent of these writers was Pineḥas (Arabic *Khiḍr*) b. Isaac, who died in 1898. (This identification by the Samaritans of Pineḥas with *Khiḍr* instead of identifying the latter with Elijah, as is done by the Jews, is extremely interesting. It rests on the rabbinic legend which identifies Pineḥas with Elijah and has thus been transferred from the former to the latter). In the list drawn up by his son Abiḥsha, no less than 45 works are mentioned which were either copied, worked over or compiled by him. He had access to a large store of manuscripts, which he utilized to the full for his own compilations. He was thus in a position to gather up as it were in his works all that had come down in the course of ages. How far he is indebted to his predecessors, 'Amram and Ṭabia, must remain a matter of speculation since scarcely any contemporary manuscripts seem to have been preserved. The list, however, drawn up by Ṭhalma, son of 'Amram, of the writings found in his father's library throws some light on the interdependence of the literary activity of Pineḥas and 'Amram. The latter possessed also some MSS. which had been in the possession of Ṭabia, but nothing is known of the whereabouts of any of the MSS. unless that they have passed into the possession of Pineḥas and Isaac the son of 'Amram and then disposed of indiscriminately.

One of the works now to be mentioned is a very full chronicle. It not only embodies the whole of Abu 'l-Faḥḥ but is greatly enlarged and contains a mass of legendary matter as well as historical data not found in Abu 'l-Faḥḥ. This is independent of the other direct copy or recension of Abu 'l-Faḥḥ with the additions made by the late High Priest Jacob son of Aaron, which he brings down to his own time and into which he had introduced also a full description of the death and funeral of Abraham Kabasi. The chronicle itself is very voluminous. This is ascribed to Pineḥas b. Isaac. It starts with the story of Joshua and is carried down to our own day, but how much of it is his own and how much of it is due to his ancestor Ṭabia cannot be decided in the absence of the latter's work. It may be that Pineḥas merely continued that work from the beginning of the sixteenth century downwards. He is also the author or it would be better to say he is the compiler for the older texts of the book *Yawm al-Din* (Day of Judgment), a voluminous work containing the most elaborate description of the whole eschatology of the Samaritans, their beliefs concerning immortality, life after death, the day of judgment, resurrection, in short all the problems connected with beliefs of the life after death. He draws all his information from the older writings and thus he has been able to compile a book containing no less than 100 chapters. Starting from the first word of Genesis he carries the examination of the Biblical verses through to the very end of the Pentateuch, giving the traditional, allegorical and mystical interpretation to each word and line to which such an eschatological meaning could be attached. Here again we have a complete summary of the eschatological traditions and beliefs of the Samaritans. Another work from the same pen is his great work on forbidden or incestuous marriages, *Tifsūr al-Aṣayot*. Here again he discusses every law and every allusion in the Bible together with all the prohibitions which are

found in connection with marriage and married life, using in these books all the ancient material available and quoting some of the older writers. It is not, as a rule, the custom observed by Samaritan writers.

Then another book compiled probably in the xvth or xvith century, a complete compendium of the Samaritan laws and traditions, is now being ascribed by the sons of Jacob and the sons of Pineḥas to their fathers respectively. In the introduction, however, mention is made of Samaritan communities still existing, which, however, have since disappeared in the last two centuries and it is clear therefore that the author of this book must have lived at latest in the xvith century, but evidently this work has either been copied or worked up by one of the predecessors of Pineḥas and Jacob and then copied out or elaborated by each of them. The book is called the *Ḥilluk* or *Khiṭāf Irshād* and consists of 10 chapters which are given here in full, according to the wording of the text.

Chapter I. Concerning the origin of the community of the Samaritans and of the tribe from which they are the descendants, and the history of their separation from the community of the Jews and why they are called the community of the *Shamarim*. And God alone knows.

Chapter II. The faith of the Samaritans. About the Chosen Spot and that this Chosen Spot is Mt. Garizim Bethel. The tabernacle had been erected thereon by Joshua the son of Nun. The kings of the time of favour, and the arguments against the Jews who deny its sanctity and exchange it for another spot.

Chapter III. The observance of the Sabbath by the Samaritans and the difference in that observance between them and the Jews.

Chapter IV. Concerning the *Nemila* and the laws concerning it among the Samaritans, and the mention of difference which exists in this command between them and the Jews.

Chapter V. Concerning the new moon among the Samaritans. And the system by which they learn to know it, a description of the festivals and what is done on them; the description of the *Pesaḥ*: the sacrifice on the day of atonement, and the difference therein between them and the Jews.

Chapter VI. On the various forms of cleanness and uncleanness according to the faith of the Samaritans, who are the faithful keepers of the truth which they follow from olden times.

Chapter VII. The laws of slaughtering, according to the teaching of the Samaritans. And the description of the animals and birds which they are not allowed to eat, and that which they remove as heave offering from each sacrifice, which they do not eat for considering it holy, and concerning the prevention of eating anything that is squashed, broken, etc., and the prevention of slaughtering anything that is bad from among the sheep and cattle and the law forbidding the using of blood and the description of the difference between them and the Jews in all these matters, and the way which they practise these things unto this very day.

Chapter VIII. Laws concerning marriage according to the faith of the Samaritans, whom they can marry and whom they cannot marry, and the laws concerning divorce.

Chapter IX. Concerning that it is forbidden to

forsake this holy book of the law which is in their hands, for they say it is everlasting and that its rule will never cease.

Chapter X. Concerning the law about the dying among the Samaritans, and their belief in the appointed day; what happens to the man when he leaves this world, whether the Lord will bring them back on the appointed day; of the faith about questioning and rendering account, and of the requital and reward with them (the Samaritans) according to the law and according to their traditions.

From this will be seen the high importance which this book has for our knowledge of the Samaritans, their history, traditions and practices.

He is further credited with having drawn up a kind of catechism (*Ma'lif*) or rather a number of questions and answers on Biblical history intended for the teaching of the young. The material, which consists to a large extent of legendary matter, is old and can be traced to the various sources from which he has drawn it. It is the most important collection of legends but unfortunately it is left incomplete.

Pinehas also copied and worked over some ancient commentaries like that on Numbers by Gazal and he is said to have made an Arabic commentary on the *Asatir*.

Brief reference may be made here also to the Arabic correspondence which passed between the Samaritans and De Sacy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which, however, is now, as far as the contents are concerned, quite valueless in view of the large amount of material which has since come to light and of which at that time very little was known outside Nablus. In connection with this may be mentioned a collection of formularies of letters in Arabic and Samaritan. Some of these seem to be of great antiquity, others probably of much more modern origin. The originals are in most cases Samaritan, the Arabic being merely a translation.

With this last reference we have brought down the Samaritan-Arabic literature to our own days, and their literary activity seems now to be completely exhausted. From this brief survey one can

gather that the Samaritans have not been influenced by the Arabic literature to any great extent.

This sketch, compiled not without great difficulty owing to the confused state and contradictory literary tradition of the Samaritans, was not merely intended to give a list of books written or of their contents in general but also to enable us to obtain that knowledge which was hitherto missing as to the real spiritual life of the Samaritans: it was only the surface that was touched but not the kernel. The style in which many of these books had been written shows how little the people had learned from the Arabs except the language which they spoke. With rare exceptions it is the half vulgar dialect of Palestine and very often, when a difficult word occurred for which they could not find the adequate Arabic term, they either introduced it in the original Samaritan form or they gave to the Arabic word used a specific colouring which may have made it intelligible to the Samaritan reader but certainly could not be clearly understood by anyone only versed in the Arabic language. They wrote as they spoke and used the language for putting on paper their own traditions, their own practices, their own beliefs, in fact only that which affected their religious life and, with rare exceptions, some few historical records.

I have therefore caused the Samaritans to translate for me into that Hebrew language, which alone they can command, a number of books such as the *Ṭabbāḥ* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the *Kāfi* of Yūsuf al-Askarī, the Arabic Book of Joshua, especially for comparison with the Samaritan Hebrew Book of Joshua, the great chronicle in two different recensions, Kabasī's *Sirr al-Kalb* and *Ki Bi-shem* "For in the name of the Lord I call", *Hilluk*, *Moled Moshe* (Ismā'īl son of Ramaich), the commentary of Meshalma on Genesis, the book on the Day of Judgment by Pinehas, the chronicle of Abu 'l-Faḥ in the recension of the High Priest Jacob and finally the *Ma'lif*. All these translations have since been transliterated into Hebrew characters and then translated by me into English and made ready for publication whenever an opportunity should present itself.





Fig. 3
Tughra of the emir Sulaimān
(1403—1413).

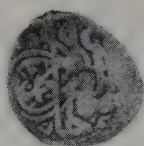


Fig. 4
Tughra of Mehmed III
(1595—1603).

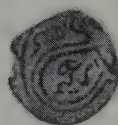


Fig. 5
Tughra of Ibrāhīm I
(1640—1648).



Fig. 6
Tughra of Maḥmūd I
(1730—1754).

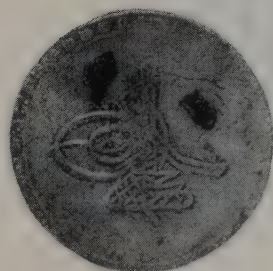


Fig. 7
Tughra of Muṣṭafā III
(1757—1773).

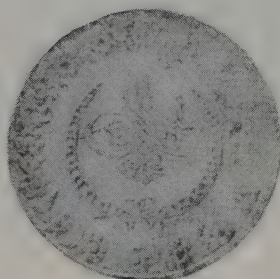


Fig. 8
Tughra of Maḥmūd II
(1808—1839).



Fig. 9
Tughra of 'Abd-ül-'Azīz
(1861—1876).

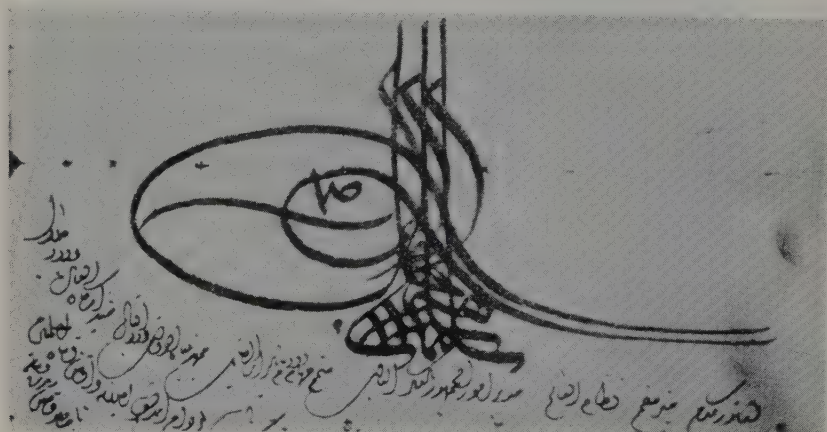


Fig. 10
Tughra of Sultān Süleymān II (III) b. Ibrāhīm on a firman of the first ten days of
Zi'l-Ka'de 1099 = of 28th August to 6th September 1688



Fig. 11
Tughra of Sultān Aḥmad II b. Ibrāhīm on a firman of the second ten days of
Djumādā II 1104 = of 16th to 25th February 1693



Fig. 12
A merchant's name
arranged in a tughra



Fig. 13
Basmala tughra in
a menu of restaurant
in Cairo

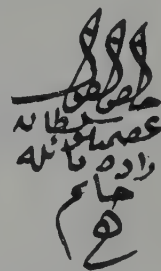


Fig. 15

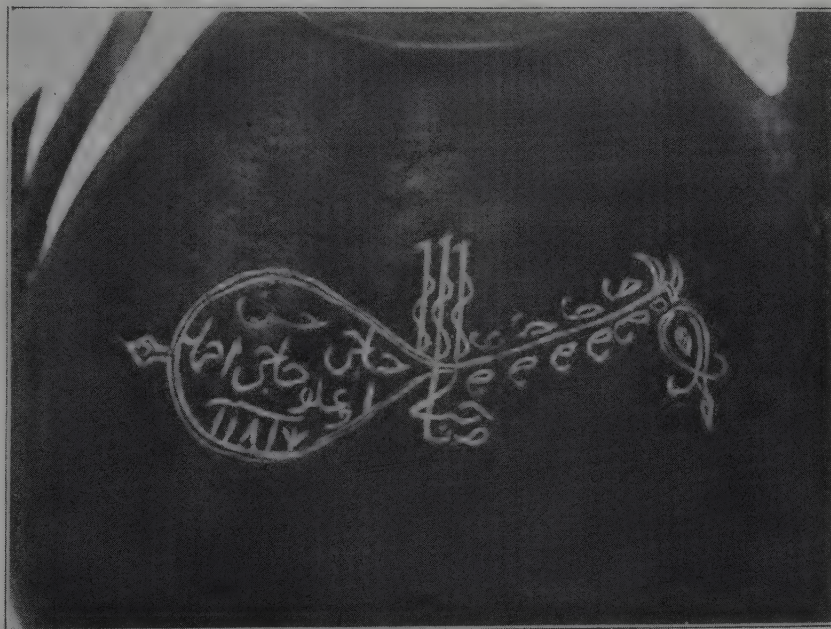


Fig. 14
Owner's mark on a signboard from Mar'ash

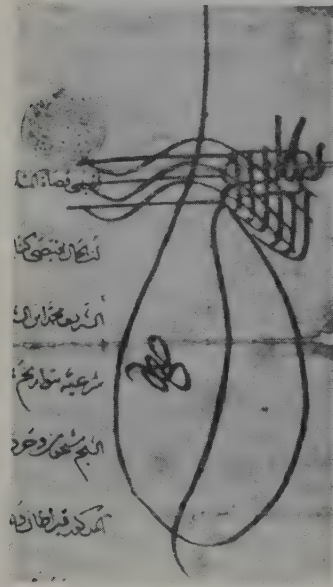


Fig. 16. Nishandji Ahmad Pasha
10th Rabi' II 1026 = 17th April 1617

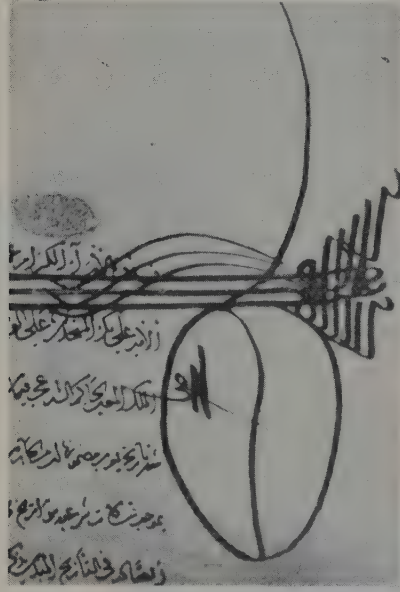


Fig. 17. Tarshundji Ahmad Pasha
7th Shawwal 1060 = 4th October 1650



Fig. 18.
Khādim (*Khādum-bayāzī*) 'Abd-ür-Rahmān Pasha
18th Zi'l-Ka'da 1061 = 2nd November 1651

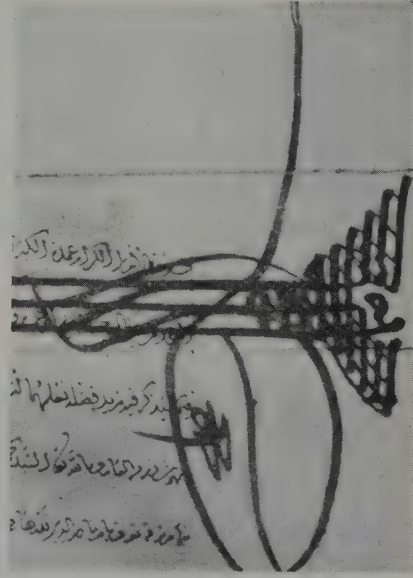


Fig. 19.
Khādim (*Khādum-bayāzī*) 'Abd-ür-Rahmān Pasha
17th Muhiarram 1062 = 30th December 1651

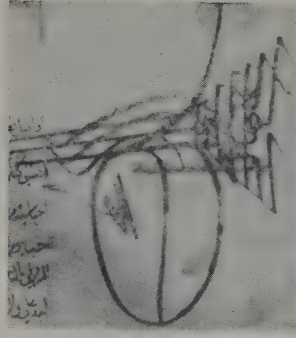


Fig. 24. Boshnak 'Osmān Pasha
9th Rabi' II 1093 = 17th April 1682

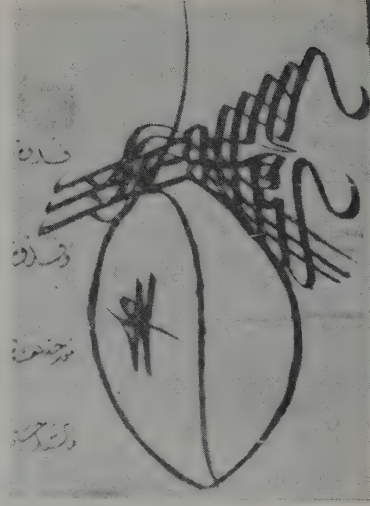


Fig. 20.
(Dāmād) Melek İbrāhīm Pasha
10th Rabi' I 1072 = 3rd November 1661

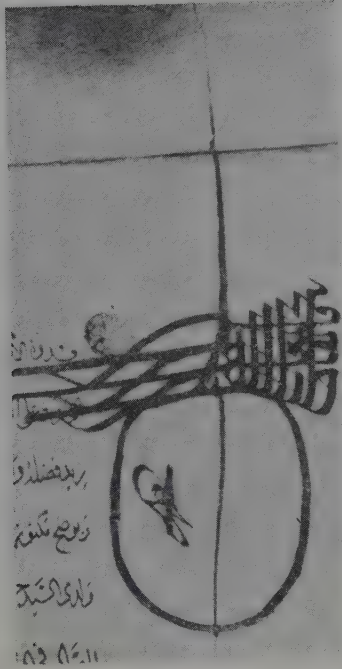


Fig. 21
Ken'ân, *kaymakam* (of the wâlî) 19th Radjab 1080 = 3rd December 1669

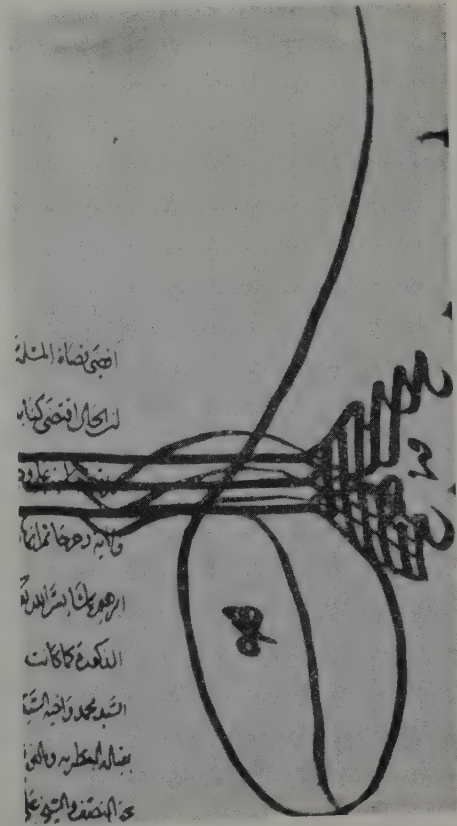


Fig. 23
Kara Ibrâhîm Pasha 14th Muharram 1083 = 12th May 1672

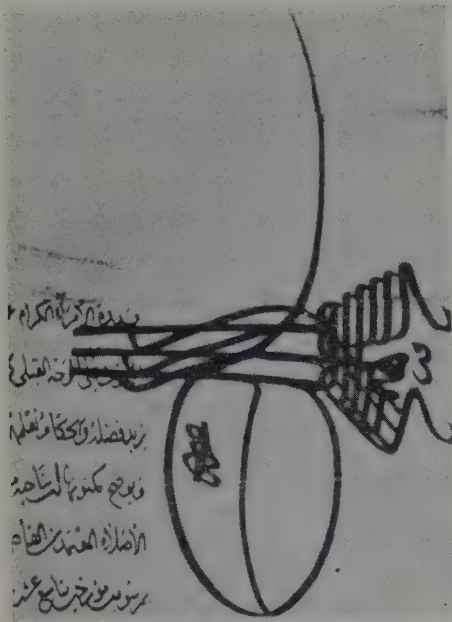


Fig. 22
Kara Ibrâhîm Pasha 14th Sha'ban 1081 = 27th December 1670

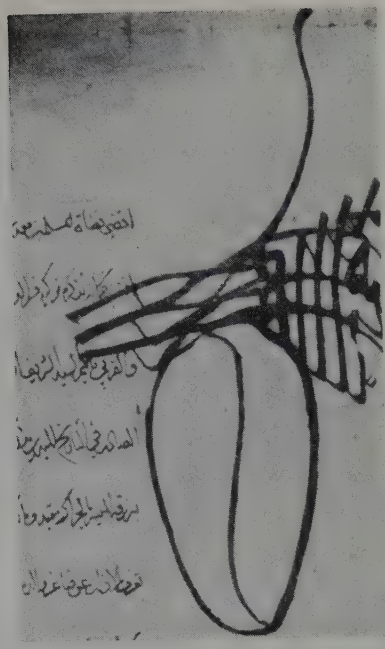


Fig. 25
Hamza Pasha 25th Zûl-Hidjje 1096 = 24th November 1685

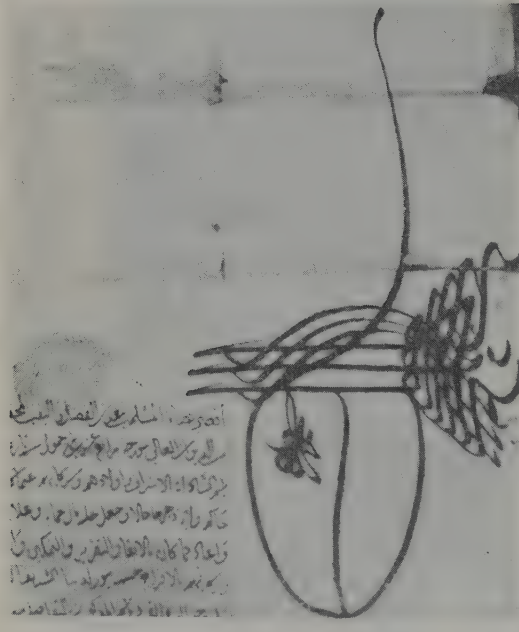


Fig. 27. Serkhosh Ahmad Pasha
29th Djumādā II 1101 = 15th April 1688

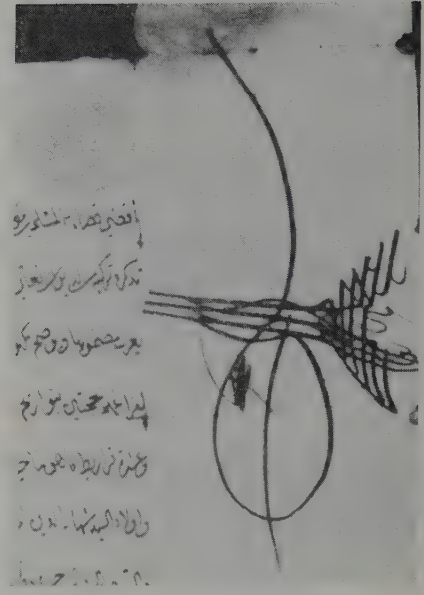


Fig. 28. Morall or Khaznadar 'Ali Pasha
17th Ramaḍān 1103 = 2nd Juni 1692

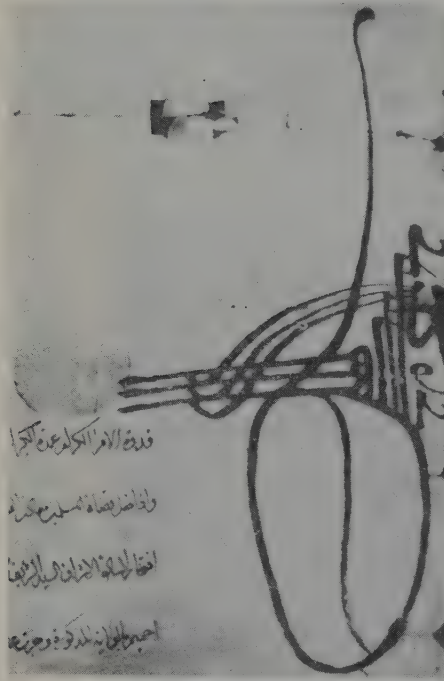


Fig. 26. Hamza Pasha 1st Rabi' II 1098 = 14th February 1687

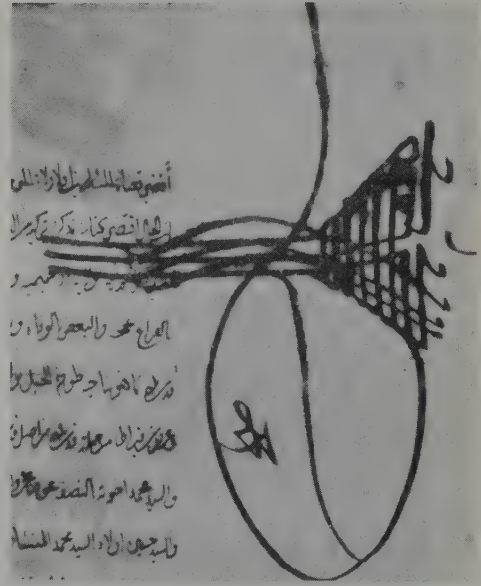


Fig. 29. Celebi Ismā'il Pasha
15th Djumādā I 1108 = 10th December 1696

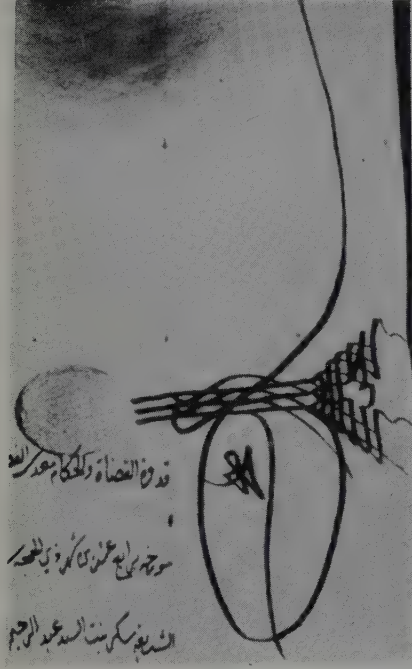


Fig. 30
Dāmād Ḥasan Paṣhā 24th Zi'l-Hijja 1120 = 6th March 1709

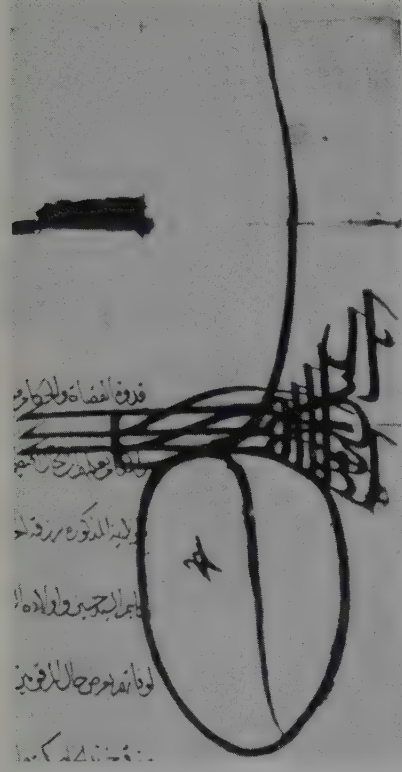


Fig. 31
‘Abd-ür-Rahmān Paṣhā 10th Rabi‘ II 1089 = 1st June 1678

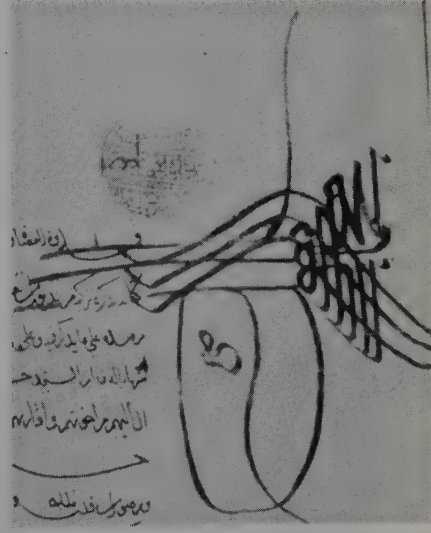


Fig. 32. Şadr-ı Şābık Nishāndjı Mehmed Paṣhā
14th Şa‘bān 1137 = 28th April 1725

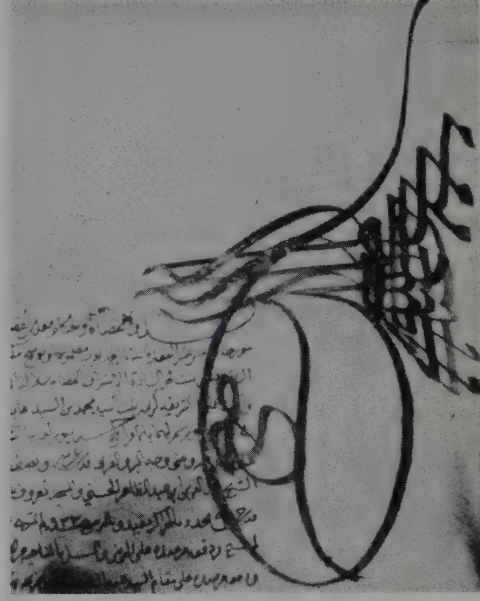


Fig. 33. Boynu-eyri Ḥasan-Paṣhā-Zāde ‘Abdullah Paṣhā
15th Zi'l-Ka‘da 1165 = 24th September 1752

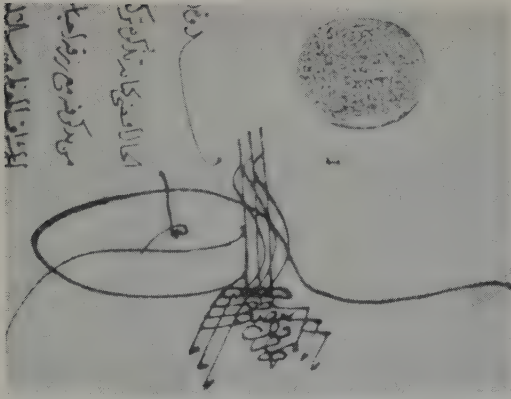


Fig. 34. Nābulusi Muṣṭafā Pasha
12th Radjab 1188 = 18th September 1774

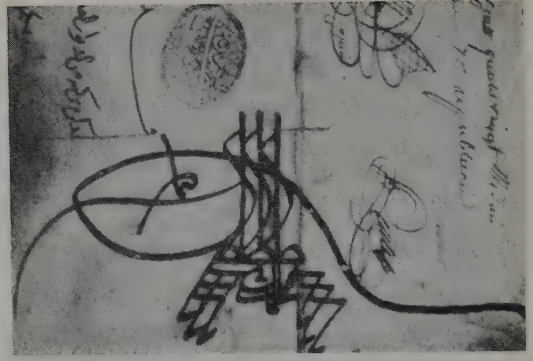


Fig. 35. Siliḥdār Mehmed Pasha
1st Zi'l-Hidjdja 1195 = 18th November 1781



Fig. 36. Ibrāhīm Bey, *kaymakam*
19th Djumādā II 1199 = 29th April 1785

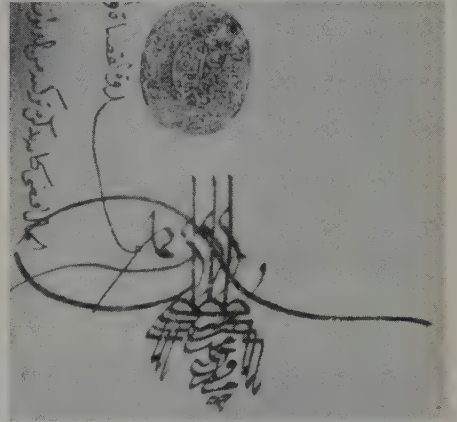


Fig. 37. Vegen Mehmed Pasha
13th Radjab 1200 = 12th May 1786

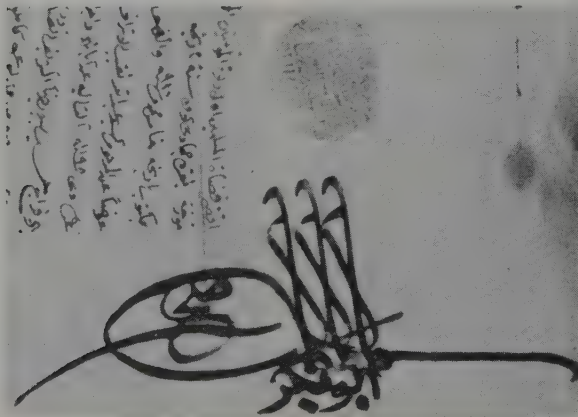


Fig. 38. Loḳmadjī (Ebü) Bekir Pasha
1st Djumādā I 1212 = 1st November 1797



Cliché Sebah et Joallier

Art. Yılûz Köşkü
Mabain and Hamidiya Mosque

